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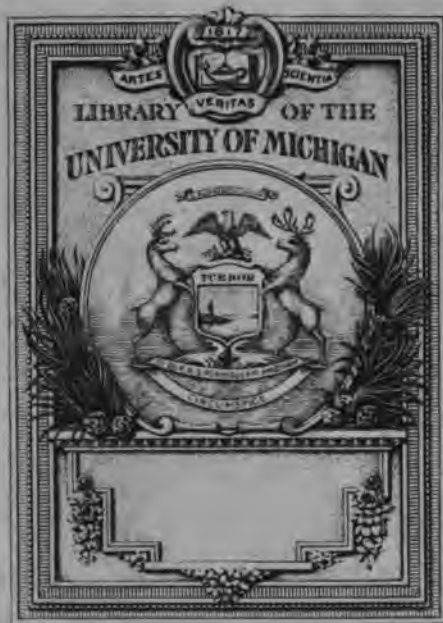
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**THE**  
**ANNUAL REGISTER,**  
**1872.**

B. 9.

1960

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER:

A

REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME

AND ABROAD,

FOR THE YEAR

1872.



NEW SERIES.

LONDON:

RIVINGTONS, WATERLOO PLACE.

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1873.



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# ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR

1872.

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THE year, whose history we are now to write, will chiefly be remembered in England, in spite of such grave matters as the "Alabama" Award and the Ballot Act, as so far the most remarkable "weather-year" of the century. The very first week of the new year brought with it shocks of earthquake, fearful thunderstorms, and a hurricane with snow and hail; and the precedent thus strangely set was faithfully followed to the last. Steady rains and cold were prolonged far into the summer, to be succeeded by an amount of electrical disturbance unparalleled in living memory. For weeks and months the newspapers were filled with accounts of fresh thunderstorms each more severe than the last; and even when the heavy and vaporous heats which for some time accompanied them had given place to cold and rain again, the constant thunder and lightning survived the change of the thermometer. The gales of the year were equally abnormal in their violence and frequency, and the disastrous record of wrecks and casualties at sea had never told so sad a tale. During the closing months of the year they were so active, with the rains that accompanied them, that in London they entirely superseded the usual characteristics of that period of the year, and November passed over the capital without bringing with it a single specimen of the well-known "yellow fog." The leading topic of English conversation has seldom if ever held its

position with such justifiable firmness as during the weird year, 1872.

Auspiciously enough, perhaps, did the year open at once for the Queen and her people. It was impossible not to see what would be the effect of the happily-conceived and cordially-expressed note from Windsor Castle with which we closed our record of last year. The Queen spoke from her heart to the people, and very warm was the answer. It was not necessary that she should write to acknowledge the deep sympathy of the nation during the painful, terrible days of the Prince of Wales' illness, but it was quite natural that she should. The whole experience had been one of singular importance and interest, and the unanimous and even surprising tokens of loyalty which it called forth, and which made a deep and lasting impression on the Queen's heart, which could never be effaced, had made an impression upon the people also. Meanwhile the progress of the Prince towards convalescence continued to be most satisfactorily rapid. The local pain and feverishness in the hip, which had been the most disquieting of recent symptoms, were reported to have subsided, and the strength to be daily improving. This fortunate state of things continued, and the complete recovery of the Prince was commemorated in the month of February, by a celebration which, at first intended as little more than a private thanksgiving-service on the part of the Queen and her household, assumed by the appointed day all the proportions of a national festival, the most general and the most successful, probably, to be found in the annals of the country. The magnitude of the celebration grew as the day approached, and many of the streets on the route which the procession was to follow, were impassable for some days before the event, from the gathering throng of people who came to examine the scene and the preparations beforehand. It is, in sooth, as was observed at the time, that the decent conventional formality prescribed by the custom of all Christians has been made an occasion for the grandest outburst of unanimous popular emotion witnessed here since the age of the Tudors; and the form of the celebration must surely be accepted as indicating that the nation is not more inclined to give up its Christianity than its Monarchy.

The procession<sup>1</sup> started from Buckingham Palace at five minutes past twelve o'clock. It was led by the carriages of the Speaker, the Lord Chancellor, and the Commander-in-Chief, and was composed of nine royal carriages, the eighth drawn by four and the ninth by six horses. The last two were open carriages.

The streets along the whole route were lined with a dense throng of people, standing behind the barriers on each side-pavement; every shop, every window, upper and lower, every doorstep, portico, and balcony, and the roofs of many houses were occupied by eager spectators. Lofty and spacious stands, or covered galleries, in which several tiers of seats rose one above another, were erected at convenient places. The procession, as it went along the Strand and

<sup>1</sup> Another and briefer account is given in our "Chronicle."

Fleet-street, passed under a canopy of standards, banners, streamers, and strings of flowers stretched across from house to house. In regular order along the street stood light Venetian masts, from whose summits countless pennons floated in the breeze, which bore in their centres either trophies of colours or miniature shields. On every side floral decorations, mottoes, and expressions of loyalty were in abundance.

The streets were kept by a strong force of police and military, the traffic of carriages being stopped, and the roadway being cleared also of foot-passengers not furnished with tickets of permission. Bands of school-children sang hymns as the procession went by. The people everywhere hailed the approach of the royal party with hearty and enthusiastic cheering. All eyes were bent on the last carriage to see the Queen, the Prince, and the Princess of Wales. Her Majesty looked in good health, and she looked happy. So did the Princess. As for the Prince, he looked pale, but not thin, after his illness; he seemed, however, to be in good spirits, and kept taking off his hat to bow to the people who cheered him.

At Temple Bar the Queen was met by the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and a deputation from the Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London, all in their robes, mounted on horseback. They all alighted, and the Lord Mayor delivered to and received back from her Majesty the City sword, according to the usual custom. But, contrary to general expectation, the gates of Temple Bar were not closed against the Queen, so that it was unnecessary to present her with the keys, and the heralds omitted to sound a flourish. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and deputation again mounted their white horses, and preceded her Majesty on horseback to St. Paul's, and on arriving there proceeded to take the several places reserved for them in the cathedral. The Lord Chancellor and the Speaker likewise, on arriving at the west entrance, proceeded to their seats.

It was precisely at one o'clock that her Majesty, having passed up Ludgate-hill, arrived at the great west entrance of St. Paul's, and entered the cathedral through the pavilion, designed for use as a vestibule, erected upon the steps. The approach was by a covered way, the exterior being of crimson cloth, ornamented with such devices as the royal arms and those of the Prince of Wales. Above was the inscription, "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord." At the top of the steps, which were covered with crimson carpet that contrasted very well with the internal drapery of the vestibule—magenta, relieved with vertical bands of white—the porch of the cathedral had been turned into retiring-rooms for the use of her Majesty and the Prince and Princess of Wales. That set apart for the Queen, on the right or south side, was lined with pink, over which fine muslin was disposed in a variety of patterns. The companion apartment was adorned with a rich blue wall decoration; and in both rooms were beautiful gilt furniture covered with crimson damask. Skylights in the roof of the retiring-rooms beyond the line of the porch threw a flood of

light upon these charming apartments. Other rooms had been provided for the great officers of state, the Bishops, and the cathedral and civic authorities. The Queen was received at the cathedral by the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and by the officers of her Majesty's household, who were in waiting at St. Paul's, having come before her in the procession.

The vast interior of the grand cathedral church had been arranged to accommodate a congregation of 13,000 persons. The central space under the dome was allotted to those of highest rank, the Queen, with the royal family, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Corps Diplomatique and distinguished foreigners, the Judges and dignitaries of the law, the Lords Lieutenant and Sheriffs of counties, and the representatives of the Universities and other learned bodies. The choir was reserved for the clergy, the screen between the choir and the dome being taken away, so that the congregation under the dome and in the nave could see as well as hear all the service in the choir. The place assigned to her Majesty and their Royal Highnesses was a sort of pew, covered with crimson and inclosed with a brass railing. It was raised two or three steps above a low platform which stood directly across the end of the nave opening into the central space under the dome, immediately fronting the choir. There was a passage left to the right and left of the royal pew, from the nave to the dome. In one corner of the central space, to the Queen's right hand, towards the south transept, were the seats of the Indian and foreign Princes, the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh and the Maharanee, the Japanese and the Egyptian Prince. In the corresponding angle, to the Queen's left, towards the north transept, were the foreign Ambassadors. The main floor of the dome space, reserving a broad open passage in front of the Queen to the choir, was divided between the two Houses of Parliament, the Lords to the right, the Commons to the left. The Lord Chancellor and the Speaker, in their robes, sat with the two Houses. Of the two farther corners, the one, or that towards the south transept, was occupied by the Judges, the other by the Lords Lieutenant and Sheriffs. The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London and the Metropolitan Board of Works had the north transept for themselves and their friends. The south transept was partitioned between the Universities and scientific bodies, the persons belonging to India and the colonies, and Non-conformist ministers. In the nave, behind the Queen's pew, were the officers of the army, on the right-hand side of the long middle passage, and officers of the navy on the left hand, with two compartments for the mayors of provincial towns, near the west door. But against the walls, and between the pillars along the nave, and overhead, for a large space within the west door, rose tier above tier of wooden galleries, to which the general public were admitted by tickets. The seats and the fronts of the galleries were covered with crimson serge. The seats in the nave and under the dome were plain rush-bottomed chairs; but those for persons of superior dis-

tion were gilt chairs, or cushioned with fine cloth or satin. People had begun to assemble there between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. The brilliant show of military and official uniforms, quaint Beefeaters' attire, rich and grave robes of state, gorgeous Eastern costumes, and ladies' dresses, with the black gowns or white surplices and academical scarfs of the clergy, who moved freely to and fro in the choir or under the dome, made a beautiful spectacle, the effect of which was enhanced by frequent gleams of bright sunshine through the southern windows, lighting up the whole medley of fine colours with admirable effect.

The Queen, with the Prince of Wales on her right and the Princess of Wales on her left hand, but taking the Prince's arm, walked up the nave, from the reception-rooms at the west door to the royal pew, in a procession marshalled by the Lancaster and Somerset heralds, who led the way. It comprised the officers of the Lord Chamberlain's department, the equerries in attendance, the great officers of the royal household, and those of the Prince's household, the Captains of the Royal Guard and Gentlemen-at-Arms, Garter King-at-Arms, and the other heralds, the Gold Stick and Silver Stick, the Master of the Horse, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, and Vice-Chamberlain, who walked before the Queen. Behind her Majesty came the Duke of Edinburgh and Princess Beatrice, with the two boys, Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales. Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold followed; then the Duke of Cambridge. The Mistress of the Robes, the Duchess of Sutherland, the Ladies of the Bedchamber, and the Chamberlain of her Royal Highness, brought up the rear of the procession.

The service began with the "Te Deum," composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. Goss, and sung by a choir of 250 voices, selected from the best cathedral and chapel choirs in England. The special form of thanksgiving was read as follows:—

"O Father of Mercies and God of all comfort, we thank Thee that Thou hast heard the prayers of this nation in the day of our trial: We praise and magnify Thy glorious name for that Thou hast raised Thy servant Albert Edward Prince of Wales from the bed of sickness: Thou castest down and Thou liftest up, and health and strength are Thy gifts: We pray Thee to perfect the recovery of Thy servant, and to crown him day by day with more abundant blessings both for body and soul; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The Archbishop of Canterbury, having ascended the pulpit at the south-east angle of the central space under the dome, at the entrance to the choir, pronounced a benediction; and, after an anthem had been sung, delivered his sermon. The text was from St. Paul's letter to the Romans, "Members one of another." The congregation was dismissed a few minutes before two o'clock.

The procession of Court officials was again formed, to conduct her Majesty and their Royal Highnesses down the nave to the door by which they had entered. Having rested a few minutes in the

retiring-rooms of the pavilion, they returned to their carriages, the street procession of which was similar to that for the journey to the cathedral. Here was a guard of honour of the Scots Fusilier Guards. The guns of the Tower fired a salute, answered by those in St. James's Park. The homeward route from St. Paul's to Buckingham Palace was by the Old Bailey, over the Holborn Viaduct, along Holborn and Oxford-street, to the Marble Arch, by the east side of Hyde Park to Piccadilly, thence down Constitution-hill. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen went with the procession to the boundary of the City. The streets and house-fronts were as much crowded along this route as those in the Strand, Fleet-street, and Ludgate-hill; the decorations were as numerous, as tasteful and elaborate, in Holborn and Oxford-street, more especially near the Circus at the upper end of Regent-street, where a light and graceful triumphal arch was erected. The stands or galleries for spectators in the Old Bailey, on the Holborn Viaduct, and in Holborn-circus, accommodated their thousands; but a greater thing of this kind was the stand put up by the Metropolitan Board of Works in Hyde Park. The Queen and the Prince and Princess were heartily cheered, and did not seem too much fatigued. They arrived at twenty-five minutes to four o'clock. After entering Buckingham Palace, in front of which there was a great crowd, her Majesty, with the Prince and Princess of Wales, kindly showed herself a moment on the balcony, where they graciously bowed to the people in acknowledgment of the enthusiastic greeting they had received from the Londoners that day.

The illuminations at night were the object of admiration which kept hundreds of thousands of quiet folk out in the street to a very late hour. The centres of attraction were the dome and west front of St. Paul's, the Mansion House, the triumphal arch at the crossing of Farringdon-street, between Ludgate-hill and Fleet-street, and the triumphal arch at Regent-circus, Oxford-street. The dome of St. Paul's was shown by three rings of coloured lamps, at different elevations. The shops of many of the West-end tradesmen and others were decorated with a profusion of ingenious devices. The triumphal arch at the end of Farringdon-street, above mentioned, was illuminated with gas jets, displaying the mottoes, "God Bless the Prince of Wales," "Thanks be to God," and "God save the Queen and the Prince."

An absurd outrage on the Queen's person which was perpetrated on the day after the great festival by a half-witted Irish lad, and which till its real proportions became known caused great and general excitement, served to confirm and as it were complete the national exhibition of loyalty to the reigning house; and the following letter from the Queen, published in the *London Gazette*, formed the closing event in an interesting and exciting chapter of her history.

"Buckingham Palace, February 29, 1872.

"The Queen is anxious, as on a previous occasion, to express publicly her *own* personal *very deep* sense of the reception she and her

dear children met with on Tuesday, February 27, from millions of her subjects, on her way to and from St. Paul's.

"Words are too weak for the Queen to say how very deeply touched and gratified she has been by the immense enthusiasm and affection exhibited towards her dear son and herself, from the highest down to the lowest, on the long progress through the capital, and she would earnestly wish to convey her warmest and most heartfelt thanks to the whole nation for this great demonstration of loyalty.

"The Queen, as well as her son and her dear daughter-in-law, felt that the whole nation joined with them in thanking God for sparing the beloved Prince of Wales' life.

"The remembrance of this day, and of the remarkable order maintained throughout, will for ever be affectionately remembered by the Queen and her family."

The business prospects of the year seemed favourable enough. A contemporary report says,—

"The 'pocket' barometer at the beginning of 1872 stands at 'set fair' with a rising tendency; the monetary prospect seldom more satisfactory, according to the reading of all the sensitive City indicators. Everything is upward, and honestly, not fictitiously, upward. Of course we do not know what sudden storm may come and depress everything, but there are no signs anywhere just at present of any such storm. The average rise, at least 30 per cent. in railway stocks during the past year, owing, not to the speculation of the railway king, but to a genuine increase of railway traffic, tells in itself an astonishing tale of commercial activity. Money is easy, with the bank rate at 3 per cent.; business active, and new speculations not of any magnitude to create misgiving in any quarter. In fact, what people say of the year 1872 in this respect is very similar to what they said of 1871 at its opening. The prospect is most promising."

Great promise in the stock-markets, a general advance in prices, foreign stocks rising considerably, and a large amount of business done in all classes of securities—such were the announcements of the opening year, indicative of that national prosperity which often falls so hardly upon individuals, and which as the year advanced was to be shown more and more in the increased difficulty of living, the alarming rise of prices in the most common commodities of life, and the unequal struggles of the salaried middle-classes to keep abreast of the wave of wealth which threatened to sink them while the battle raged between capital and labour: the claims of the latter being emphasized by the rapid and dangerous growth of strikes, which was to attain before the close of the year the most threatening proportions, though far indeed from what we can venture to hope will prove to be their climax. But these and other troubles showed little on the surface when the year began. Except in the elements, there was a remarkable absence of animation—political, social, or religious. Whatever signs there

might be of disturbance of the present order of things, they denoted no immediate agitation. Changes and movements were talked of but prospectively. Indifference seemed to be more and more the leading characteristic of the bulk of the people—of the great body of the middle classes at all events—and political and social agitators strove in vain to strike a spark out of them, with any real flame in it, upon any subject whatever. Only on the Prince's illness did the national pulse give evidence of active life in any direction save the making of money. And all this, strange to say, in the face of ample evidence of the truth of the allegation that every institution of the country is being in turn put upon its trial.

In this condition of public feeling, or the absence of it, quiet observers could not but attach but little importance, as far as Parliamentary prospects are concerned, to the increasing unpopularity which Mr. Gladstone and his Government had undoubtedly incurred, and were aggravating every day. On the eve of the meeting of Parliament a general feeling of irritation had been widely spread. An active section of the Dissenting body, having engaged in a violent agitation against some of the provisions of the Education Bill, threatened, unless its demands were conceded, to withdraw its allegiance from the Ministers. A larger portion of the community resented the evasion of a recent Act of Parliament which regulated appointments to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and the Prime Minister had, unwisely, confirmed the unfavourable impression by his perverse disposal, in violation of the spirit of another statute, of an ecclesiastical benefice. The recent loss of the "*Megara*" had thrown a slur on the administration of the Navy; and, above all, the apparently imminent miscarriage of the Washington Treaty tended to discredit the Government by which it had been negotiated. Its best friends were of opinion that perhaps no administration of our time had ever yet got into so many political scrapes as the present Government was in now. "It has made," said a leading Liberal journal, in summing up its history, "some very bad blunders. It has had some fearfully bad luck. Its best actions have not yet reaped their reward, and the delay is making weak people doubt whether they were good actions; and its worst actions have reaped a good deal more than their natural penalty. The anarchy at the Admiralty is shocking every body; the Collier scandal has seldom been equalled for superfluousness as well as bad judgment; the Ewelme Rectory scandal seems likely to reinforce the Collier scandal; the American claims are raising a great prejudice against what was, not without reason, thought one of the shrewdest departments of the Government, for not expressly excluding from the scope of the Treaty arbitration on those enormous 'indirect' claims which in spirit had certainly been waived by the American Government; the Education policy of the Government—its greatest claim to public gratitude in England at least—has brought about something very like a secession of the Nonconformist party; Mr. Bruce's weakness—his moral prostration



before the victuallers—chafes the country; and even Mr. Lowe's good luck in getting so large a revenue is turned into a reproach on the financial pessimism which made him lay on the additional 2*d.* of income-tax. Altogether there is hardly a department without a Parliamentary sorrow and fear of its own, and the Prime Minister is personally involved in at least two of the most serious discredits. Yet, in spite of all, though it is hard to find one thoroughly loyal section of the Liberal party—the Moderates being alienated by the Army reform, the Collier scandal, and the fear of Mr. Goschen's Local Rating Bill, and the left wing by the Education policy and the expenditure on the Army—and though the Conservatives are 'exceedingly mad' against the whole Administration and its leader, there is a very curious concurrence of hopes rather than expectations that the Government may yet be saved. The Tories are declaring everywhere that the time is not come for them to appeal to the country—one reason being that they are nervous as to the licensing question, and do not want to face the clergy if they give in to the licensed victuallers, or to face the licensed victuallers if they give in to the clergy—while the Nonconformists at Manchester are exhorting each other most eagerly, though not very successfully, to be temperate, and to give even Mr. Forster a second chance if he will take it. Thus it happens that while very few love the Government and very many hate it, no one is anxious to overthrow it; and every member is asking how far he can go in embarrassing and harassing the Government without overthrowing it. Many would like to knock over Lord Hatherley, many to expel Mr. Forster, many to rid the Government of Mr. Bruce, many to hurt Mr. Lowe, most of all, perhaps, to humiliate Mr. Gladstone. But they all want to know how this can be done without causing a dissolution or change of Government. It is a spiteful problem in *maxima* and *minima*—how to inflict on the Government the *maximum* of discredit with the *minimum* of immediate result. The censors of the Government are like a dueller who declares he does not want to kill his antagonist, but only to 'give him a lesson that he will remember to the day of his death.' That, however, is a very delicate feat to achieve when you are playing with deadly weapons. You may wish to 'wing' your adversary, and send a ball just through the heart. And the great question now is—Can the Government, even with the cordial help of its many open enemies and insincere friends, manage to receive the tokens of the accumulated dislikes of so many different sections and yet survive the Session?"

The conclusion was that it was next to impossible. But the greatest proof of the indifferentism of which we have spoken is that, though the Government only added fuel to the fire throughout the ensuing session; though, in the general opinion, they redeemed no blunders and made more; though the results of the Geneva Arbitration on the Alabama claims (with which we shall deal exclusively in a separate chapter) caused something more nearly approaching a popular outcry than anything else, being, as it was,

brought home to our pockets through the forfeiture of three millions of good money to no apparent purpose and with no apparent justification—though the session was to be signalized by a Bill more directly affecting the “liberty of the subject” than perhaps any measure which has been passed in constitutional days—that though all this and yet more happened, the end of the session found the Government where it was at the beginning, just as well abused, and just as little shaken.

As in England, so in Ireland, the signs of great and increasing material prosperity were to be set for what they were worth, at the beginning of this year, against evidences of political discontent. At the annual meeting of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, the president, Mr. Spotten, made a statement which is worthy of attention, and supplies some additional proofs of the progress of that thriving portion of the empire. He remarked with satisfaction that there are few towns in the kingdom which exhibit more hopeful signs of commercial prosperity or enjoy a larger share of public confidence. There had been of late years some disasters consequent upon the reaction which followed the abrupt termination of the American war, but they were few and unimportant, and at present there is not a loom or spindle in the North of Ireland which cannot be employed to advantage. The linen trade has seldom been in a more healthy state. “Spinners, manufacturers, and merchants are foresold for a considerable time; stocks of yarns and linens there are none of any importance, unless those held in the bleached and finished state,” and “the staple trade is likely to enjoy for some years a fair share of uninterrupted progress and profit.” He stated that wages never were so high, and the people never had greater cause to be contented and happy. The exports of goods from Belfast during the past year were 2,300,000*l.* in excess of 1870, and 3,400,000*l.* in excess of 1869, while the amount of capital now employed considerably exceeds 5,000,000*l.* sterling. Although the progress in manufactures is considerable, that in population outruns it. Belfast in 1861 numbered 121,000, in 1871 175,000. Buildings still grow up with marvellous rapidity, and houses are inhabited as quickly as they are built. He expressed regret that the short acreage and diminished yield of the flax crop in 1871 had seriously curtailed the supply of flax. The diminution last year, as compared with 1870, amounted to about 62 per cent. in production and 19½ per cent. in area of cultivation. As to the future, the report of the Flax Supply Association was encouraging. He referred to the provision trade as another important element of prosperity, and stated that it is in a sound and healthy state. Another branch of local industry was shipbuilding, which was carried on most successfully by Messrs. Harland and Wolff. They had just launched three new ships for the White Star line of American packets, and finished two which they had launched last year. The average tonnage of the five was 10,000 gross register. They had also in hand two steamers of 3000 tons each for a Liverpool house, making

eighteen steamers which they had turned out, besides sailing-vessels. The tonnage of vessels entering the port last year was 1,350,810, being an increase of 10 per cent. over the previous year, and these ships were so increasing that the extended dock accommodation was quite inadequate, and they would have to build new graving and floating docks. He noticed with satisfaction that the cotton trade is reviving in Belfast. Referring to the general prosperity of the country, he pointed out the remarkable increase of the note circulation of the Irish banks within the past year. The circulation of all the Irish banks on the 28th of January, 1872, was 7,810,636*l.*, and at the corresponding period of 1871, 7,392,625*l.*, showing an increase of 418,011*l.* The circulation of the three Belfast joint-stock banks on the 28th of January, 1872, was 1,868,319*l.*, and at the same time, in 1871, 1,784,780*l.*, showing an increase of 83,539*l.* The return recently made by Dr. Hancock with respect to Irish savings' and other banks was another noticeable fact. "From this it appears that the aggregate investments of the Irish people in Government joint-stock banks and savings' banks on the 31st of December, 1870, were 63,553,251*l.*, and on the 31st of December, 1871, 67,331,778*l.*, showing an increase of 3,778,527*l.*, or 6 per cent.—a very striking fact. This does not include investments in foreign securities or in railways; and if these could be traced, Dr. Hancock is of opinion it would present a still more favourable result."

Such facts as these certainly tend to show that all the country must want is to be allowed to pursue this career of prosperity without the distraction and disturbance of political chimeras. But these chimeras had certainly not been dispelled by recent legislation. The "Home-Rule" agitation was extending more and more, and two parliamentary vacancies in Galway and Kerry gave the agitators chances not to be neglected; the Home-Rule candidates, Captain Nolan and Mr. Blennerhassett, standing high in the popular favour. Captain Trench and Mr. Dease stood forward as their opponents. Into the advocacy of the popular cause in Galway other motives entered besides Home Rule. There it was in great measure a struggle between the power of the landed gentry and the Roman Catholic clergy. The attitude of the prelates and the priesthood in the West was widely different from that which they had assumed in the South. In Galway all were arrayed, from the Archbishop of Tuam down to the youngest curate, on the side of Captain Nolan, the favourite of the populace and out-and-out Home-Ruler, while the principal landed proprietors, Conservative and Whig, united in support of Captain Trench. In Kerry the Bishop and some of the most influential parish priests were enlisted on the side of Mr. Dease, along with many of the owners of property. The majority of the younger clergy were heart and soul with his antagonist, the champion of Home Rule, while some of the landed gentry kept aloof from the contest, and refrained from using, or attempting to use, any influence with their tenantry to induce them to support

the Anti-Repeal candidate. The greater number, however, were in his favour. Dr. Moriarty, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry, addressed a solemn warning to the people on the subject of the election and "Home Rule." While allowing to the priests their liberty of judging for themselves, he feared that his silence might be interpreted as concurrence in their opinions, and he therefore stated his deliberate conviction that the agitation for "Home Rule" is, in the present circumstances of the country, most mischievous. He believed that they have been deluded by a section of the so-called National Press, which, in exchange for their patronage, gives them evil counsel and endeavours to sap the foundations of their faith and social order. They are deluded by men whom they should not trust. Among both leaders and followers of the policy there are many of the purest public and private virtue, but those who form the motive-power of this agitation, those who are at the bottom of it, are their enemies. He concluded his address with the following observations:—

"You do not always know your friends. Stand by a Legislature which has given to your property a security and prosperity which your fathers never hoped for, and which, in the disturbed districts of Ireland, has given effectual protection to the farmer's life by depriving assassins of their liberty. Again, we say, farmers of Kerry, beware! It is not the place of Parliament which these agitators so much desire to change. It is the representation of the country that does not please them. If you give them their way, you will have household suffrage, and then manhood suffrage; and then your labourers and servant boys, and the journeymen of your towns, will choose your representatives and become your masters, and then—. We see it stated by the ablest and honestest advocate of the measure, that the Irish House of Lords is to be restored. Do you complain that the votes of the Irish Representative Peers have been outnumbered by the votes of the Liberal Peers of England? The time may come when the old feud between Catholic and Protestant shall have been forgotten in religious equality; when a common interest, well understood, shall have obliterated the antagonism between landlord and tenant; when Ireland shall have a united people, north and south; but in her present state of disunion self-government could only be a war of faction and of class."

Another recruit on the side of order in Kerry was found in the once popular champion, the O'Donoghue, who ranged himself openly and strongly against the friends of Home Rule, and quoted in his support the following letter from a greater tribune of the people, Mr. Bright:—

"My dear O'Donoghue,—It is said, some persons engaged in the canvass of the county of Kerry have spoken of me as an advocate of what is termed Home Rule in Ireland. I hope no one will venture to say anything so absurd and untrue. If it has been said by any one of any authority in the county, I will feel obliged if you contradict it. To have two representative Legislative Assemblies or Parliaments

in the United Kingdom would, in my opinion, be an intolerable mischief, and I think no sensible man can wish for two within the limits of the present United Kingdom who does not wish the United Kingdom to become two or more nations entirely separate from each other.

"Excuse my troubling you with this. It is no duty of mine to interfere with your contest, but I do not wish to be misrepresented.

"I am very truly yours,

"JOHN BRIGHT."

Small effect did such words of wisdom and moderation create in the localities to which they were addressed—whatever the unguided instincts of the people might have directed them to do, priestly intimidation left them no chance of taking any course but one. The popular pen took the same tone with the greatest vehemence. The *Irishman* ridiculed Mr. Bright as "our fat friend," denouncing him as "politically narrow and politically selfish—a social revolutionist, and not a statesman," and the most violent threats were held out towards such as might adopt the cause of order. Under such circumstances the elections were practically a foregone conclusion. The first to be decided was that in Galway, where Captain Nolan was returned by an overwhelming majority. The polling was carried on amid great excitement. A large force of police and military was drawn up in front of the booths, and Captain Trench's voters were brought to the poll under a strong escort. The protection was not unnecessary, as the mob showed a determination to prevent their voting or punish them with violence, which was with difficulty repressed. In some instances personal injuries were inflicted in spite of the most vigilant and active exertions of the authorities. Mr. Sloper, a gentleman who had taken a prominent part in support of Captain Trench, was savagely attacked while proceeding to his own residence under an escort of mounted constabulary. With the exception of the tenantry of the Headford, St. George, and Clanmorris estates, the electors who came to the poll voted for Captain Nolan. Many of them did so in presence of their landlords, and observers state that it was painful to witness the reluctance which they manifested. The priests came from the country districts at the head of their parishioners, and led them with a triumphant air to the polling booths, where the rev. gentlemen remained until the last vote was recorded. In the Clare booth the Rev. P. Conway, of Headford, excited the mob by denouncing one of the landlords. Captain Trench's agent remonstrated, and the Sheriff's deputy requested the priest to withdraw. At Tuam, Loughrea, and other places the mob were more disorderly and violent than in Galway, and many of Captain Trench's voters who attempted to reach the booths were obliged to return without polling. The Archbishop of Tuam recorded his vote at an early hour for Captain Nolan, and was loudly cheered by the populace. He afterwards inspected the booths. The voters for Captain Trench

were hissed and hooted wherever they presented themselves. Captain Nolan had a majority of 2165, but of a constituency of 5267 only 3480 recorded their votes.

Exaggerated reports reached the metropolis of some rioting in Tuam and other places, but the mob appears to have been kept in effectual check, though there were isolated cases of violence. Some of the military were hurt severely by stones, and the houses of obnoxious voters had their windows smashed.

The example of Galway was immediately followed by Kerry, where, though the issue was considered doubtful till the last, Mr. Blennerhassett, the Home-Rule candidate, was returned by a large majority. At the last moment great pressure was put on, and the popular excitement increased as the non-electors saw the preparations which were made for bringing Mr. Dease's friends to the poll under military escort. It is probable that the success in Galway had some effect upon the wavering and timid voters. Some were emboldened to oppose the wishes of their landlords, and others feared to encounter the resentment of the people, who were lashed into a state of frenzy by the incessant appeals of the Home-Rule orators. The polling, however, was carried on without any of the rioting which brought disgrace upon many former elections in the South. The presence of a numerous military and police force restrained the violent disposition of the mob, but it was evident from the indignant expressions with which some of Mr. Dease's voters were received, and the stone-throwing, in some instances, that they incurred a certain risk in coming to record their votes in the face of an excited populace. The following returns will show how the electoral battle proceeded. After the opening of the booths at eight o'clock a rush was made at Tralee and Killarney, the strongholds of the Kenmare interest, to place Mr. Dease ahead, and his friends, who came in by special train, were brought up in such strength that a large majority was recorded for him in the first returns. The counterpart of this policy was adopted by Mr. Blennerhassett's agents in Listowel, Kenmare, and Cahirciveen, where his friends were most numerous, and the advantage gained by his opponent in other places was more than counterbalanced. Before the close of the poll it became evident that Mr. Dease was beaten along the whole line except in Killarney.

Banners with "Home Rule" inscribed upon them were borne by Mr. Blennerhassett's supporters. They also displayed green ribands with the same inscription. Mr. Dease's voters came up under very discouraging circumstances to encounter the taunts and menaces and execrations of "the people;" and it is not to be wondered at if many of them shrank from the ordeal. The example of the Rev. Mr. O'Donoghue, J. P. of Ardfert, in disregarding the prohibition of Bishop Moriarty, appears to have stimulated other priests to take an active part in the election. Two or three of them, at least, came in at the head of their parishioners to vote for Mr. Blennerhassett. Some of the votes tendered for that gentleman were

refused because the name was given "Hassett," so little were his superior claims really known to the patriotic electors who were ready to vote for him because they were exhorted to do so. At Kenmare, Mr. Starkie, resident magistrate, was struck by a stone which was aimed at one of Mr. Dease's voters. Very few instances of assault, however, seem to have occurred, and the election, on the whole, appears to have been as orderly and quiet as could be expected upon an occasion when popular enthusiasm is aroused. It is difficult to reconcile the fact of so large a majority with the statements made by Mr. Dease's friends before the polling as to the number of pledged supporters of his cause, unless upon the supposition that at the last many of his friends were induced to remain away, if not to break their promises, rather than face the indignation of the multitude. Some of Mr. Dease's influential friends worked with great ardour and courage on his behalf, and the mob showed their resentment when the day was over. The influence of the landlords was not all thrown into the scale, for several owners of property, including some Conservatives, were favourable to Mr. Blennerhassett, or remained neutral, a position which in a contest of this kind is favourable to the popular candidate.

Mr. Dease's friends spared no personal efforts to carry the election; but the popular influences were too strong for them. Some instances which are related will show how they were disappointed and deceived. Mr. Denny had appointed seven o'clock in the morning to meet eighty tenants at a certain cross-road and come into Tralee with them to vote for Mr. Dease. He was there at the time named with a strong escort, but there were no tenants, and he had to return alone; for the Rev. Eugene O'Sullivan, P.P. of Spa, had made an appointment with them for the same hour to meet him at another place and vote for Mr. Blennerhassett. A contingent, numbering 200 electors from Castleisland, Brosna, and other adjoining parishes, came in about twelve o'clock, accompanied by a band, and voted in a body for Mr. Blennerhassett. They had been canvassed by their landlord, the Hon. Mr. Wynne, for Mr. Dease, and dinner had been provided for them; but at a signal they rose almost to a man and left him, after handing a written refusal to vote as he desired. Only eighteen of the party voted for Mr. Dease. It is reported that the mob wrecked his house at night, and that he was obliged to secrete himself to escape personal violence. The women were very active and troublesome allies of the popular candidate. It is stated that they were everywhere converting the unfaithful and encouraging the waverers. They did not let the refractory supporters of Mr. Dease escape without some marks of their displeasure. The mildest form which it assumed was the sprinkling of their clothes with flour, which made them objects of attraction for others. Mr. Hussey was more roughly treated. At Killarney the O'Donoghue and other friends of Mr. Dease were very zealous in his cause, and it was the only place where he had a

majority. Here too, however, there were some remarkable demonstrations. The tenantry from Rathmore and Glenflesk were led in by the Rev. Mr. Shanahan, P.P., and the Rev. Mr. Walsh, and, filling fifteen cars, formed an imposing cavalcade. Sir James O'Connell, notwithstanding his advanced years, entered personally into the struggle with great ardour, and incurred some risk of violence from the populace. When he came in at the head of some of his tenants he was pressed into the butter-market by the crowd and separated from the voters, who with great difficulty were got together again by the aid of the police. Bishop Moriarty and the local clergy refrained from voting. At Listowel a scene was produced by the carrying in of a patriarchal voter named Kissane, whose age is set down at the fabulous figure 114. He came in from a distance of ten miles to vote for the Home-Rule candidate, and was borne in triumph through the town on the shoulders of the people. At the close of the poll Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Blennerhassett addressed the people in Killarney and Tralee, the new member telling them they had struck a blow for Ireland which would cheer many an Irish heart in every part of the world where their brethren were scattered. Petitions were immediately lodged against the new members, in Galway with some marked results to be presently described.

Meanwhile, in England nothing more exciting was in progress than the usual addresses of politicians preparatory to the meeting of Parliament. The dissatisfaction expressed with the Government by members on both sides of the House was general and marked. Mr. Roebuck, speaking at Sheffield, explained how "for years it had been plain to him that there were two parties in the State, headed by two leaders, whose only object was power. One, for the purpose of gaining power, made a bid for the public appreciation and approbation, and that was overbid by his competitor. Thus they went on bidding one against the other, until at last Mr. Disraeli, one of those leaders, bid what was really household suffrage. That was so large a power, one so difficult to over-trump, that it required some ingenuity to know how to meet it; but it was met, and admirably met; considering it was a game of party politics. Down came the thundering card of Irish Disestablishment, that over-trumped the card of household suffrage. The man who played it was now in power. The first thing was to obtain, as far as possible, the support of the Radical members of the country; and not only the Radical members, but the Dissenting interest, and for this purpose the measure of the disestablishment of the Irish Church was launched in order to bind the Dissenters and the Radicals to the chariot wheels of Mr. Gladstone. He would appeal to their own knowledge whether from that time to this there had been anything like religious concord in Ireland. He would ask them if it had satisfied the Catholic party. Were not the whole body of the Catholics, headed by Cardinal Cullen, still determined upon obtaining their old end, which was supremacy of the Catholic Church



in Ireland? This was one great stone in the way of the man who was seeking dominion for himself. But this was not all. He sought to bind to himself the tenant-farmers of Ireland, a step in which the speaker argued he had signally failed. This was the second great consequence in this game of political intrigue."

Professor Fawcett held similar language at Brighton. Speaking of the appointment of Sir Robert Collier to the Judicial Committee, which was the principal count at this time in the indictment against the Gladstone Administration, he said it would be far better that a dozen Administrations should fall than that Parliament should sanction the act of lawlessness involved in the colourable evasion of a positive legal enactment. He would no doubt be told that he was always opposing the Government. "Well," the speaker said, "if it can be shown that in opposing the Government I have ever knowingly acted in antagonism to any principle of true Liberalism, then I shall justly deserve your censure, and it will be your duty to tell me that I no longer possess your confidence. Oppose the Government! I have done so in the past, and I will do so again when I observe that their economy is one-sided and their retrenchments are partial—when I find that they retain sinecures for the rich; when they waste public money by mismanagement and mal-administration; when I know that their financial proposals, by levying a tax from one class, disastrously relax the checks upon extravagance, and are thus fraught with the gravest peril to the country."

The appointment of Sir Robert Collier had called out further protests from the dignitaries of the law. Chief Justice Bovill declared himself bound, as head of the Court of Common Pleas, which was made use of in this affair, to state that he entirely concurred with the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. "I must also add," he wrote, "that when the appointment of Sir R. Collier as a judge of the Common Pleas was made, if, as now appears to have been the case, it was intended that such appointment should not be a real, permanent appointment, but merely as a qualification for another office, I think some communication to that effect might and should have been made to me as the head of that Court. I can only express my great regret that a little more confidence does not exist between the Lord Chancellor and the chiefs of the Common Law Courts with respect to appointments in those Courts, more especially when I remember that on the first day of last term I alluded to the filling up of the vacancy in the Common Pleas, and it now appears that at that very time Sir R. Collier had gone down to Balmoral with a view to his appointment."

He added that his letter had no reference to Sir R. Collier personally, for his merits and his claims to high judicial office had never been questioned. This letter, said Lord Hatherley, pained him, because he did not think that Sir W. Bovill would have followed the course of Sir A. Cockburn. He disclaimed any wilful discourtesy or want of confidence towards all or any of the judges.

Another long letter from Lord Chief Justice Bovill followed, in which he expressed an opinion that—

“The manifest and expressed intention of the Legislature was, that the new judges of the Privy Council should be men of tried judicial experience, and that this had been clearly indicated not only by the language of the statute itself, but by debates in Parliament. It appeared to me, therefore, as it did to the Lord Chief Justice, and to almost every one in and out of the profession to whom I have spoken upon the subject, that the appointment of Sir R. Collier, though it might be strictly within the words of the Act, was contrary to its spirit and to the intention of the Legislature, and that it was in that sense, and in that sense only, an evasion of the statute.”

Mr. Justice Willes, on the other hand, a judge whose position and attainments entitled his views to the highest respect, and who before the close of the year was to deprive the country and the profession of his services by a melancholy act of madness,<sup>2</sup> recorded his opinion that the appointment was justifiable and within the terms of the statute. “My dear Lord Chancellor,” he wrote, “I have no objection to your stating or reading anywhere my views of the appointment of Sir Robert Collier.

“1. The appointment was legal, and within the terms of the statute.

“2. ‘Evasion’ of the law, by appointing a fit man according to the law, is a ‘sensational’ expression. The appointment may have surprised those who had not sufficiently considered the terms of the Act, but it was no evasion of the Act.

“3. Whether Parliament was surprised into passing the Act by any suppression, for which its framers are answerable, is a political question with which I decline to meddle. Parliament must decide that for itself.

“4. I had nothing to do with the Lord Chief Justice’s letter to the newspapers, or the correspondence then published. I do not agree to the legal objections there suggested. I much regret that the Judge’s opinions should be so advertised.

“5. The practical objection is to the statute itself, for not providing a sufficient inducement to the Judges to accept the office, because of making no provision or compensation for their existing staff. Upon this ground I thought from the beginning that the framers of the Act must have contemplated the appointment of Sir Robert Collier or some other newly-appointed Judge, in the event of Judges of older standing declining the office. It is now, however, clear that this was not the general impression, though I believe that no lawyer upon an impartial construction of the Act could pronounce the appointment to be other than lawful.

“Probably you will prefer reading this letter directed to yourself instead of that written to Sir Robert Collier, which, though in

<sup>2</sup> See Chronicle for October.

effect and substance the same, may contain expressions too lively for public reading, an end not thought of at its writing.

"Yours faithfully, "J. S. WILLES."

The meeting of Parliament derived a pleasant interest from the appointment of a new Speaker in the place of John Evelyn Denison, who, after filling the chair with dignity for fifteen years, retired to the House of Lords as Viscount Ossington. He first entered Parliament for Newcastle-under-Lyne, in July, 1823, and would by this time have been nearly, if not quite, the senior member of the House in Parliamentary standing if he had held his seat without intermission. He had gleaned some experience of official duties by holding a senior Lordship of the Admiralty under the administration of Canning, of whose politics he was in early life a consistent supporter. He was never an active partisan in politics, but his name is well known to, and will long be remembered by, social reformers as having been mainly instrumental in the passing of what is known as Evelyn Denison's Act. It may be worth noting here that every Speaker during the present century has been raised to the Peerage—Mr. Addington, as Viscount Sidmouth; Sir John Mitford, as Lord Redesdale; Mr. Abbot, as Lord Colchester; Sir Charles Manners-Sutton, as Viscount Canterbury; Mr. James Abercromby, as Lord Dunfermline; Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, as Viscount Eversley; and now Mr. Evelyn Denison, under the title of Viscount Ossington.

The new Speaker, Henry William Bouverie Brand, entered Parliament, in 1852, as member for Lewes, and, though he never courted distinction as a speaker, had shown himself most intimately acquainted, as well with the rules and usages of the House, as personally with its older members, having long served as "Whip" to the Liberal party. Indeed the fact that he had held this position was in itself a fair objection to the appointment, as creating a dangerous precedent, and it speaks highly for Mr. Brand's personal qualifications, and popularity with both sides of the House, that he was returned nevertheless to his new honours with very general satisfaction.

Parliament was opened by Royal Commission on the 6th of February, and the Queen's Speech, read by the Lord Chancellor, was to the following effect:—

*"My Lords and Gentlemen,—*

"I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by your re-assembling for the discharge of your momentous duties to renew the expression of my thankfulness to the Almighty for the deliverance of my dear son, the Prince of Wales, from the most imminent danger, and of my lively recollection of the profound and universal sympathy shown by my loyal people during the period of anxiety and trial.

"I purpose that on Tuesday, the 27th inst., conformably to the good and becoming usage of former days, the blessing thus received shall be acknowledged on behalf of the nation by a thanksgiving

in the Metropolitan Cathedral. At this celebration it is my desire and hope to be present.

"Directions have been given to provide the necessary accommodation for the members of the two Houses of Parliament.

"The assurances of friendship which I receive from foreign Powers continue to be in all respects satisfactory. I need hardly assure you that my endeavour will at all times be steadily directed to the maintenance of these friendly relations.

"The Slave Trade, and practices scarcely to be distinguished from slave trading, still pursued in more than one quarter of the world, continue to attract the attention of my Government. In the South Sea Islands the name of the British Empire is even now dishonoured by the connexion of some of my subjects with these nefarious practices; and in one of them the murder of an exemplary prelate has cast fresh light upon some of their baleful consequences. A Bill will be presented to you for the purpose of facilitating the trial of offences of this class in Australasia, and endeavours will be made to increase, in other forms, the means of counteraction.

"Various communications have passed between my Government and the Government of France on the subject of the Commercial Treaty concluded in 1860. From a divergence in the views respectively entertained in relation to the value of protective laws, this correspondence has not brought about any agreement to modify that important convention. On both sides, however, there has been uniformly declared an earnest desire that nothing shall occur to impair the cordiality which has long prevailed between the two nations. Papers relating to these subjects will be laid before you.

"The arbitrators appointed pursuant to the Treaty of Washington for the purpose of amicably settling certain claims known as the 'Alabama' claims have held their first meeting at Geneva.

"Cases have been laid before the arbitrators on behalf of each party to the Treaty. In the case so submitted on behalf of the United States large claims have been included, which are understood on my part not to be within the province of the arbitrators. On this subject I have caused a friendly communication to be made to the Government of the United States.

"The Emperor of Germany has undertaken to arbitrate on the San Juan Water Boundary, and the cases of the two Governments have been presented to his Imperial Majesty.

"The Commission at Washington has been appointed, and is in session. The provisions of the Treaty which require the consent of the Parliament of Canada await its assembling.

"Turning to domestic affairs, I have to apprise you that with very few exceptions Ireland has been free from serious crime. Trade in that part of the United Kingdom is active, and the advance of agricultural industry is remarkable.

"I am able also to congratulate you, so far as present experience allows a judgment to be passed, upon the perceptible diminution of

the number both of the graver crimes and of habitual criminals in Great Britain.

*"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—*

"The principal Estimates for the coming year have been prepared. They will at once be laid before you, and I trust that you will find them suitable to the circumstances of the country.

"The state of the Revenue affords favourable indications of the demand for employment and the general condition of the people—indications which are corroborated by a decline of pauperism not inconsiderable.

*"My Lords and Gentlemen,—*

"Your attention will be invited to several measures of acknowledged national interest. Among these there will be Bills for the improvement of Public Education in Scotland, for the Regulation of Mines, for the amendment of what is known as the Licensing System, and in relation to the Superior Courts of Justice and Appeal.

"In particular, a Bill, having for its main object the establishment of secret voting, together with a measure relating to corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections, will be immediately presented to you.

"Several measures of administrative improvement for Ireland will also be laid before you.

"There will likewise be laid before you legislative provisions founded on the Report of the Sanitary Commission.

"You, my Lords and Gentlemen, will, I am confident, again apply your well-known assiduity to that work of legislation which, from the increasing exigencies of modern society, still seems to grow upon your hands. And I shall continue to rely, under Divine Providence, alike on the loyalty of my people and on your energy and wisdom, to sustain the constant efforts of the Crown to discharge the duties, to uphold the rights, and to defend the honour of the Empire."

The Address to the Crown, in answer to the Royal Speech, was moved in the Commons by—

Mr. Strutt, who touched *seriatim* on the various topics mentioned in it, congratulating the country warmly on the recovery of the Prince of Wales, and expressing his cordial agreement in the general legislation proposed by the Government. On the paragraph relating to the French Treaty, he remarked that recent discussions in the Chambers showed the doctrines of Free Trade to be making progress in France, and with regard to the Treaty of Washington he maintained that it was never understood by the English people to include the claims for indirect losses. He hoped, however, that the difficulty would only be temporary, and that a friendly settlement would not be impeded by what had occurred.

Mr. Colman seconded the Address in a brief and able speech, the greater part of which was devoted to proving the soundness of the prosperity of the country. He regretted the misconception in regard to the Geneva Arbitration, expressed a decided opinion that the licensing system must be dealt with, and, as a Nonconformist,

avowed his discontent with some parts of the recent legislation on the subject of Education.

Mr. Disraeli commenced by remarking that since the last Session time had passed more rapidly than usual, and without drawing the usual and convenient veil of oblivion over Parliamentary controversies. This he attributed to the new habit of the Ministry of vindicating its policy during the recess. They "lived in a perpetual blaze of apology," and left nobody time to forget anything. Judging, however, from the notices of motion just given, Mr. Disraeli anticipated that the Ministers would have ample and speedy opportunities of defending themselves, in the face of Parliament, on such matters as Admiralty management and the evasion of Acts of Parliament. Passing to the Speech, he commented in a sarcastic vein on the confused arrangement of its paragraphs, drawing the inference that the ballot was to be confined to Ireland, and that there had originally been a reference to the "third branch of the Upas tree," which had slipped out at the last moment. He regretted that such measures as the Mines Regulation Bill, Sanitary Legislation, &c., should be once more postponed to the ballot, and repeated his determination to offer to the principle of secret voting his unshrinking opposition, though he did not expect to convert a majority of the House to his opinion. Excusing himself from discussing the Speech at length on account of the engrossing nature of one paragraph in it—that relating to the Washington Treaty—he condemned this paragraph as frigid and jejune, utterly inadequate to the occasion. Claiming for himself and his political friends that they had always endeavoured to cultivate friendly relations with the United States, he reviewed minutely the history and provisions of the Stanley-Johnson Convention, pointing out, in reply to a taunt which had been uttered by Lord Granville, that it was rejected by the American Senate because it excluded indirect and constructive claims. Insisting that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville had full control and supervision of the negotiations at Washington, and were therefore solely responsible, he canvassed next the terms of the Treaty, pointing out various points to which he objected, particularly the retrospective portion. But he and his friends had not thought it wise to challenge it in Parliament, partly because it was held by high authority that it was legally complete when it was signed. Referring next to the debate in the House of Lords, he called on the Government to explain on what grounds they had stated so confidently that the Treaty excluded claims which he described as "preposterous and wild," and equalling a "tribute from a conquered people," and also whether the United States Government had protested against the ministerial interpretation of the Treaty. Next he asked when the American case was received by our Government and when they had made the "friendly communication" to the American Government. Finally, he urged the duty of speaking out calmly, frankly, and firmly, of avoiding "the Serbonian bog of diplomacy," and of telling the American Government

plainly that it was impossible for us to accept their interpretation. Any delay, which would lead either people to suspect the other of good faith and produce alienation, was strongly to be deprecated. Mr. Disraeli concluded by a graceful reference to the recovery of the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Gladstone, adverting first to the notices of motion which had been given with regard to the constitution of the Admiralty and Sir Robert Collier's appointment, proclaimed his readiness for the most searching inquiry into the first subject and his anxiety for the judgment of Parliament on the second. He protested that any other construction but that placed on the Treaty by the Government was not only not required, but would have been mischievous to the public service. Speaking in reference to the Prince of Wales' illness, he characterized it as an important public event which had removed all doubts as to the attachment of the people to the great institutions of the country, and expressed a belief that the universal sympathy which had been manifested for the Prince in his peril would leave an enduring mark on his heart. Admitting that Mr. Disraeli's criticism on the arrangement of the Speech was partly justified by the accidental transposition of two paragraphs, he demurred to his description of the paragraph relating to the Geneva Arbitration. It was quite adequate, he maintained, viewed with regard as well to the circumstances, the time, and the persons by whom it was uttered, as also to the duty of speaking in the very mildest terms, which would show that the Government did not under-estimate the importance of the matter, without making it more difficult for the United States Government to meet us. He admitted that Mr. Disraeli had always treated American affairs with the judgment and discretion of an enlightened patriot; and while not subscribing to the exact accuracy of his historical retrospect of the negotiations, he accepted it as proving that the British Government had at no time acceded, either in intention or otherwise, to an instrument admitting constructive claims. The description of these extraordinary claims was rather under the mark than an exaggeration. On the part of the Government he accepted fully whatever blame fell on those who concluded the Treaty—the Commissioners were entirely free from blame. But he denied that there was blame anywhere. The concessions we had made to the American Government, such as accepting retrospective action, abstaining from claiming compensation for the Fenian raids, &c., were large, and even extraordinary, and no doubt open to question; but he contended that they were justifiable, although there must be a limit to such a course. Answering Mr. Disraeli's questions, he said that no protest had been received from the American Government against the interpretation publicly put on the Treaty in the House of Lords in June last year, and explained that the American case had not been in possession of all the members of the Cabinet for more than a week or so; consequently it was only on Saturday last that a communication was addressed to the American Government. Her Ma-

Her Majesty's Government did not intend to rest on the supposed ambiguity of the instrument. They would not admit that it could be read in two contradictory senses. On the contrary, they would contend that, tried by grammar, logic, common sense, policy, or any other conceivable criterion, its only just and unequivocal meaning was that which they put on it. Adverting again to the magnitude of the claims, Mr. Gladstone was loudly cheered in declaring that we must be insane to accede to demands which no nation with a spark of honour or spirit left could submit to even at the point of death. But he looked forward with sanguine hope to the course which would be taken by the American Government, and he trusted in the goodwill and friendship which had been shown by the American people for this country, and which had been reciprocated by us.

In the House of Lords, the Address in answer to her Majesty's Speech was moved by Lord De-la-Warr, who re-echoed the foreign and domestic congratulations of the Speech. Briefly glancing at the promised measures of the Session, he pointed out the necessity of union and co-operation among the Liberal party, in order that the Session might be fruitful in useful legislation.

Lord Powerscourt, in seconding the Address, dwelt upon the signs of material prosperity now visible in Ireland, while expressing a doubt whether the full effect of recent Liberal measures could be reaped during the lifetime of the present generation.

The Duke of Richmond, after a graceful allusion to the illness and happy recovery of the Heir-apparent, criticized the tone and language of the Speech from the Throne, and complained of the absence of any allusion to the Army and Navy. He regretted that greater care had not been used to prevent the misunderstanding which had arisen in regard to the Alabama Claims, and trusted that the language used by her Majesty's Government to that of the United States would be characterized by great friendliness, but also by great decision. He contrasted the declaration made by Mr. Justice Fitzgerald last November in Dublin, that life and property were not secure, with the peace and prosperity which were now alleged to prevail in Ireland. Assuming that due regard would be paid to the religious education of the people of Scotland, and that the pecuniary interests affected by the Licensing Bill would be considered, he said that Lord Hartington had completely justified their lordships in rejecting the Ballot Bill by stating that a simpler and more effective measure would be brought forward this Session. He next passed some severe strictures upon the present Admiralty administration, as illustrated by the loss of the "Megara," and remarked upon the absence of the great scheme of Army Re-organization promised last Session. He trusted that the country would this year be spared legislation of a sensational character, and that the Government would frame their measures with a single eye to the welfare, safety, and comfort of the people.

Lord Granville, who had been long suffering under a severe attack of gout, but who pleasantly declined the Duke of Richmond's



suggestion that he should address their lordships from his seat, replied to some of the objections raised to the Speech. Her Majesty had stated to her Ministers that it was her wish to perform every duty incident to her high station, so far as her health and strength permitted, and it would be his duty to move for a Committee to make arrangements for their lordships' attendance at the National Thanksgiving service at St. Paul's. Passing to the French Commercial Treaty, he said that the Government, while anxious to meet every requirement of France, were not disposed to take any retrograde step with regard to Free Trade. The harmony of the political relations of the two countries, however, remained undisturbed. Upon the subject of the Alabama Claims, it was advisable for the Government to proceed calmly and deliberately, and he explained the reasons which had induced them to make a communication to the United States Government of the character indicated in her Majesty's Speech. Last Session he explained the interpretation put upon the Washington Treaty by her Majesty's Government, and Sir Stafford Northcote defended the Treaty upon the same ground, that the claims now set up were believed by the Commissioners to be shut out by the terms of the Treaty. When the proper time came for discussing the Alabama Claims he should show, not only the intentions of her Majesty's Government, but what they had reason to suppose were also the intentions of the United States Government. While the Government would not consent to sacrifice the rights of this country, nothing should be wanting on their part to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the matters in dispute.

Lord Derby approved measures of sanitary reform and the regulation of mines as a welcome substitute for constitutional changes, and recommended that, as they were non-political measures, one should be introduced in that House. Remarking on the state of Ireland and the omission of any allusion to Irish Education in the Speech, he said that all other questions sank into insignificance by the side of the great international complication arising out of the case of the "Alabama." The origin of the mischief was in sending out a special commission to Washington, for we were previously in an impregnable position, and our Government had only to ask the Government of the United States what they had to suggest. At the same time the Government knew what they believed their offer to be, and if the Americans meant one thing and we another there was no contract, and the whole negotiation fell to the ground. If our Government contended that these claims never were included in the Treaty, they would have what no Government in this country had possessed in American negotiations for the last eleven years—the undivided support of the whole people.

## CHAPTER II.

Debates on Sir R. Collier's Appointment—The Ewelme Rectory—Mr. Dixon's Vote of Censure on the Education Act—Abortive Bills—Regulation of the Parks—Contagious Diseases Acts—Regulation of Mines—Army Estimates and Army Reorganization—Scotch Education Bill—Women's Disabilities Bill—Sir C. Dilke and Mr. A. Herbert on the Civil List—Discreditable Scene in the House—Local Taxation—Defeat of the Government—The Budget.

THE question of Sir Robert Collier's appointment was dealt with very early in the Session, and public feeling was in the end satisfied by a formal Parliamentary condonation, which was equivalent to a moderate expression of disapproval. In the House of Lords a vote of censure, moved by Lord Stanhope, was lost on a narrow division by two votes, after a debate in which the Lord Chancellor satisfied the House, at all events, of the honesty of his intentions.

Lord Stanhope said that the Government by this act had unduly stretched the power of the Crown, and unduly set aside the intention of the Legislature. After recapitulating the circumstances under which the Bill was brought in, he read Lord Chief Justice Cockburn's condemnation of the transaction, and declared that the Government must be found guilty either of negligence or of presumption. If any defects existed in the Act the Government had only to wait three months, when they might have come to Parliament to amend it. Refusing to discuss the merits and qualifications of Sir R. Collier, as entirely apart from the question, he declared, on the authority of the Lord Chief Justice of England, confirmed by his own inquiries, that the English Bar had set the seal of its almost unanimous and unqualified condemnation upon the mode of appointing Sir R. Collier to a seat at the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Mr. Justice Willes had indeed expressed a contrary opinion, but his published letter was not likely to add to his reputation. He regretted the discourtesy with which the Lord Chancellor had treated the Lord Chief Justice of England, and entreated their lordships, as an hereditary Chamber, superior to hustings influences, to vindicate the dignity and independence which they had hitherto worthily maintained.

Lord Portman said that Lord Stanhope, like the Lord Chief Justice, had pronounced condemnation without waiting to hear the evidence. Arguing that the present was not a case for the grave censure of their lordships, he said that if this was to be a great party fight he was probably the leader of a forlorn hope, but, if otherwise, he appealed to the honour and judgment of their lordships. Was Lord Stanhope prepared to take a prominent part in the Government which must succeed the present if this party move were successful in both Houses? Arguing that Sir Robert Collier,

as Attorney-General, was undoubtedly qualified by his position and attainments to succeed to the "cushion" of either of the Common Law Courts, he contended that he could not be disqualified from sitting on the Judicial Committee. He cited the opinion of Mr. Justice Willes, and further, denied that the Bar were so unanimous as had been represented. Their lordships might think that an error in judgment had been committed, but that was not a sufficient ground for grave Parliamentary censure, and he moved an amendment accordingly.

Lord Salisbury utterly repudiated the charge that their lordships were condemning the Lord Chancellor without waiting to hear his defence. Two Lords Chief Justice had in vain tried to elicit this explanation, and now when Lord Stanhope made the same demand the Lord Chancellor, instead of rising, put up the Lord Warden of the Stannaries to repeat a speech that he had made to Lord Portman in his private room. Maintaining that the appointment of Sir Robert Collier was a colourable evasion of the law, he adverted to the course taken by the Government on the Ewelme Rectory as the effect of the same state of mind, and manifesting a similarity of idiosyncrasy in regard to the respect due to Acts of Parliament. It was necessary to put a stop at once to conduct which was calculated to destroy the confidence that had hitherto existed between the Legislature and the Executive. It was an advantage in one sense that votes of censure in their lordships' House were not followed by the resignation of a Ministry, because it enabled them to visit acts like the present with heavy censure without taking the machinery of Government to pieces at a moment when it was most undesirable to do so. It was especially necessary to guard the exercise of judicial patronage from abuse, and sharply criticizing the appointments of Mr. Beales and Mr. Homersham Cox, he said it became their lordships as the highest Court of Judicature to prevent these things from being done by branding them with their displeasure.

The Duke of Argyll, with great vehemence, vindicated the refusal of the Lord Chancellor to defend his conduct to Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, or to enter into the lists with him in the public press. Inquiring whether this was a letter from Sir Alexander Cockburn or from the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, he maintained, with great warmth and some asperity, that it was not written in his official capacity, and justified this opinion by the railing—the almost ribald—accusations contained in the letter. The Government had placed upon the Judicial Committee a lawyer who was eminently fit, and they did nothing but give a formal qualification to one who had already the substantial qualification which Sir R. Collier must be presumed as the Attorney-General to possess. The Government had not, therefore, violated the spirit, meaning, or intention of the statute. The present was a party motion and nothing else. It might be concurred in by some candid friends on the Ministerial side, but the Government, if censured by

their lordships, would appeal to the other House and to public opinion, which was never permanently unjust to public men.

Lord Westbury said it seemed by the speech they had just heard as if the weakness of the Lord Chancellor's case were to be covered by unjustifiable abuse of the Lord Chief Justice. Warmly defending the course taken by the latter, who had been for many years a personal friend and supporter of Mr. Gladstone, he asked the Duke of Argyll whether, upon any subject, he had ever known such unanimity of condemnation. He should regard this as a decree coming up from the Lord Chancellor, upon which it was his duty to sit on appeal, and in which it would be his duty to reverse the Lord Chancellor's judgment. It was an error in judgment, and nothing more; and he admitted that the Government had not been influenced by any unworthy motives. Twitting the Lord Chancellor, as Lord Salisbury had done, upon the silence he had hitherto preserved during the debate, he declared that, if this were a matter of private property the act might be impeached as a fraudulent exercise of a power, and the Lord Chancellor, if it came before him, would be compelled to set it aside as a fraudulent abuse of the power. Humorously describing the joint action of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, he said that the appointment of Sir R. Collier, if before a Court of Equity, must be revoked. If, unhappily, it should be irrevocable, their lordships must do what they could to prevent any gross abuses in future of powers given for one purpose and employed for another. After pleasantly criticizing the letter of Mr. Justice Willes as illustrating the two kinds of justice dealt out by the Courts of Law and Equity, he protested against the Head of the Law being driven to justify his conduct by the parsimony of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Time was when the Lord Chancellor of England would have told the Prime Minister and the Cabinet what was necessary for the due administration of the law.

Lord Romilly, on the other hand, declared that the appointment had been perfectly right and proper. The object of the Act was that fit persons should be appointed to the Judicial Committee, and if the Government had taken any other course they would have sacrificed the real meaning of the Act to a mere technicality. He hoped their lordships would not pass a vote which would lead to disastrous consequences.

The Lord Chancellor wished that he had been asked his reasons *simpliciter*, and that a vote of censure had not been founded upon this appointment before any explanation had been sought in that House. Lord Stanhope might, on moving for papers, have given notice of his intention to ask a question, and he might have shaped his motion according as the explanation had been satisfactory or otherwise. Sir A. Cockburn's letter to himself was in his opinion not one to be answered. A controversy between them would have been in the highest degree unseemly, and the Lord Chief Justice was not the censor of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor.

Since Lord Ellenborough's time it had been held that the Lord Chief Justice had better not interfere with politics. Yet these party motions and attacks were all founded upon his letter. The spirit of the Act was to provide a Court for the speedy hearing of Indian and Colonial appeals which had run into arrear. That Court had sat, and the number of Indian appeals disposed of had been exactly doubled. All admitted that Sir R. Collier was admirably fitted to be appointed a member of the Judicial Committee. Entering minutely into the reasons for the Act, and the changes made in it in the other House, he described the applications made to the existing Judges of the Superior Courts to accept seats in the new tribunal. Two refused, owing to the absence of a provision for their clerks, and others appeared to be averse from acceptance. The Premier then expressed a doubt whether it was desirable to go on hawking about these appointments, and Sir R. Collier, hearing of the difficulty, offered to accept it. Thus he consented to take the leaveings of the other Judges, and yet this was called a job. Never was there a grosser misapprehension than to call this a colourable qualification, and four out of seven of the Equity Judges agreed with the Government. In conclusion, he said that although he should regret their lordships' vote of censure, yet, regarding this as a party manoeuvre, he should hold his ground until the House of Commons passed a similar motion.

Lord Cairns admitted that, since the tragical news from the East and the dark cloud which had appeared on the Western horizon, the proportions of the present question had greatly dwarfed in his estimation. Contending that the spirit and essence of the Act had been clearly and palpably violated, he said it was a novel doctrine that the judgment of Parliament was not to be passed until the Lord Chancellor had given his explanation. If he had been so desirous to explain, he might have done so on the motion for papers. No new fact had been stated to-night that had not been publicly known before, and the fitness of Sir R. Collier was not in question. After replying to some of the arguments used by previous speakers, he referred to the history of the Act, and said he agreed in the only proposition laid down in Mr. Justice Willes' letter, that the appointment was legal. All the Equity Judges and all the Bar would agree with that. If it had not been legal Sir R. Collier could not have taken his seat, and the present vote of censure would have been unnecessary. The marrow of this question was whether Sir R. Collier was chosen by the Prime Minister as a member of the Judicial Committee because he was a Judge, or whether he was made a Judge because he had already been chosen a member of the Judicial Committee. The date of his appointment as a Puisne Judge was November 7, while on November 3 Sir R. Collier was sworn in a member of the Privy Council at Balmoral. Since Puisne Judges were "invented" not one had ever been made a Privy Councillor before he took his seat on the Bench. He inferred, therefore, that Sir R. Collier was made a Privy Councillor, not with

a view to the Judgeship, but to the Judicial Committee, and that when the Prime Minister made his choice he selected one who was not one of the Judges of the land when his mental choice was made. The essence of the Act was, therefore, practically violated. He honoured Lord Chief Justice Cockburn for the courage he had displayed, and vigorously protested against the doctrines heard from the Ministerial Benches in defence of this appointment.

Lord Granville said that he never remembered so much intellectual ability shown in a matter which lay so much within a nutshell. Declaring that the speech of the Lord Chancellor must have carried conviction into the mind of every unprejudiced person, he remarked that it was now admitted by Lord Cairns and others that the appointment of Sir R. Collier was legal and valid. Lord Salisbury had expressed his unwillingness to turn out the Government when the horses were extricating the vehicle from a bog, but it was not the best way of helping the drivers to pelt them with mud from the banks. It was anything but a Conservative policy that noble lords opposite should be constantly trying to damage the Government by votes of censure. They would only blunt the instrument in their hands by its too frequent use, without producing any practical result. He should regret if the vote of censure were carried, not only for the sake of their lordships, but because of its evil example in the future administration of justice.

Lord Longford supported the motion.

Their lordships divided, when Lord Stanhope's vote of censure was negatived by 89 Not-Contents against 87 Contents.

In the House of Commons the Government was significantly acquitted of any serious offence by a majority of twenty-seven, which was said exactly to correspond with the number of official votes.

Mr. Cross moved the vote of censure on the appointment, declaring that it was a violation of the intention of the statute and of evil example in the administration of judicial patronage. At the outset he stated that he did not intend to question Sir Robert Collier's fitness except for this particular promotion, nor the actual legality of the appointment. He maintained that, whereas everybody believed the Act to provide a safeguard for the qualifications and judicial experience of the persons promoted, without which Parliament would not have passed the Act, the Government had broken faith with Parliament by doing away with that safeguard. Tracing the history of the Judicial Committee from its first foundation, and through the various changes in its constitution, and dwelling specially on the Bill of 1870, he maintained that Parliament had always pronounced against elevating practising barristers to the Judicial Committee. The intention of the Act of last year was not to change the qualification of the persons selected, but simply to provide salaries which would induce certain members of the Committee to attend more regularly. As was shown by the language, which he quoted, of Sir Robert Collier and other mem-

bers of the Government, the Government meant that the persons selected should have the special qualifications mentioned in the statute. Moreover, from their acts under the statute, which he referred to, he contended that the Government knew they were wrong in appointing Sir R. Collier, and that he himself knew it was wrong, the only point on which he found fault with Sir. R. Collier being that he had offered himself to the Lord Chancellor. Canvassing next the terms in which Sir Roundell Palmer had moved an amendment, he challenged Sir Roundell Palmer, or any one else, to ask Parliament to approve the appointment, and wound up by comparing the transaction to the Royal Warrant of last year, the *Ewelme Rectory* affair, and other acts of arbitrary power.

Mr. Goldney seconded the motion, characterizing the appointment as a revival of the dispensing power, and contending that the Government was bound to regard the qualifications prescribed by the Act or else to ask Parliament to repeal them.

Sir Roundell Palmer moved, as an amendment, that the House sees no just cause for censure in the appointment. Replying, first, to the criticisms on the language of his amendment, Sir Roundell said he should consider it a just cause of censure if the Government had violated the Act in its substance or in its letter, if they had broken faith with Parliament, if they had exercised legal powers for a wrong purpose, or if they had appointed an incompetent person. But he denied that they had committed any one of these offences, and, though there might have been indiscretion and a wrong view of the statute, there was no cause for Parliamentary censure. Sir Roundell admitted that judicial qualification had always been associated in his mind with these appointments, and that at first he had doubted whether the Government would find the appointment consistent with the statute. But when it came to a matter of Parliamentary censure, the test must be not any man's private idea of the meaning of the statute, but the statute itself. Then, discussing the statute, Sir Roundell denied that judicial experience was embodied in it as a qualification for these appointments; it was judicial *status* alone which was required. Moreover, judicial experience never had been required as a qualification for the Appellate Court. Under the old system, the Vice-Chancellors became members of the Judicial Committee when they were raised to the Bench. Lord Cairns, Sir J. Rolt, Sir J. Selwyn, and Lord Justice Mellish had been sent to the Court of Appeal straight from the Bar, and Lord Kingsdown never had any judicial experience at all. Proceeding next to deal with the assertion of the Resolution, that the appointment was a violation of the spirit and intention of the statute, Sir Roundell expounded at length, with many quotations from Story, Lord Brougham, and Lord Cranworth, and others, the rules for construing statutes, and maintained that Parliament would not be justified in going outside of the statute for the purpose of passing a censure. As to the simultaneous appointment to the Common Pleas and the Privy Council, he admitted that if it were

done wantonly and capriciously, and over and over again, he would not defend it. But this objection of cumulation could only apply if the man appointed were unfit for the first place to which he was appointed, or if, according to the true intention of the Act, judicial experience was necessary. The Government, he asserted, might legally appoint a man to a post if he were fit before he had the qualification, provided they intended and were able to give him the qualification. Sir Robert Collier was fit to be made a Judge of the Common Pleas, and the Queen made him; he then was qualified for the Judicial Committee, and the Queen promoted him. The process was right because the end was right, and the means legal. With regard to the Indian qualification, however, Sir Roundell admitted that to have made a man an Indian Chief Justice not to go to India, but merely to qualify him, would have been objectionable. Finally, he vindicated the motives of the Government, which, whether they had made a mistake or not, did not deserve Parliamentary censure; and touching on the results which must follow the adoption of the motion, he pointed to the consequences to Sir R. Collier, and the danger of lowering the dignity and usefulness of the office.

Mr. Goldsmid seconded the amendment, and Mr. S. Hill spoke in favour of the motion.

Mr. Watkin Williams, speaking from the Liberal benches, regretted that the Ministerial explanation had confirmed his first impression—that the Government had deliberately violated and strained the declared intention of the Legislature in order to extricate themselves from a fancied practical difficulty. According to all the rules governing the interpretation of statutes—for which he quoted Puffendorf and Grotius—judicial experience was required.

Mr. Serjeant Simon, on the contrary, maintained that the spirit of the Act included no reference to judicial experience; while Mr. Charley supported the motion.

The Lord Advocate asked whether the complaint and the occasion were worthy of the attention of Parliament. No imputation of jobbery and corruption had ever been advanced, the legality of the transaction was admitted, and Sir R. Collier's fitness was not denied. At some length, and amid many signs of impatience, the Lord Advocate went on to argue that Sir R. Collier's qualification was not merely colourable, but was consonant with the intention of the Act in the broadest sense.

Mr. Denman, who supported the vote of censure from the Liberal benches, prefaced his reasons by some references to his personal position. He had been pressed by his friends not to speak or vote lest it should be ascribed to disappointment, but he held it to be the basest cowardice to prefer interest to duty, and to refrain from doing right from fear of wrong motives being attributed. For many Sessions he had been Mr. Gladstone's zealous supporter, and for this he appealed to the former experience of the Speaker.



The Lord Chancellor, he insisted, had been guilty of a grave dereliction of duty, and if not actually censured, it ought to be understood to be censured, lest it should become a precedent to future high-handed Governments with a majority behind them. He did not admit, as some supporters of the motion had, the legality of the act. At any rate, Parliament had a right to say that an act was a violation of the spirit of the statute, if it was contrary to the intention of Parliament when it passed the statute. He reviewed at length the history of the Act and the speeches of the Lord Chancellor and Sir R. Collier to show that it was always contemplated that the selection should be from a limited class, and that there should be judicial experience. As one negative proof of this he mentioned that when the Bill was in Committee he had been asked to move a clause making Attorney-Generals and ex-Attorney-Generals eligible, and it was suggested to him that Sir Roundell Palmer thought this ought to be done. (Sir Roundell Palmer here interposed, and said such a thing had never entered his mind.) Examining the various excuses offered for the Government, Mr. Denman said he knew of two Judges, old Liberal M.P's., and one of whom had been Solicitor-General, who were much hurt that no offer had been made to them, and also that no offer had been made to any of the Queen's Bench Judges. Discerning in recent acts a disposition on the part of the Government to break down some of the securities for liberty involved in the independence of the Courts of Justice, he urged the House to mark its sense of the appointment in a manner which would prevent its repetition.

Mr. Craufurd maintained that the appointment was within the purview of the statute, and inferred that the motion was not only a party motion but a personal motion from the hands in which it had been placed.

Mr. Hardy, after some observations in defence of the Lord Chief Justice, argued that the Government by its conduct had shown its sense that limitations had been imposed on their choice, and it was clear that the Lord Chancellor would have gone on appealing to the Judges if Mr. Gladstone had not suggested to him a way out of the limitations. But if limitations could thus be got rid of by the Executive at their will, he agreed that the "dispensing power" was revived. Recent experience—the presentation to the Rectory of Ewelme, for instance—made him very apprehensive as to Mr. Gladstone's dealings with Acts of Parliament, and, disclaiming party motives, he urged the House to adopt the resolution for the protection of the law.

Mr. Gladstone reminded the House that this was a judicial motion, and protested therefore against the introduction of irrelevant topics for the sake of prejudice, such as the Rectory of Ewelme. He complained of the ambiguity of the resolution, for if it was a mere error or misconstruction of a statute the extinction of the Government was too severe a punishment. But he accepted the charge as much more serious—the knowing and wilful violation of

a statute—and if he had been guilty of that, he should deserve not merely exclusion from office but from Parliament altogether. In discussing this charge he pointed out the admissions made in debate—that the statute had been obeyed and that a competent man had been appointed—in fact, a more than competent man, looking to the presumptive right of an Attorney-General. He added that, before taking any public steps towards appointing Sir R. Collier, the Government had applied unsuccessfully to three Judges, and without such a resource as Sir R. Collier would have been brought into serious practical difficulty, having regard to the dignity of the office. This, however, he admitted, did not justify them in violating a statute, but this, he maintained, they had not done. There was no dispute as to the letter of the statute; it was merely somebody's idea of the intention of the statute which the Government was accused of violating. The theory of the statute on which the Government acted was that the qualification was judicial *status*, and that judicial experience was merely an element among others. That was the plain meaning of the Act, according to the only safe mode of construing statutes, and the burden of proof to the contrary lay on Mr. Cross. He confessed that the Government did not anticipate the stir which the affair had made. If they had it would have been foolish to provoke it. But was ever capital punishment inflicted on a Government for so slender a crime, especially as it was admitted that the statute had been obeyed, and the public interest not injured, and that considerable practical difficulties had occurred? Finally, Mr. Gladstone urged the consequences of an adverse vote to Sir R. Collier, and still more to the relations between the Judges and the Legislature, and impressed on the House the danger of passing legislative condemnations on fanciful interpretations of the intentions of statutes.

Lord Elcho supported the motion. On a division, it was negatived by a majority of 27—268 to 241. Sir Roundell Palmer's amendment was then agreed to.

As the amendment was in fact to the effect that the appointment was not deserving of Parliamentary censure, Liberal members were able conscientiously to vote with their party on a question which only involved the issue of greater or less culpability; but seven firm supporters of the Government, besides Mr. Denman, felt themselves bound to vote against the amendment, and a much larger number indicated their opinion by absenting themselves from the division. The names of eighty members do not appear in the list of either votes or pairs.

A similar charge of evasion of statutory law had been brought against Mr. Gladstone with reference to his appointment of Mr. Harvey to the rectory of Ewelme. The statute provided that the rector of that parish should be a member of the Oxford Convocation, and Mr. Harvey, whom the Premier wished to appoint, having been educated at Cambridge, was made a member of the Oxford Convocation in order to satisfy the statute. This transaction also was

made the subject of parliamentary inquiry by Mr. Mowbray. Premising that he did not impugn the personal fitness of Mr. Harvey, he traced the history of the ecclesiastical changes and the legislation leading up to the appointment, which, he maintained, was a direct and wanton violation of the Act of Parliament and of the Statutes of the University, and had led to most reprehensible delay. The words limiting the presentation to a member of the Convocation of Oxford, he mentioned, had been introduced into the Act by the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Harvey, he argued, by reference to the statutes, considering that he had only appeared before the Vice-Chancellor on the 22nd of November, would not be a member of Convocation or entitled to be presented to the rectory until next May. The document, therefore, under the Great Seal presenting Mr. Harvey contained a misstatement. Mr. Mowbray also controverted Mr. Gladstone's assumption that he had an unlimited area of selection for the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford.

Mr. Gladstone repeated that it was no business of his whether Mr. Harvey had gone through the forms of qualification or had failed to comply with the Oxford statutes. There was no parallel, he contended, between this and Sir R. Collier's case, because the Government had no power to confer the qualification for office; nor had the qualification anything to do with the duties of the post. He denied that "membership of Convocation" implied education at the University, and if the words introduced in the Lords had been understood so to limit the rights of the Crown, it would have been his duty to advise the Crown to withhold its assent. Mr. Harvey by what he had done was as much a member of Convocation as Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Mowbray. It was not a colourable qualification which he had acquired, but one solid, substantial, and perfect. Nevertheless, he admitted that *primâ facie* the natural course would have been to look for an Oxford man in the absence of reasons to the contrary, and these reasons Mr. Gladstone explained were the recommendations he had received as to Mr. Harvey's eminence as a divine, and his ill-health, which made his immediate removal to a more salubrious neighbourhood desirable.

Mr. Hardy contended that the Act intended the qualification of membership of Convocation to exist at the time the presentation was made. Otherwise, as *nullum tempus occurrit reginæ*, an undergraduate might have been chosen, and the living kept open until he took his degree. Whether the Premier approved the restriction or not, he was bound to observe it, and not to interpret the statute wantonly and arbitrarily.

Mr. Henley thought it a pity that the Premier should have laid himself open to disagreeable remarks which he could not gainsay. The people at Ewelme understood their rector was to be an Oxford man; but Mr. Harvey could no more be made an Oxford man than a Blackamoor could be washed white. Country people said, "It aint honest; who could have believed the Prime Minister would have done such a thing?"

Mr. Watkin Williams (who was interrupted by an attempt at a "count-out") argued that the Act had been strictly complied with; and the Attorney-General dealt with the Oxford statutes to show that Mr. Harvey's qualification was complete. Mr. Scourfield remarked that a most dangerous precedent had been set; and

Mr. Bouverie, while admitting the conscientiousness of the Prime Minister, regretted that he should amuse his leisure hours by driving coaches-and-six through Acts of Parliament, and that he alone should take such curious views of the meaning of Statutes. There was no doubt whatever that the Act contemplated an Oxford man in the ordinary sense of the word, and he had authority for stating that Lord Salisbury had consented to the words of the limitation on the understanding that they meant men who had gone through the Oxford curriculum. "Would any private patron," he asked, "have suggested such an evasion of the Act?" Mr. Bouverie also animadverted on Mr. Gladstone's declaration that, rather than agree to this limitation, he would have advised the Crown to veto the Bill. This called up

Mr. Bruce who, in Mr. Gladstone's absence, explained that what he meant was that he would have withdrawn the Bill.

Mr. Raikes, Mr. Hunt, and Mr. Greene strongly condemned the appointment, and, Mr. Gladstone having returned to the House, Colonel Barttelot repeated to him the charge that he had spoken of exercising the Royal veto rather than submit to such a limitation on the patronage of the Crown.

Mr. Gladstone warmly denied that he had said any such thing. It was the Royal assent necessary to Bills affecting the rights of the Crown which he had spoken of withholding. To this Mr. Bouverie and Lord J. Manners replied that the Queen's consent must have been signified long before the Bill got to that stage; and here the controversy came to an end.

The other dangers from within that had most directly threatened the Government dispersed as harmlessly. The first Lord of the Admiralty visited with severe censure the officers whose neglect had caused the disaster which occurred before his accession to office.

The menace of a Nonconformist secession proved, as might have been anticipated, to be innocuous. Mr. Dixon brought forward his vote of censure on the Elementary Education Act. This was contained in six Resolutions, of which two complained of the failure of the Act to secure the general election of School Boards and compulsory attendance; two objected to the operation of the 25th section, and two censured the use of public money for the teaching of denominational religion; and he stated that while he himself dealt with the first topic, he had allotted the second to Mr. Leatham, and the third to Mr. Richard. After repudiating the charge that the League was by the present agitation violating some compromise, he entered into an elaborate comparison of a Denominational and a National system, stating his objections to the first—that it gave the control of Education to irresponsible managers, provided a very in-

efficient education at a great cost, and left many children without any education at all, &c. Without School Boards everywhere and universal compulsion, he maintained it would be impossible to establish an adequate and satisfactory system of Education, and it was on those who opposed compulsion and School Boards—the Conservative party and the Church—that he fixed the responsibility of impeding the spread of education. Admitting that the Education League had now definitely committed itself to the separation of religion and education, he defended the action of that body, disclaiming all jealousy of the Church, and asserting that its object was to raise the education of the working classes.

Mr. Richard, in seconding the motion, also spent some time in combatting the suggestion that he and his friends were violating a compromise. He objected not so much to the existence of denominational teaching as to the encouragement of denominational schools by the State. This led him into a sharp attack on Mr. Forster for the partiality he had shown to the denominational schools even in his administration of the Act as it stood, as was shown by his appointment of inspectors and the proceedings of some of his officials. Moreover, he objected to the quality of the denominational teaching likely to be given by some clergymen whose Protestantism was growing very faint; and in support of this Mr. Richard quoted a passage from a book, which he supposed to be issued by the Church of England, but which turned out to be a Roman Catholic school-book. Nor did he believe that religious teaching could be secured by confiding it merely to schoolmasters. Finally, Mr. Richard warned the Government against breaking up the Liberal party by alienating and disgusting one of its largest sections.

Mr. Forster met the motion by an amendment that a sufficient time has not elapsed since the passing of the Act to allow of a judgment being passed on it, pointing out that if the Resolutions were carried it would be necessary to pass a new Act this year. But to do this before it was seen how the Act worked would be to throw everything into confusion, and to bring the educational system to a dead lock. By quotations from his speech on introducing the Bill he showed that he had always contemplated making use of the existing schools and of all educational forces, and that compulsion was not to be used until voluntary action had been exhausted. After describing the difficulties and labours of the Education Office in getting the Act into operation, he urged the inexpediency of throwing the machinery into confusion just when the gaps had been discovered and were about to be filled up. In relating what had been done under the Act, he pointed out that ten millions of the population had already come under School Boards—six millions of them voluntarily—and he defied anybody to point to a case of violated conscience, or to suggest legislation which would have done so much in so short a time. Certainly it would have been impossible in 1870 to pass a Bill with compulsory attendance and compulsory School Boards, or to work it if it had been passed. Though in favour of

both, and believing that we should in the end come to both, he had preferred to lead rather than to drive; and as to making School Boards universal, in many of the rural districts it would be better that education should be in the hands of school managers than of a reluctant School Board, created against its will and disliking the prospect of a Rate. He was of opinion, however, that by next year we should be ready for a general compulsory Act, and perhaps the best way of carrying it out would be through School Boards. But certainly it would first be necessary that schools should be provided. Passing, next, to a defence of the 25th clause, he maintained that its sole object was to assist parents, to get children to school, and to make the working of the compulsory principle more just. The grievance was, he maintained, infinitesimal, because no appreciable part of the Rates went to pay for religious education. The Government, however, would be prepared to consider a modification of the clause when the general compulsory law was brought forward, but he never would consent to deprive the poor man of his right to choose to what school he would send his children. Over the religious difficulty Mr. Forster passed somewhat lightly, appealing to the notorious fact that the country is not prepared for the secular system, as was shown most recently by what the School Boards had done, and in conclusion he defended the impartiality of the Department in working the Act.

Mr. Liddell, in supporting the amendment, maintained that there had been a compromise when the Act passed, and that the Church had made considerable sacrifices. If the secularists believed in their own nostrum, why did they not set up schools of their own?

Mr. Backhouse also took the same line, and deprecated any change until we had more experience of the working of the Act.

Mr. Corrance also supported the amendment.

Mr. A. Herbert narrated some circumstances within his own experience to illustrate the partiality of the department for the old schools. Mr. Forster, he held, had got into his difficulty by trusting too much to practical common sense, overlooking principle. In his opinion, secular education alone could do justice to all sides.

Lord Robert Montagu animadverted on the sudden fondness for compulsion displayed by the ultra-Liberals, and maintained, from the statistics of the Roman Catholic schools, that the best secular results were obtained where most time was given to religious teaching.

Mr. Leatham, admitting that the scope of the resolutions was too wide, addressed himself in a tone of no little acrimony to the operation of the 25th clause, which he condemned as adding enormously to endowments already too large. He provoked much ironical cheering by declaring that he would have preferred the postponement of the question for another year, and that the people should have been left in ignorance to a settlement such as this. Repudiating the charge that the Dissenters had "revolted" from the Government, he did not deny that such a grievance left unredressed

might be too much for their patience, and appealed from Mr. Forster to the Prime Minister.

Mr. W. H. Smith denied that the 25th clause carried any endowment; it merely gave the poor man the liberty to say to what school his child should go. At the same time, he admitted that it had been badly worked in some places. He deprecated premature interference with the working of the Act, and expressed a decided opinion that immediate compulsion and unnecessary School Boards and rates would provoke a reaction.

Dr. Playfair vindicated what he considered the marvellous success of the Act, and, with regard to the 25th clause, maintained that though it was not the duty of the Privy Council to give the indigent child a sectarian education, it was not its duty to prevent his receiving religious teaching. He ridiculed the grievance of the "ratepayers' conscience," which, he believed, was only stimulated into activity by political agitation, and asserted that by all the experience of Europe direct compulsion could not exist without denominational schools. Pointing out that the leading Dissenters were not unanimous among themselves, and vigorously condemning in passing what he called school Christianity—the Bible without comment—Dr. Playfair denied that they had any right to break down a system which was working well, until they had a substitute for it.

Mr. Fawcett admitted that the opponents of the Act in 1870 had committed a great mistake in setting up the programme of "the Bible without comment," which was a mere subterfuge. Personally he did not attach so much importance as others to the religious difficulty; but he objected to this 25th clause, because it offered a premium to free education, would weaken parental responsibility, and foster the Socialistic idea that the State should pay instead of the individual. The Act was not adequate to providing education for the rural districts, and, accepting Mr. Forster's assurance that general compulsion was to be proposed next year, he exhorted all parties not to waste time in striving after miserable sectarian triumphs, but to unite for the solution of this difficult problem.

Mr. M. Henry and Mr. Greene supported the amendment, and on a division Mr. Dixon's resolutions were negatived by 355 to 94. Mr. Forster's amendment then became the substantial question, and a second division being taken, it was carried by 323 to 98.

An injudicious attempt by Mr. Candlish, some weeks later, to revive the contest was easily defeated, and it would seem that the most zealous Nonconformists have wisely considered their purpose of secession.

Besides the Alabama Claims, the only question of external policy which arose during the Session was the conclusion of the treaty with the Netherlands for the transfer to England of the Dutch Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa, and a proposal by Mr. M'Arthur for the annexation of the Fiji Islands. Both matters technically concerned the Colonial Department, and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen

had the opportunity of exhibiting a creditable knowledge of the business of his office and a laudable sympathy with colonial interests.

Shortly after the commencement of the Session Mr. Bonham-Carter became Chairman of Committees, on the retirement of Mr. Dodson, who had for several years discharged the duties of the office to the satisfaction of the House. Shortly before his resignation Mr. Dodson moved a series of resolutions providing for the transfer of the jurisdiction of Parliament over Private Bills to some permanent tribunal; but, as on former occasions, the House of Commons hesitated to delegate to an unknown authority an important branch of legislation, and the House of Lords, which would probably regard with jealousy any diminution of its powers and functions, was not even consulted. About the same time Sir Roundell Palmer, after a debate almost exclusively sustained by members of the legal profession, was defeated on a motion for the incorporation of his new Legal Association. Both the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General spoke against the motion, and Mr. Gladstone, on behalf of the Government, declined to support the proposal. In the middle of the Session the Lord Chancellor introduced his scheme for the constitution of a Supreme Court of Appeal, which would have combined the judicial elements of the House of Lords and of the Committee of Privy Council. After a searching and hostile criticism from Lord Cairns, the measure was, with the acquiescence of the Lord Chancellor, shelved for the Session by reference to a select committee. Mr. Fawcett made a spirited and hopeless attempt to abolish the great Parliamentary law offices. Other laymen besides Mr. Fawcett have probably thought that the legal advisers of the Government ought not to devote a large portion of their time and energy to the conduct of private forensic business, but a Government which should dispense with the Parliamentary and official aid of some of the leaders of the profession would be exposed to the risk of blunders in policy and of disaster in debate. Mr. Lowe, speaking, perhaps, from personal experience, assured Mr. Fawcett, with paradoxical truth, that the practical capacity of an able man is always exactly proportioned to the business which he is required to transact; and Mr. Gladstone, after applauding his colleague for the liveliness and humour which he had introduced into the discussion, gravely assured the House that during his long experience he had known no instance in which a law officer had not found ample leisure to advise the Crown and the various departments of State. Mr. Vernon Harcourt solemnly protested against the levity which he imputed to Mr. Lowe, and denounced the slackness of the Government in promoting law reform; but the House of Commons in general seemed to be of opinion that it was sufficiently provided with occupation, and the just esteem which is accorded to Lord Hatherley is founded on other qualities than those of a zealous and successful law reformer. In the latter days of the Session Mr. Harcourt renewed the discussion on law reform by a resolution which he supported in an able and comprehensive speech. He sketched



the outlines of the great scheme of judicial reconstruction which he had more fully expounded at the Social Science Congress, and he commented with severity on the inadequate proposals of the House of Lords' committee. It is unnecessary to increase the pensions of ex-Chancellors, and there are strong objections to the proposed appointment of assessors of inferior rank, who, although titular life peers, are to be excluded from any share in the legislative functions of the House of Lords. The Solicitor-General, in answer to Mr. Harcourt, astonished a scanty audience by the statement that law reform was impossible, in consequence of the absence of popular interest in the subject, and that the Court of Chancery was approximately perfect. Mr. Fawcett naturally ridiculed the strange candour of a law officer of the Crown, and the Attorney-General was compelled to apologize for his colleague on the ground that he was exclusively familiar with the procedure of Courts of Equity. Mr. Henley appealed from lawyers to the energy of laymen, and Mr. Gladstone endeavoured to satisfy Mr. Harcourt by professing a theoretical concurrence in his opinions. The Government was indebted to the tact and prudence of the Solicitor-General for a division in which it escaped defeat by a narrow majority. The House of Commons had been content to postpone measures of law reform, but not to erect delay into a principle.

Two questions which immediately concerned the metropolis excited a keener interest than many measures of wider scope. Mr. Ayrton's Bill for the Regulation of the Parks aroused Mr. Harcourt's susceptibility by provisions for the maintenance of order in the parks which, although usual and convenient, were, as it was alleged, inconsistent with the spirit of the English Constitution.

The Government suddenly decided to introduce a clause throwing on the Houses of Parliament the responsibility of certain bye-laws for the parks. The suggestion led to an angry and animated collision between the two front benches, and produced a scene of great excitement in the House.

Mr. Hardy denounced it as a cowardly proceeding and an abandonment of responsibility, and referred to Mr. Gladstone's conduct on the Parks Bill of 1866, when, he said, he set himself against order in the parks.

This called up Mr. Gladstone in a state of great excitement, who accused Mr. Hardy of being the first on all occasions to introduce an "acid and venomous spirit" into the debates, and retorted that the feebleness and bungling of the late Government in the Hyde Park affair were the causes of the subsequent difficulties.

Mr. Disraeli joined in here, and taunted the Government with running away from its colours. He contrasted Sir G. Grey's manly support of Mr. Hardy at the time of the Parks Bill of 1866 with the sullen silence maintained night after night by Mr. Gladstone, who, he said, never uttered a word in reference to the

proceedings except in addressing a tumultuous crowd out of his own windows.

Mr. Gladstone, in answer to this, said, "I am really very sorry to intervene with respect to any gentleman's imagination; but, on a former occasion, Sheridan said that when a man drew upon his memory for his jokes he generally drew upon his imagination for his facts. The right hon. gentleman has done so, and I beg to state that with regard to what he has just said there is not a single shred or shadow of truth in it. There is no foundation, in fact, for it whatever, and when the right hon. gentleman says that after six years it is necessary to rub up one's recollection, I should strongly recommend him to improve his own memory upon the subject."

Mr. Vernon Harcourt wished, amid that wrath of chiefs, to say a few words of calm mediation. The grand alliance appeared to have broken up, and, as in the case of bandits who quarrelled over the plunder, the people of this country might now come by their own. The people of London even yet might enjoy the parks. As he had been charged by the Chief Commissioner of Works with addressing the House in a style to be heard at the base of Nelson's column in Trafalgar-square, he should now like to ask the right. hon. gentleman what he thought of what he had heard in that House during the past half-hour. Honourable gentlemen who, like himself, sat below the gangway, could not rise to anything like that level, but when they had held office for five and twenty years they might rise to something like it. If the Government consented to give the police power to make certain regulations for the parks, the difficulty might be got rid of, and the two right honourable gentlemen (Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Hardy) might kiss and be friends.

In reply to Mr. Bromley-Davenport Mr. Gladstone said he had never believed the Hyde Park meeting to be illegal, and had expected the attempt to prevent it would end in difficulties. After this the discussion calmed down.

At a later period Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe reverted, with characteristic tenacity of purpose, to their claim on behalf of the Crown to a portion of the reclaimed land near the western end of the Thames Embankment. A Select Committee was induced to reverse the recommendation of the Committee of last year, and a Bill for the settlement of the disputed question was about to be passed through the House of Commons, when Mr. Harcourt moved and carried against the Government a resolution that it was not expedient to proceed farther with the matter during the present year. In this instance, whatever may be thought of the tact and judgment of the Ministers, it is impossible to doubt that their opposition to the wishes of the London Ratepayers and to the feeling of the House of Commons must be dictated by conscientious convictions. In the more serious matter of the Contagious Diseases Act, Mr. Bruce, in proposing the abandonment of the most stringent and effective provisions of the Act, scarcely

concealed his opinion that the agitation to which he yielded was ill-founded and pernicious. His indifference to the success of a measure which he disapproved probably accounted for the postponement of the further stages of the Bill to the middle of July, when it was deservedly lost.

In bringing in the promised Bill he prefaced his statement by a sketch of existing legislation on this subject and of the agitation it had excited. To illustrate the working of the Act he quoted largely from the Report of the recent Commission, adding that, though opinions might differ on the balance of their moral results, as to their physical operation in the diminution of disease and vice there could be no question. However, the Government had reluctantly come to the conclusion that it was impossible to maintain in a limited district the main principle of the Act, viz. compulsory periodical examination, while it could not be extended to the whole country. And this he held to be impossible in the present state of public opinion, of which the Acts went far in advance. Under these circumstances the Bill proposed to substitute for the present Acts certain general stringent provisions, which he explained, for clearing the streets and preserving decency, for detaining diseased persons in custody for other offences, for the more effectual protection of young girls and women, and for repressing disorderly houses and the harbouring of diseased women. Mr. Bruce did not disguise his regret at having to take what he evidently considered to be a backward step, but the advantages of the Acts, he urged, were overbalanced by the agitation which had been carried on, its flagrant exaggerations and misrepresentations, and the distressing spectacle of female modesty broken through by taking part in these discussions. He hoped that the operation of the Bill would create a fund of experience which at some future time might help to establish more efficient means of repression.

The following remarkable returns are worth quoting, issued since the sittings of the Royal Commission on these Acts, in illustration of their preventive and reformatory influence.

"In the Plymouth and Devonport district in the year 1871 no less than 58 girls between 13 and 21 years old, found in houses of ill-fame, were restored to their friends by the voluntary exertions of the police, without being in any way subjected to the operation of the Acts; 69 others of similar ages were also restored to their friends or placed in asylums on leaving hospital when cured. When the Acts are first put in operation in a district the number of these young creatures is very large, but they rapidly become few, and in a short time almost disappear. In April, 1865, the Plymouth and Devonport district had 109 under 15, and 207 under 17 years of age, but on the 31st of December last there was not one under 15 and only one under 17 years old. The daily visitation of houses of ill-fame by the police not only affords a ready means of escape to those who have the least desire to quit their mode of life, but it further prevents the keepers of these resorts from encouraging

young women to frequent them. Indeed, through the efforts of this sanitary police a woman was convicted at the last Devon Assizes, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, for having decoyed a child of 13 from her mother's house for immoral purposes. Besides rescuing the young, the total number of young and old has been very greatly diminished. There were 1770 of these persons on the 1st of April, 1865; there were on the 31st of December, 1871, 503. These official figures satisfactorily show that a higher purpose than even the limitation of the disease is accomplished by the Acts. A most efficient machinery operates continually for the reclamation of the fallen in a manner that no voluntary organization unaided by the authority of the law can hope to equal."

An ill-considered Bill for the alteration of the jury system perished about the same time without causing any feeling of regret. Mr. Walpole's Bill for the appointment of Public Prosecutors was opposed by several legal members; and it shared the fate which attends nearly all independent attempts at legislation. Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill was carried through the second reading by a considerable majority; but many members, when they have satisfied the Dissenting portion of their constituencies by a formal vote, are content to acquiesce in the ultimate defeat of measures distasteful to the Church.

Mr. Bruce's Bill for the Regulation of Mines was more successful than endeavours which had previously been entrusted to his care. Its provisions were founded on the results of much previous inquiry, and he possessed a special knowledge of the subject. All parties were agreed in the desire to protect the lives of miners as far as possible from danger; but it was at the same time proper to avoid any vexatious interference which might tend to throw the business of mining into the hands of irresponsible and unscrupulous speculators. The number of inspectors was increased, and their powers were in some respects enlarged; and, in accordance with the precedent of the Merchant Shipping Acts, the managers of mines will henceforth be required to obtain from a public department a certificate of competency. In proof of their solicitude for the interest of working miners, Parliament provided that when wages are dependent on the quantity of "output" the amount shall be calculated by weight, and not by measure. The Bill would apply, Mr. Bruce said in introducing it, to all stratified iron mines, to shale and fire-clay mines, and will contain provisions for the employment and education of children on principles generally analogous to the Factory Acts. To ensure more stringent discipline every mine-owner is to appoint a responsible manager, who is to be registered, and who must have a certificate, which, like that of an officer of the mercantile marine, may be revoked for neglect or misconduct. All future managers are to be examined before Local Boards. Additional "general rules" are to be enacted for increasing the security of the working, which will include regulations for the more frequent inspection of machinery,

the maintenance of roofs and roadways, restrictions on the use of gunpowder, and facilities for the men themselves inspecting the workings.

Mr. Cardwell, who of the heads of departments was at the same time the most ambitious and the most successful, moved the Army Estimates soon after the beginning of the Session, and announced a comprehensive scheme for the combined organization of the regular and auxiliary forces. First, however, he mentioned that there was a gross reduction on last year of 1,027,000*l.*, and a net decrease of 1,115,700*l.* (the gross amount this year being 14,824,500*l.*). There was no particular reduction either in *matériel* or men, the saving on the former being due to the completion of certain works and the arming of the Auxiliary Forces; and it would have been larger but for the increase in the price of iron, clothing, provisions, &c. Then, reminding the House of the principles to which it agreed last year—that an Army is necessary for the defence of the country, that it must be raised by voluntary enlistment, that all the forces of the country should be united in “one harmonious whole,” and that Purchase should be abolished—Mr. Cardwell went on to relate what had been done during the year in obedience to them. By carrying on the policy of concentration we had now a larger force of Regulars at home than at any former period of peace, the number of battalions at home and abroad being exactly equal. During the year, 23,198 recruits had been passed into the Army, and the Inspector-General reported most favourably of their quality. The Militia numbered 112,128 men, being 26,900 short of the establishment voted; and in connexion with this point Mr. Cardwell referred to the satisfactory reports received of the Irish Militia, and the improvement in the quality of the subaltern officers. With a view to further efficiency it was proposed that a limited number of officers should be allowed to retire from the Regular Army, receiving half-pay for ten years, on condition of joining one of the Militia regiments of their country. Militia officers, also, would be required to qualify themselves for promotion by examination, and commanding officers would be superannuated at the age of 60, and other officers at 55, unless the general officer commanding should report otherwise. In the Volunteers there had been an increase of 3062 efficient, and 4766 extra-efficient. The Army Reserve now numbered 7000 (to be raised to 10,000), the Militia Reserve 28,325—all liable to serve abroad—the Second Class Reserve 25,000 men, so that we had close upon 300,000 men of Regulars and Militia Reserve, and, adding the Volunteers, a total force of 461,000, of whom 146,500 were liable to serve abroad. Passing to the question of Purchase, he stated that the cost so far had not been so great as was anticipated; and for this year, instead of the 1,600,000*l.* calculated to be necessary by the Actuaries, only 855,000*l.* would be asked for. In carrying out the Royal Warrant on Promotion steps would be taken to reduce officers' expenses in such matters as uniforms, bands, and messes; the privileges of the Guards would

be abolished, with one or two trifling exceptions, which he mentioned, and the Guards' officers would be placed under the same conditions as the rest of the Army in regard to examinations, &c. Next he explained the measures taken for accelerating promotion in the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers, of which the chief, as regards the first, were the substitution of the rank of major for first captain and the employment of a certain number of lieutenant-colonels in the Reserve Forces. On the point of localization Mr. Cardwell spoke in great detail, quoting from a memorandum of the Commander-in-Chief and a report of General M'Dougall's Committee, which he promised to lay on the table. It was proposed to divide the country into territorial districts, in each of which there would be a battalion of the Line and two Militia Regiments, and with them would be brigaded the Volunteers of the district under the command of a lieutenant-colonel of the Regulars, acting as brigadier. Each district would have a local central dépôt, at which the recruiting, training, &c., would be carried on, not only of the Militia, but of the Reserves, and of the recruits for the Line of battalions. By this arrangement there would always be a battalion of a regiment abroad and one at home; one would furnish the other with recruits, and the officers and men of the two would be interchangeable. Assigning about 100,000 of the population to a battalion of Militia, there would be 66 local central dépôts in the three kingdoms. There would also be Artillery districts with local central dépôts, each under a lieutenant-colonel of Artillery, at the head of the Regular, Militia, and Volunteer batteries. But the only connexion proposed between the Cavalry and the Yeomanry is that the Adjutant and the permanent Staff of the latter will be taken from the Cavalry, and Cavalry officers will be allowed to retire on half-pay to serve in Yeomanry regiments. Provision will be made for training both the Militia and Volunteers in camp, and for their training in brigade with the Regulars; but though the latter will be under the command of the Lieutenant-Colonel of the district, their internal organization will not be interfered with. Double commissions are abolished after a certain date, inefficient officers will be dismissed, and Volunteers will be compelled to attend the targets, only marksmen being exempted. For the Volunteer Artillery the brigade system will be discontinued, and no more field-guns will be issued. From all these measures for bringing all the forces of the country into local union, Mr. Cardwell maintained, there would be eventually considerable economy. He was loudly cheered on announcing that the Government would relieve counties of the expense of providing Militia storehouses, and also that with a view to decentralization there would be local dépôts from which officers would draw stores without applying to the War Office. Among other changes announced is the establishment of a camp of instruction in the northern counties, and a large training-ground in the metropolis for the use of all corps in the neighbourhood. These proposals would entail a cost of 3,500,000*l.*, to be raised by termin-

able annuities. Finally, in touching on the question of Military Education, Mr. Cardwell spoke of the great success of the Autumn Manœuvres, which it was intended to repeat this year, and he concluded by describing the advantages derived from the union of the War Office and the Horse Guards. Mr. Cardwell's statement was received with much favour, and an amendment for the reduction of the Army, afterwards moved by Mr. Holms, was rejected by a decisive majority; but an unfortunate delay in bringing in the Bill for the necessary loan gave the minority an opportunity of attempting to defeat the measure by delay. Within three weeks of the close of the Session they compelled an adjournment of the discussion, although Mr. Cardwell intentionally abstained from answering in detail the objections of his opponents. The merits of the great measures which he has introduced in two successive Sessions can only be tested by experience; but friends and enemies will agree that no other Minister of War has effected changes so bold and comprehensive.

The Lord Advocate brought in the Scotch Education Bill, which, after a brief sketch of the present public schools and the causes of their failure to keep pace with the growth of the population, he said, would aim at establishing a national as distinguished from a denominational system. That the shortcomings of the present system had not been sooner remedied he attributed to the fights over a religious difficulty and a political principle, and, in the absence of a spirit of compromise, he predicted a revival of acrimonious discussions on religious education which would further delay legislation. The Bill proposed to establish a School Board in every parish and every borough, to be elected by all who would have to pay the rates. The education rate would be increased, all the owners and occupiers of real property being required to contribute on the true value of their property. The existing public schools would be placed under their management at once, and they would be required to provide whatever additional means of education were needed, but there was to be no difference in the character of the new and the existing schools. The School Boards would have all the necessary powers for managing the schools, consequently there would be no Central Board of Education in Edinburgh; but the Imperial Education Grant would be administered by a special Scotch Committee of the Privy Council. The religious difficulty the Lord Advocate proposed to deal with by saying nothing about it. The people would settle it for themselves, as they always had; for to prohibit religious teaching would be to do violence to the feelings of the whole country. Finally, he stated that on a point much agitated in Scotland it was not attempted to fix any *minimum* for the schoolmaster's salary; it would be left for the employers and employed to arrange the remuneration between themselves, and there would be compulsory provisions as stringent as public opinion would permit.

This measure passed the Commons almost without alteration, and was but slightly modified, at the instance of the Duke of Richmond, in the House of Lords.

The question whether religious education should be given was, notwithstanding the protest of some extreme Liberals, remitted to the School Boards, and Mr. Auberon Herbert's zealous protest against the application of rates to religious teaching was only countenanced by five or six supporters. Mr. Gordon, on the other hand, carried, by a small majority, an ambiguous resolution that the law and practice of Scotland should be maintained as to Scriptural education. As the assumed law was apocryphal, and the practice disputable, the Government exercised a sound judgment in proceeding with the Bill without further reference to the resolution. In the House of Lords the Duke of Richmond introduced into the preamble an analogous recital, but the discretion remained vested in the School Boards.

Having learnt by experience that only a small minority of the Liberal party is prepared to vote for the destruction of the Establishment, Mr. Miall changed his direct attack on the institution which he detests into a motion for inquiring into the amount and distribution of Church property. It was obvious that sectarian antipathy and theoretical objection to religious establishments could in no degree be enhanced or mitigated by any possible result of the proposed inquiry. The motion was discussed on its real merits as a scheme of disendowment, and it was rejected by a majority of more than three to one. A novel turn was given to the debate by an ingenious suggestion that the inquiry should extend to the endowments of the Nonconformist bodies. The total value must be considerable in England, and the property of the Free Church in Scotland represents voluntary subscriptions amounting to several millions. Sir Colman O'Loughlen introduced a Bill for the removal of the remaining religious disabilities which consist in the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the offices of Lord Chancellor of England and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The abatement of the grievance appeared so little urgent that, after a short debate, the mover himself disposed of the Bill by speaking in reply up to the time at which the House was compelled by its rules to adjourn. The claims of the Deceased Wives' Sisters were disregarded by an indifferent House, and Mr. Jacob Bright's motion for removing the political disabilities of women was rejected by a large majority.

In moving the second reading of his Bill, he demanded the franchise for his clients in order to put into their hands an instrument for the removal of their disqualifications. No Legislature, he argued, legislated effectually for classes which had no control over it, and it was not until they were given possession of the franchise by the Reform Acts of 1830 and 1867 that the grievances of the middle classes and the working classes were dealt with. The women's disabilities enumerated by Mr. Bright were education, the inequalities of the divorce law, the law of property, the legal custody of children, and recent legislation against the interests of women, such as the Contagious Diseases Act. Mr. Bright vindicated the political capacity of women, and their right to be heard on the



numerous questions before Parliament, affecting them, and, among other arguments, referred to the fact that last year Mr. Disraeli voted for giving them the franchise, and Mr. Gladstone, though he voted against it, made a speech the other way. Being asked whether he intended to give the franchise to married women, Mr. Bright said he was satisfied with household suffrage—that every house should have its vote.

Mr. Eastwick seconded the motion for the second reading of the Bill, and said if it passed it would only enfranchise about one woman in every six, and that could not lead to a very alarming state of things.

Mr. Bouverie moved the rejection of the Bill. He contended that it sought to introduce into the system of Parliamentary representation an innovation which could not be found in any country in Europe. This was not a question of giving votes to some 300,000 women, but it was a question of altering the whole system upon which they had hitherto been governed. Some day they might have manhood suffrage, for the Prime Minister had indicated that he thought that was the proper system as to the voting of men. Now, if they had manhood suffrage they must, provided this Bill passed, follow it up with universal woman suffrage, which would mean that the country would be governed by females, as they were a majority of the population. Was it not absurd, he added, to think that the whole of the home and foreign policy of this country—questions of peace and war—should be guided by the counsels of women? The exercise of the franchise had its duties as well as its rights, and if women were to have votes they might as well become judges, magistrates, or jurymen, and discharge all those duties which were now confined to men. If women had votes, why should they not have the power to elect whom they liked? and if they did that, they would send representatives of their own sex into Parliament, and ultimately the House of Commons might be presided over by a woman.

Mr. Scourfield, who created much amusement by addressing the Speaker as “the probable last male occupant of the chair,” seconded the amendment in a characteristic speech.

Mr. Maguire spoke in favour of the Bill, referring to the number of petitions presented for it as a proof that it was called for by female public opinion; and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen grounded his opposition to the Bill on the organic difference between the sexes, the different spheres they were meant to occupy, and the inexpediency of imposing on women the new obligations which would flow from enlarging their political privileges.

Mr. Baillie Cochrane would have supported the Bill had it been possible to stop with the Parliamentary vote, but it would lead ultimately to women invading every walk of life; and what would become of flirtation—what would the novelists do if the ladies became lawyers, doctors, and the like?

Mr. O. Morgan did not believe that women wanted a vote, or

would exercise the franchise if they had it; and Mr. Hope, Mr. J. Hardy, Lord Henry Scott, and Mr. W. Fowler also spoke briefly against the Bill, the latter on account of its injustice to married women. Mr. Heron and Sir C. B. Adderley, on the contrary, supported it, as did—

The Attorney-General, who dwelt on the barbarous state of the law in regard to women's property, and the stimulus which women's suffrage would give to reform in this respect. He spoke also of the fitness of women for political duties, referring to the glories of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne.

The Attorney-General for Ireland answered his colleague in a highly diverting speech. Taken conjointly with the 8th section of the Married Women's Property Act, he maintained that the Bill would give a vote to every married woman, though the promoters of the Bill said that was not their object. But, in truth, no one could tell what the Bill meant—not even its author, and it could only be made intelligible by the process through which the Highlander's gun went—putting “a new stock, lock, and barrel to it.” Mr. Dowse insisted on treating this Bill as a small part of a large scheme. The tendency of the Bill was not only to enfranchise women, but to let women become judges, Chancellors of the Exchequer, and Attorney-Generals. He admitted that some judges were old women—but that was no reason why all old women should be eligible for judges.

Ultimately the House divided, when the numbers were:—For the second reading, 143; against, 222. Majority against, 79. Mr. Gladstone's expected conversion to the feminine cause was not declared; but Mr. Disraeli gave a silent vote with the minority. The most unpleasant episode of the Session occurred when Sir Charles Dilke, in redemption of the pledge by which he had acquired notoriety during the recess, moved for an inquiry into the Civil List. Such a scene, happily, is not often witnessed; and had a large section of the House desired to reinstate Sir Charles on the doubtful eminence from which public opinion had deposed him, no better course could have been taken than that which they adopted.

On the Speaker calling upon Sir C. Dilke,

Lord Bury rose and put a question of privilege. Reading the terms of the oath of allegiance taken by each member, and the declaration of Sir C. Dilke at Newcastle that he was a Republican, he asked whether the two were not irreconcilable, or at least whether Sir Charles ought not to be called on to repudiate his declaration. Seeing that every item of information which Sir Charles was about to move for could already be obtained in the library of the House, he regarded his motion as a colourable method of repeating that declaration.

The Speaker decided that it was no part of his duty to say what was consistent with a member's oath, and as to the motion, he saw nothing irregular in it.

• Sir C. Dilke, on rising, was received with a faint cheer from a

gentlemen about him, and with loud groans from the Opposition. He began by disclaiming all intention of going into the question raised by Lord Bury; his aim was to show that Parliament had a general and special right to inquire into the management of the Civil List, and that there ought to be such an inquiry. In support of his first contention, he quoted a variety of precedents, from 1732 downwards—though, even if there were no precedents, Parliament should create one—and he argued that inquiries at the beginning of a reign, when alone they were now made, were insufficient and futile. The object of such an inquiry was not to destroy vested interests of the holders of sinecures and unnecessary offices, but to prevent new interests being created, and to facilitate the next settlement of the Civil List. But precedents for interfering with the arrangements made at the beginning of the reign had been cited by what he called “resumptions by the Crown,” such as the sum charged on the Estimates for the conveyance of members of the royal family, entertainment of royal guests, the grant of the fees in the royal parks to individuals, &c. Passing on to explain the nature of the returns he intended to move for, Sir Charles dwelt on the importance of obtaining correct information as to the expenditure of the Civil List and the savings on it, which he asserted could neither legally nor in policy be transferred to the Privy Purse. On the last part of his subject, and for the purpose of illustrating the security and irregularities of the Civil List accounts, and the persons who were those responsible to comply with the Civil List Act, he entered into a lengthy and complicated examination of the Exchequer accounts from the beginning of the reign. Next he discussed the character of the hereditary revenues and of the Duchy of Lancaster, maintaining that they are public property, and that the present arrangement is an inconvenient fiction. At this part of his speech Sir Charles withdrew his statement that the Queen had no income tax, expressing his regret that he had been misled. He gave various reasons in support of the opportuneness of the inquiry during the present reign—the public belief that the Sovereign had accumulated large savings; the grants to the Princesses, which he asserted were entirely unprecedented; and the secrecy maintained in respect of royal wills, which made it impossible to ascertain the Sovereign’s private fortune. The only two objections to it were the alleged decrease of the Civil List, and the absence of all demands on account of debts; but the first, he asserted, was not true, and the second was irrelevant. Finally, he urged the importance of granting an inquiry in view of the impression which prevailed that under the shadow of the Crown large sums were wasted.

When Sir Charles sat down there was a cry for a division, but Mr. Gladstone rose, and, touching first on the statement that inquiries into the Civil List at the beginning of the reign were useless, reproached Sir Charles with some warmth for careless investigation into his facts. The committee which sat at the beginning of this reign had made a careful investigation, and the

Civil List showed a very large reduction on the two former reigns. Of Sir Charles's figures, he observed that they left a very confused impression on the mind, and he complained that he had not furnished the Government with particulars, although he had been requested beforehand. To go into the charges arising out of these accounts was quite impossible without notice; but they and his observations about sinecures were equally beside the question, and would not bear the inference which Sir C. Dilke suggested. As to his motion, some portion of the information asked for was already before the House in a different form. But, with regard to the new portion, Mr. Gladstone said it was impossible to consider it without referring to the incident in which the motion originated. By the unfortunate speech at Newcastle, Sir Charles had brought the subject into an ill-omened association with proposals to change the form of our Government, which were most repugnant to the great body of the people. In severely condemning the circumstances attending this meeting, Mr. Gladstone was loudly cheered, especially when he declared that it was Sir C. Dilke's duty, in his assumed character of a "public instructor," to have made it clear to his audience that Parliament was solely responsible for the Civil List, and that the Queen had nothing to do with the settlement of it. To grant the motion would be to propagate a belief in the country that the House of Commons had assented to it in direct reference to the Newcastle speech, and as an initiation of the change. To the creation of such an impression the Government was unwilling to contribute. Eulogizing her Majesty's faithful adherence to her compact with the nation, and contrasting it with former times, Mr. Gladstone mentioned that the Queen had since the commencement of her reign spent 600,000*l.* on private pensions, and he urged the evil precedent it would set to future Sovereigns if the people attempted to reopen the life bargain. As a matter of policy and as a matter of grateful duty to the Sovereign, he asked the House to reject the motion, and without further discussion. This last suggestion was loudly cheered, and

Mr. A. Herbert, in endeavouring to second the motion, was met with a storm which for some time entirely drowned his voice. As the cries of "Divide," mingled with groans and an occasional hiss, lulled, he was heard to be apologizing for Sir C. Dilke for his unintended personal attack on the Sovereign, while proclaiming his own preference for a Republican form of Government. This redoubled the uproar; but Mr. Herbert persevered resolutely, and sent out for a glass of water in sign of his unflinching determination to be heard out.

The Speaker interfered in his favour, but with only slight effect and presently the Opposition in a body, as well as a considerable number on the Ministerial side, got up and left the House. Mr. Herbert went on, comparatively undisturbed by noise, to controvert some of Mr. Gladstone's objections, but he was presently brought

to a stop by a motion to count the House. Three times this motion was made, but on each occasion the Speaker found more than forty members to be present. A fourth member then called the Speaker's attention to the presence of "strangers," upon which the galleries were cleared amid much confusion, and the reporters were excluded with the rest of the outer world.

At the end of about an hour "strangers" were readmitted, and the House was then found to be engaged in dividing on the question of the adjournment of the House, which was beaten by 261 to 23.

Mr. Fawcett said that, though a year ago he might have voted for the motion, now that it was associated with the Newcastle speech, which he thoroughly disapproved, he should vote against it. The question of Republicanism ought not to be raised on a miserable haggles over the cost of the Queen's household.

Mr. Liddell protested against a remark of Mr. Fawcett's that the Conservatives had attempted to stifle discussion. They had listened in silence to Sir Charles Dilke, and it was only when Mr. Herbert rose, who had no connexion with the question, that the interruptions began.

The House then divided on the motion, and it found two supporters only (besides the two tellers), the numbers being 276 to 2. The result was cheered from both sides.

The following graphic description of the scene in the House during the absence of reporters is given by an eye-witness:—

"Mr. Herbert continued in a strain of strong invective, but was totally inaudible to the members of the House, who had by this time assembled in large numbers behind the Speaker's chair, where they gave vent to their disapprobation in wild discordant cries, amongst which it was easy to detect a very good imitation of cock-crowing in a voice very similar to that of an Hibernian baronet. Eventually Mr. Herbert pledged himself that he would not detain the House for more than five minutes on condition of their listening to him, and Mr. Headlam, crossing over to the Opposition benches, timed the hon. gentleman by a watch which he openly held in his hand. Mr. Herbert proceeded to denounce the Civil List system as being extravagant, and warned the House that the country would draw their own conclusions from the manner which hon. members had refused to hear him. An extravagant Civil List, he said, at all times exercised a bad influence on society. Here he was again met by loud cries of 'Divide!' and a scene of the greatest confusion prevailed. In the midst of this, Mr. Headlam warmly rebuked the hon. gentleman for not fulfilling his pledge, and then there was more cock-crowing and disorder amongst the members crowded in the vicinity of the chair. Presently Mr. Dodson advanced to the table, when the House was hushed to silence. In dignified terms he drew attention to the cries that had come from behind the chair, which, he said, were not consistent with the dignity of the British House of Commons. The scene he had witnessed gave him the greatest pain and apprehension. He appealed for order, and was met by loud cheers on both sides of the House.

"The Speaker hereupon rose, and said that he had certainly heard sounds which were very unusual in that House, but he could not discover whence they came. Mr. Herbert then essayed to conclude his observations, and was heard to say that the refusal of the papers would have an effect that it was not desirable to produce. The scene that evening would do more to increase a Republican feeling in the country than anything else.

"After this, Mr. Mundella, in energetic and powerful language, regretted that the House had declined to hear the statements of the two hon. members; at the same time, however, he repudiated having any sympathy with them in the motion they had brought forward. The House, he was grieved to say, had assumed an aspect worthy only of an assembly on the other side of the Channel. He trusted that such a state of things would never occur again. It savoured of persecution, and the great masses of the country would so interpret it. He disagreed with the proposer and seconder of the motion, and thought the scene they had witnessed would tend to elevate them to positions they did not deserve. If, as it seemed, Sir Charles Dilke's object was to carry out economy, why did he not attack the granting of large and important sums, instead of coming to the House and endeavouring to carry out narrow, contemptible, and petty economies—such as the clothing of trumpeters and other servants of the Royal Household? Both hon. members would do well to devote the courage they possessed to dealing with real grievances; but if their intention was not to promote economy, then it was to bring about organic changes—which would not be at all desirable. He hoped, however, that the House, having regard to its own dignity, would allow their arguments to be heard and reported to the country.

"Following this speaker, Mr. Newdegate rose, and with his usual ponderosity and slow phraseology, expressed regrets of much the same character. He reminded the House of the necessity of hon. members always carrying on its business with dignity—and he confirmed the statement of the Prime Minister that Sir Charles Dilke had not chosen to retract one word he had said to the effect that he was in favour of a Republic. That he (Mr. Newdegate) conceived to be the intention of his motion. If the hon. baronet desired a Republic, he would perhaps propose a repeal of the oath of allegiance.

"Mr. Dillwyn followed, and moved the adjournment of the debate, observing that he should decline to discuss anything whatever during the absence of reporters from the House."

With this the discreditable scene closed.

Some time afterwards Sir Charles Dilke distinguished himself by proposing as strange a measure as any that has at any time been introduced into Parliament. By the Public Lands and Commons Bill all lands belonging to incorporated bodies, or to trustees for public and charitable purposes, were to be transferred to certain elected officers who were within wide limits to dispose of them at

pleasure, with especial regard to the encouragement of co-operative agriculture. The same functionaries were to hold a general licence of mortmain, and while they were to account to existing beneficiaries for the present revenue of the estates, no security was provided against the diminution or exhaustion of the principal. It is surprising that seventeen members were found to vote for a project which seemed to have no object except to furnish a precedent for confiscation. More serious embarrassment to the Government was threatened by the renewal of Mr. Fawcett's Bill for the re-organization of Trinity College, Dublin, and for the abolition of University Tests. Mr. Plunket again distinguished himself by an able speech in favour of the motion; but Mr. Gladstone, while he consented to the abolition of Tests, refused to allow his hand to be forced. It is evidently necessary that the settlement of the Irish University question, if it is in any case practicable, should be undertaken by the Government; yet the opposition to the pretensions of the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy is so strong that it was thought prudent to get rid of the Bill by prolonging the debate instead of proceeding to a Division. Mr. Fawcett never afterwards found an opportunity of obtaining a decision, since Mr. Gladstone rightly refused to regard a legislative proceeding as a vote of censure on the Government.

On one important question the Ministers suffered a decisive and unexpected defeat. Sir M. Lopes brought forward his annual motion on the subject of Local Taxation, which this year took the form of a Resolution declaring that, in remedying the grievance of imposing taxation for national objects on one description of property, the Ratepayers in counties and boroughs ought to be relieved either in whole or in part from the charges for administration of justice, police, and lunatics. He began by reviewing the history of his previous motions, dwelling especially on the events of last year, and condemning the Report on which Mr. Goschen's Bills were founded, the figures of which he said, were fabulous and "cooked." The Local Taxation of the Empire he computed at 40 millions (almost identical with Imperial Taxation exclusive of the cost of the debt), and this he maintained was levied exclusively on barely one-seventh of the whole annual income of the country. Analyzing this gross sum, and showing the purposes to which it was devoted, Sir Massey came down at last to a sum of 3,400,000*l.* collected on the Poor-Rate Assessment for purposes unconnected with the Poor Rate, and this he showed was spent on objects which it was the duty of the Imperial Government to provide for, and was almost entirely removed from local control. The three principal heads of this expenditure were Justice, Police, and Lunatics, and he suggested as a practical mitigation of the grievance that the Imperial Exchequer should take on itself the whole expenses of administration of Justice (670,000*l.*), half the charges of Police (563,000*l.*), and half the charge of Lunatics (424,000*l.*). Including the corresponding relief for Scotland and Ireland the whole sum transferred

to the Consolidated Fund would be 2,037,000*l.*, and he maintained that by such an equitable arrangement the economy of local control and the efficiency of central supervision would be combined. Referring to the amendment of which Sir T. Acland had given notice, he characterized it as specious and crafty, the work of an enemy rather than of a friend, showing doubtful sympathy and questionable sincerity; and he denied altogether that the division of Rates between owner and occupier would meet the grievance of the Ratepayers, who complained that they were fleeced to diminish the burdens of the Imperial Exchequer.

Colonel Amcotts seconded the Resolution, and warned the Government that the question would be irrepressible until a remedy had been discovered.

Sir T. Acland moved as an amendment a Resolution which, while admitting the justice of relieving Ratepayers from payments for national purposes not under local control, recommended that rates for new objects should be divided between the owners and occupiers. Disclaiming the connexion with the Government which had been insinuated on the other side, Sir Thomas, in a lengthy and desultory speech full of details of Local Taxation in different parts of the country, argued that the real injustice fell, not on the landlord, but on the tenant, and that the remedy was to be sought, not in an appeal to the Exchequer, which was a step towards a national Rate, but in the careful re-organization of Local Government.

Mr. Read thought the speech in which the amendment had been moved had no particular relevancy either to the motion or to the amendment. No amount of sophistry could conceal the fact that Local Taxation had largely increased. A special grievance on which he dwelt was that the Ratepayers had no local control, because the magistrates had no representative character.

Mr. Rathbone, in seconding the amendment, argued against exemptions, and, deprecating the withdrawal of the wealthy classes from Local Government, said he was opposed to the wholesale transfer of whole charges to the Exchequer. He preferred to meet the grievance by a fixed contribution, which would not dispense with personal responsibility.

Mr. Liddell supported the Resolution, which he thought it impossible for the Government to oppose after their offer of the House Tax last year for the relief of Local Taxation.

Mr. Colman, speaking on behalf of the towns, bore testimony to the hardship caused there by the crushing weight of local taxes, and Sir G. Jenkinson argued in favour of relieving the Rates by a system of local licences and a special Income-tax schedule for local purposes.

Mr. Craufurd also supported the motion as an indirect means of bringing personal property under contribution, though he did not despair of doing this in a direct manner.

Mr. Henley held that Sir M. Lopes' proposal was wise and moderate, and advised the Government to seize so favourable an



opportunity of settling a question which would daily assume a more menacing aspect, particularly when the boroughs discovered where the shoe pinches. Mr. Henley was of opinion that the increase in the local taxes was due to the Legislature, not to the Executive.

Mr. Stansfeld replied by quoting certain passages from Sir M. Lopes' speech, from which he inferred that the settlement he offered would not completely satisfy public opinion out of doors. The Government, however, were not prepared to accept the Resolution, but they would accept the Amendment. This statement was received with laughter, and some sarcastic cheering, which led Mr. Stansfeld to protest that he had no connexion with Sir T. Acland. But it was with certain reservations that they would accept it; for instance, they would reserve to themselves the right of judging what were the payments for national objects not under local control, for which relief should be afforded. The Government were also in favour of dividing Local Taxation between the owner and occupier. Proceeding next to criticize the language of the Amendment, he maintained that the administration of justice and peace were not "almost entirely independent of local control," or so far removed from local interest as the Amendment asserted. But if the State assumed the cost it would also assume the control, and for the sake of a miserable saving in Rates the principle of Local Government would be invaded, and a direct step would be taken to a system of centralization. Moreover, it would draw the attention of the public to the incidence of Taxes as well as of Rates, and also to the duties and the rights of property, and this was hardly advisable from the point of view of the supporters of the motion. Commenting on the exaggerations in Sir M. Lopes' speech, he maintained that we had now reached the *maximum* of the Poor Rates, and would henceforth see a falling off. The Government was anxious to introduce a measure on the subject, and he asked the House, therefore, not to tie their hands by a sweeping general Resolution.

Mr. Disraeli remarked that, though the question was now a quarter of a century old, this was one of the most moderate and practical plans for remedying the injustice ever proposed, and the speech of Mr. Stansfeld, though sensible and useful, did not touch the complaint. The Government could not consistently oppose the application of two millions to the relief of Local Taxation, because they themselves had proposed to hand over the House Tax for that purpose, though he himself disapproved it, and thought it would increase the present anomalies. As to Mr. Stansfeld's warning not to open the consideration of the rights and duties of property, if they were not thoroughly understood and fulfilled by this time, the merited consequences could not be avoided by refraining to press a claim of justice. During the twenty-five years the question had been discussed, the burdens on real property, Mr. Disraeli pointed out, had greatly increased, and would be still more

increased by the two leading questions of the day—Public Education and Public Health. He regretted, therefore, that the Government had not seen its way to accepting the motion, instead of what he described as the “queer amendment” of Sir T. Acland.

Mr. Goschen desired that those who were for reducing the Rates by resort to the Consolidated Fund should state explicitly by what Imperial Tax they would supply the money. He objected to the motion that it was intended to evade a division of the Rates between owner and occupier, and that it only dealt with one part of the question—how to lay hands on two millions from the Imperial Exchequer, and left out of sight the improvement of administration, the securities for economical administration, and the other reforms which he had included in his Bill. The Government had no disposition to evade the question, and would approach it in no spirit of hostility to the land, but they objected to giving relief in the indiscriminate shape of taking two millions out of the Consolidated Fund by way of a beginning.

On a division Sir M. Lopes’ Resolution was carried against the Government by a majority of 100—259 to 159—and the Opposition cheered loudly and long when the numbers were announced.

Among the annual motions which have for the present scarcely a practical character may be reckoned Mr. W. Fowler’s proposal for the Limitation of Entails, Sir Wilfred Lawson’s Permissive Bill, and Mr. Gilpin’s attempt to abolish Capital Punishment. Both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli objected to a fragmentary interference with the law of Land Tenure; but Mr. Fowler was supported by a respectable minority. Mr. Henley delivered an effective and original speech against the principles and assumptions of the United Kingdom Alliance, and in the latter part of the Session he spoke against Capital Punishment. Mr. Bruce, the Attorney-General, and his Irish colleague, and several independent members, contended, on the other side, that the sacredness of human life required to be primarily asserted in the case of innocent persons; and Mr. Tipping quoted an epigrammatic statement of Signor Sella’s, that, while Italy had of all countries most killing and least hanging, England, which hanged most, had the fewest murders. A majority of three to one voted in the spirit of the French phrase that in the humane competition it was proper that the murderers should begin. When Mr. Smyth, Mr. Butt, and other Irish members contended for the repeal of the Unlawful Assemblies Act, it appeared to the House that additional facilities for seditious agitation were not the most urgent want of Ireland.

While private members were for the most part forced to content themselves with the opportunity of expressing their opinions in the form of Bills or of Motions, the more important business of the Government was conducted with unusual success. A considerable surplus enabled Mr. Lowe to remove the twopence in the pound which he had last year added to the Income Tax, to extend the exemptions allowed to the poorer class of tax-payers, and to diminish

the Coffee Duty by one-half. The recollection of his failure in the last Session perhaps accounted for some depressing influence which rendered his speech unworthy of the occasion, of the assembly to which it was addressed, and of his own undoubted ability.

In making his Financial Statement he commenced with an elaborate comparison of the actual expenditure of the year with his Estimates in last year's Budget, with the sum sanctioned by the Appropriation Act, and with the sum actually voted, including supplemental Estimates. The actual Expenditure of the year has been 71,720,000*l.*, which is a saving of 1,016,000*l.* on the amount voted, and is 588,000*l.* less than he estimated it at in the Budget of 1871-72. This, he claimed, bore testimony to the vigilance with which the Expenditure had been watched, although much of it arose from the necessary looseness with which the Estimates were framed, and which could only be remedied by more frequent recourse to supplemental Estimates and Votes on Account. Comparing in like manner the actual with the estimated Revenue, Mr. Lowe stated that the Revenue had produced 2,220,000*l.* more than was anticipated, showing an actual excess of Revenue over Expenditure of 2,815,000*l.*, of which 1,016,000*l.* is due to economies in Expenditure. Mr. Lowe went at some length into the details of the increased Revenue, justifying his estimates and dwelling with especial satisfaction on the increase of 1,000,000*l.* in the yield from Stamps, notwithstanding the reduction of last year, and on the increased yield of the Income Tax, which has risen now to 1,660,000*l.* for each penny in the pound. Next he presented to the Committee a comparative review of the Exchequer balances. These on the 1st of April next he calculated would amount to 8,890,000*l.*, or about double what they were in 1869; though during the same period we have effected a gross reduction of 12,740,000*l.* of debt, and have had to spend sums out of capital account for such purposes as purchases of Telegraphs, Fortifications, Abolition of Purchase, and the War in Europe, amounting in all to nearly 10,000,000*l.* The total amount of the debt is 792,740,000*l.*, of which 731,787,000*l.* is Funded Debt, 55,757,000*l.* in Terminable Annuities, 5,220,000*l.* Unfunded Debt. Passing on to the next year's finances, Mr. Lowe dealt first with the Expenditure, which he thus estimated:—

Charges for the Debt . . . . .	£26,830,000
Consolidated Fund charges . . . . .	1,780,000
Army (not including Abolition of Purchase) . . . . .	14,824,000
Navy . . . . .	9,508,000
Civil Service . . . . .	10,652,000
Revenue Departments . . . . .	2,621,000
Post Office . . . . .	2,610,000
Telegraphs . . . . .	500,000
Packet Service . . . . .	1,135,000
Abolition of Purchase . . . . .	853,000

Total    £71,313,000

This is 1,423,000*l.* less than the actual grants of last year, and admitting that the supplemental estimates this year may be 400,000*l.* as they were last year, there will be considerably over a reduction of a million. The Revenue for the coming year on the present footing, before any reductions are made, the Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated as follows:—

Customs . . . . .	£20,300,000
Excise . . . . .	23,320,000
Stamps . . . . .	9,700,000
Taxes . . . . .	2,350,000
Income Tax . . . . .	9,950,000
Post Office . . . . .	4,770,000
Crown Lands . . . . .	375,000
Telegraphs . . . . .	850,000
Miscellaneous . . . . .	3,300,000

Total £74,915,000

This would give a net increase of 380,000*l.* on last year's Revenue, and, compared with the estimated Expenditure of 71,313,000*l.*, leaves a surplus of 3,602,000*l.* in Mr. Lowe's hands for the reduction of taxation. Passing at once to this part of the Budget, he stated, first, that the exemptions under the House Tax would be extended so as to include premises occupied as offices, and this would cost the Revenue 50,000*l.* Next he proposed to reduce the Customs duties on coffee and chicory, and the excise on chicory by one-half. Thus the duty on ground and roasted coffee will be reduced from 4*d.* to 2*d.* per lb.; on raw coffee, from 28*s.* to 14*s.* per cwt.; on chicory, from 26*s.* 6*d.* to 13*s.* 3*d.* per cwt.; and the Excise duty on chicory will be reduced from 24*s.* 3*d.* to 12*s.* 1*d.* per cwt. The whole cost of this operation will be 230,000*l.* Dealing next with the Income Tax, he announced that the abatement of 60*l.* now permitted on incomes under 200*l.* will be increased to 80*l.*, and will be extended to incomes under 300*l.* At present, 273,000 persons claim the abatement, and this number will be increased to 440,000, and the cost will be 310,000*l.* Finally, Mr. Lowe was loudly cheered when he stated that he would undo what he had been obliged to do last year, and would take off the twopence extra imposed last year, at a sacrifice to the Revenue of 2,700,000*l.* The total remissions of taxation amount to 3,290,000*l.*—the Revenue for the year 1872-73 is brought down to 71,625,000*l.*, and the estimated surplus is reduced to an actual surplus of 312,000*l.*

The customary desultory conversation followed, in the course of which Mr. White repeated his complaint that Mr. Lowe habitually under-estimated the Revenue; Mr. Selater-Booth dissented from Mr. Lowe's views as to the expediency of supplementary Estimates; Mr. Powell and Mr. Greene complained that the brewers' licences had not been reduced, and Mr. Pease found fault with the continuance of the heavy military expenditure. Mr. W. Fowler, Mr. Harcourt, and Mr. Muntz also complained of the extra-

vagance of the Estimates, and the falsification of all the promises of economy; while Mr. Gordon, Mr. A. Kinnaird, and Mr. Read joined in calling for some reduction in the tax on agricultural horses and shepherds' dogs, and Mr. Grieve advocated the claims of the Sugar Duties to remission. Mr. Crawford expressed a general approval of the Budget, and Mr. Alderman Lawrence repeated his objections to the House Tax, which he insisted ought to be abolished.

Mr. Ward Hunt criticized Mr. Lowe's arguments on Supplementary Votes, and his statements as to the balances, and reminded him that he had omitted to mention whether he intended to re-impose the Tea Duties which expire this year, and also to explain how the three millions and a half for the barracks were to be raised.

Colonel Barttelot congratulated Mr. Lowe on having produced a commonplace Budget. Sir T. Sinclair characterized it as a rich man's Budget. Mr. Macfie, Mr. Bowring, Mr. Monk, Mr. M'Mahon, Mr. Scourfield, Mr. G. Bentinck, and Sir G. Jenkinson also made some observations, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer having replied, the necessary resolutions for amending the Income Tax, House Tax, and Coffee Duties, and for continuing the Tea Duties were agreed to. The Budget was accepted with but little objection, and a subsequent motion by Mr. Vernon Harcourt for a large reduction of the expenditure met with but little support. All parties concurred in the repeal of the Irish Party Processions Act, which, notwithstanding the desire of the Government to be impartial, had been exclusively applied to the repression of Orange celebrations. The Ballot Bill, the Scotch Education Bill, the Mines' Regulation Bill, the Licensing Bill, the scheme for the organization of the Army, and the Public Health Bill form a list of measures which may tend to correct exaggerated statements of the legislative incapacity of Parliament.

### CHAPTER III.

*The Ballot Bill—Its progress through the House—Mr. Leatham's Amendment—The Bill in the Lords—The Lords' Amendments—Collision between the Houses averted—The Bill passed—Pontefract and Preston Elections under the new Act—The Licensing Bill—Its introduction and provisions—It is passed—Discontent and riots in the country—Justice Keogh's Judgment on the Galway Election—Great excitement in Ireland—Protest of the Catholic Clergy—The Judgment upheld by the Common Pleas—Addresses of the Grand Juries in support of the Judge—Resignation of Lord Granard—Debate and Division in the House of Commons—The Naval Estimates—Results and Statistics of the Session.*

For the second time the Ballot Bill formed the main occupation of the Session, and after many checks and delays, caused by the obvious indifference and latent disapproval of the House, Mr. Forster accomplished his unsatisfactory task. The promoters of the Bill

candidly admitted that the House of Lords had been justified in previously rejecting an incomplete measure, which was only brought under their consideration at the end of a Session. The second reading was carried in a thin and inattentive House, by a majority of 109 to 51, in the absence of the leaders of the Opposition. At one time only two members were present. Although Mr. Nolan, the new member for Kerry, made a good and pointed maiden address, and Mr. Beresford Hope kept the House amused, the only speeches of any importance were those of Mr. Dacre and Mr. Walter: the former ridiculed the trustee notion of the franchise, saying that non-electors clearly ought not to dictate for whom the franchise-holder should vote, as otherwise they would be the electors, and arguing that, as to Ireland, it was better she should return 80 Home-Rulers than that the electors should be discontented by inability to express their opinion. Mr. Walter, on the other hand, voted against the Ballot, arguing that its introduction was but preliminary to a new Reform Bill, which would abolish all little boroughs, and boroughs which are really fragments of counties, and enfranchise all county householders. He believed that these boroughs would, under the Bill, be bought wholesale, and that equal electoral districts would soon be inevitable. If the country was not prepared for that, it ought not to pass the Bill. He added, however, that he should oppose it no more.

The details of the Bill caused much difficulty and delay. In a speech in favour of securities against personation even Mr. Fawcett deprecated the system of secret voting; and throughout the long discussion many active members of the Liberal party seemed even more anxious to neutralize the effects of the Ballot than to secure the adoption of the novel form of voting. The abolition of Nominations, which was but accidentally connected with the Ballot Bill, met with general approval. Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens was defeated in an amendment for throwing the cost of elections on the Consolidated Fund by a large majority, and the Government, although Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster took the opportunity of proposing to pay the expenses out of the Rates, justly thought it useless, after the result of Sir Massey Lopes' motion, to propose any addition to local burdens. A decision against provisions for scrutiny was afterwards reversed in pursuance of a compromise with the House of Lords. The most animated part of the contest arose on an Amendment, proposed by Mr. Leatham, for punishing the disclosure of a vote at the polling-place by six months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour. The Bill, as it was introduced in 1871, included a penal clause, which was afterwards, among other provisions, which, according to Mr. Forster, were only of secondary importance, withdrawn, for the purpose of accelerating the progress of the measure. Mr. Leatham was, consequently, entitled to quote in support of his proposal the original intention of the Government, while his opponents, not less forcibly, appealed to the subsequent abandonment and to the more recent omission of the clause. It was opposed from

the Liberal benches by Mr. Harcourt, Lord Bury, Sir H. Hoare, and Mr. Fawcett, who declared it to be an unbearable novelty and an unnecessary piece of tyranny to compel a man to vote in secret if he did not wish, and to treat the exposure of his ballot-paper as a heinous crime. Mr. Harcourt proposed to substitute "with corrupt intent" for "wilfully," and this amendment was supported by Lord J. Manners, Mr. Birley, Mr. Cross, Mr. A. Egerton, and others, who urged the folly of legislating against public opinion, and predicted that no judge or jury would convict for such an offence. On the other hand, Mr. Forster, supported by Mr. Muntz and Mr. James, supported the original amendment, arguing that the Ballot, being for the repression of bribery and intimidation, is useless if an elector has the means of proving how he has voted.

Mr. Leatham, in defending his own proposal, sharply attacked Mr. Fawcett, who, he declared, on this as on other occasions, had turned his back on his principles.

The Committee divided on Mr. Harcourt's amendment, but the Tellers for the Ayes not agreeing, a second division became necessary. In this Mr. Harcourt carried the omission of the word "wilfully" from Mr. Leatham's amendment by a majority of one—167 to 166. This result was received by the Opposition with enthusiastic cheering, and Mr. Forster at once rose and moved to report progress.

Two days later the fight was resumed in an exceedingly crowded and excited House, Sir George Grey, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Bouverie all supporting Mr. Harcourt, who made one of his clever *ad captandum* speeches, not touching the point at issue, but belabouring the Government for holding so hard by a provision which they owed to Mr. Leatham, and not to their own Bill, while Mr. Bouverie proposed that a constable should be present at every polling-booth with handcuffs ready, and that the prison van should be waiting at the door "to convey the free and independent British elector to the treadmill." A division was taken amidst great excitement, for it was obviously going against the Government; and the result was a defeat of the Government by 28 in a full House (246 to 274), about 40 Liberals voting in the majority, and 12 absenting themselves. It was of course hardly possible for the Prime Minister to declare as absolutely essential to the Bill,—even though it really were so,—a provision not in last year's Bill at the time when it passed the House of Commons, and accidentally omitted when the Bill was redrawn this year, and he therefore declared that he would take the Bill without this provision rather than lose it altogether; and Mr. Forster agreed to accept a modified form of Mr. Harcourt's amendment, which runs thus:—"No person shall, directly or indirectly, induce any voter to display his ballot-paper after he shall have marked the same, so as to make known to any person the name of the candidate for or against whom he has so marked his vote;" and for doing this the penalty is to be three months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Mr. Gladstone then announced it as his intention to proceed with the Bill, notwithstanding a defeat which must have been immediately mortifying, and which, as the result proved, served as an encouragement to the House of Lords to mutilate the Bill. A great debate followed, and a proposal by Mr. Synan that the presiding officer should mark the paper for a voter who could not read. Mr. Forster resisted this at first as dangerous to secrecy, but subsequently gave way. Mr. James was very sorrowful over the amendment, but it passed by 242 to 88. When the report was brought up, a desperate effort to retain nomination-days was defeated, chiefly by Mr. Bernal Osborne. A great fight about the hours of polling, as to which the Government had proposed a sliding scale according to the season, ended in a general expression of a wish to retain the present practice. The third reading of the measure, which Mr. Gladstone once described as the "People's Bill," was at last, notwithstanding Mr. Disraeli's calculated reticence, only carried by a majority of 58 in a full House (276 to 218). Mr. Maguire's attempt to recommit for the purpose of getting rid of the clause which enables the returning officer to give his assistance to "illiterate" voters was defeated by a majority of 218 (277 to 61), and the third reading was carried after a rather tame debate, in which Mr. Forster recapitulated forcibly the provisions in favour of secrecy,—showing that the Bill makes it illegal to exhibit your vote,—and described the Bill as the strongest Ballot Bill in existence, except that of South Australia. Six Conservatives in the end supported the Bill, and though only one Liberal, Mr. Agar Ellis (Kilkenny), voted against it, a great many stayed away.

During the temporary withdrawal of the greater chiefs, Sir Stafford Northcote expressed on this the latest opportunity the well-founded and consistent objection of his party to a system which, whatever may be its bearing on corruption, tends to diminish the legitimate influence of character and station.

Thus, after months of weary labour, Mr. Forster passed his Bill almost as it originally stood. The conduct of the Bill in the House of Lords was once more entrusted to Lord Ripon, who shares with Mr. Forster the exceptional qualification of having been a supporter of the principle of secret voting before it became a Ministerial question. In moving the second reading he said that the plea of insufficient time put forward last session for postponing the consideration of the measure could not now be urged, while the undiminished desire of the other House for the Bill was shown by the large majorities by which it had been sent up. Defining its main objects to be such an improvement in our electoral machinery as would establish greater order and regularity, put an end to intimidation, and greatly diminish the evils of bribery, he quoted the despatches of Mr. Du Cane and Sir J. Ferguson to show the advantageous working of the ballot in our Australian colonies, and cited the elections under the London School Board as further evidence of the good order produced by secret voting. Apologizing for travelling over the argu-



ments by which it was his duty to recommend the Ballot Bill of last year, he said that the opinion of the House of Commons upon a question of electoral machinery was entitled to especial consideration from their lordships, and he trusted they would not reject a Bill sent up a second time after full and careful consideration by the other House.

Lord Grey, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said they had been warned by the Prime Minister that the Ballot was only one of three important changes that were required, the two others being a further extension of the franchise and a redistribution of seats. If a revision of our electoral system were imminent, it would be most imprudent to make one partial change. His main objection to the Bill was that it would give us a worse instead of a better House of Commons, and would be a powerful obstacle to such a reform in that House as was most urgently required. Accusing the Government of a lack of foresight and statesmanship, he said that useful legislation was at a standstill, that important measures like the Contagious Diseases Act were decided by clamour and passion, and that the interests of the country were sacrificed to those of a political party. Denying that the passing of this Bill in two successive years by the other House formed a sufficient justification for the present motion, he asserted that if their lordships were not to exercise an independent judgment in such a matter that House had better be abolished. He deprecated any such trickery as giving this Bill a second reading, with the view of introducing amendments inconsistent with its spirit, and said that the only material amendment he should support would be the clause of the former Bill, giving facilities for ascertaining on a scrutiny how each elector had voted.

The Duke of Richmond regretted that the Government had thought it necessary to deal with this question, and contended that their lordships were last year perfectly justified in postponing legislation for another session. He adverted to the mode in which the subject had been dealt with at various periods; the evils complained of; and lastly, the probability that they would be cured by the Bill. After being snubbed and summarily rejected by Liberal Ministers for a series of years the Ballot Bill had now been brought forward to meet the demands of the advanced section of the Liberal party. Replying to the arguments of Lord Ripon founded on colonial experience, he said that the Bill contained many anomalies. Seeing, however, that it had come up a second time supported by large majorities of the other House, and by all the power of the Government, and that if it were rejected the present apathy might be succeeded by a great and dangerous agitation, he had come to the conclusion that, although he disliked the Bill, it would be unadvisable to oppose the second reading. He should be prepared, however, in committee, to propose several amendments,—e. g. that secret voting should be optional, and not compulsory, and that there should be the power of tracing votes if given wrongfully and corruptly.

Lord Shaftesbury, although agreeing in opinion with Lord Grey, and sharing his apprehensions, thought that the Duke of Richmond had spoken the words of wisdom in advising their lordships to give the Bill a second reading. At the same time, by a proposition for secret voting the country inflicted upon itself a direct dishonour. It was an open avowal of cowardice and corruption. The Bill, would, moreover, be altogether ineffective to put down intimidation, and it would make bribery ten times worse. Quoting a warning given to him by the late Daniel Webster, that the Ballot could never co-exist in England with monarchical institutions, he opposed the Bill from a variety of political, social, and moral considerations. He was prepared to witness the dissolution of the Established Church and a vital attack upon the House of Lords. He was prepared to tremble even for the Monarchy, but he was not prepared for an immoral people, fearing to come to the light because their deeds were evil.

Lord Cowper and Lord Rosebery supported, and Lord Ravensworth and the Duke of Rutland opposed the second reading.

Lord Lyveden thought he had never heard more inconsequential speeches than those in which the Duke of Richmond and Lord Shaftesbury had declared the Bill to be fraught with evil and mischief while recommending their lordships to read it a second time. The duke intended to substitute a permissive for a compulsory ballot, but it was certain that such an amendment would be rejected by the House of Commons, and the month of August would find both Houses still discussing the Ballot. He agreed that against public opinion when deliberately expressed there was no power of resistance in their lordships' House, but they ought never to yield to the House of Commons upon this question until after a dissolution. This was the constitutional rule in all great reforms. The Bill had been brought forward to unite the Liberal party, and to bring together in the same lobby Sir G. Grey and Sir C. Dilke, and for this purpose their lordships were asked to pass a measure which they all disliked and some of them abominated. He would tell them frankly they had no means of getting rid of the Bill except by voting against the second reading, and this he called upon their lordships manfully to do.

Lord Carnarvon twitted the Treasury bench with its silence during the debate. He pointed out that the social circumstances of the Australian colonies were so peculiar that no analogy could be drawn as to the operation of the ballot in this country. He warmly opposed the principle of the Bill.

Lord Belmore (who spoke from an Opposition bench) gave his colonial experience as an ex-Governor of New South Wales as to the working of the Ballot in the Australian colonies, and especially in regard to personation and scrutiny. He looked forward to its adoption in this country without alarm, and believing that if the Bill were thrown out a dangerous agitation would arise, and that it would come back again for adoption, he should vote for the second reading.

Lord Kimberley denied that the Government rested the case for this Bill upon the papers relating to the Australian colonies, and especially upon the opinions of the governors. He attached much more weight to the opinions of the responsible Ministers of those colonies, some of which he cited. Replying to some of the objections urged by previous speakers he thought the Bill would be especially beneficial in Ireland. It would not work a political revolution, and while its effect would be salutary, he did not believe it would realize the predictions either of its friends or of its enemies.

Lord Salisbury regarded the argument as to the Australian colonies as worthless. The Ballot had been established in many Continental countries, and they were all familiar with discussions as to how and by whom the urns had been violated. The thesis now before them was, why the House of Lords should not vote according to its opinion. Last year it did, and why should it not do so again? If it were said that the House of Commons had declared twice in favour of this Bill, and that it was consequently the duty of their lordships to pass it, that House became a mere copying machine, and the sooner its duties were remitted to that useful instrument the better. He, however, drew the widest distinction between the nation and the House of Commons, which only theoretically represented the opinion of the country on this question. The Ballot had never been before the constituencies at all, the present Government having gone to the hustings as non-ballot politicians. The difference between the Duke of Richmond and himself was that the duke hoped to obtain the objects he had in view in committee, while his difficulty was the uncertainty whether, if these amendments were carried, they would ultimately be incorporated in the Bill. Nevertheless, if the Bill went into committee, he should unreservedly support the amendments of which the duke had given notice. There was no one in whose judgment he had more absolute confidence, but his noble friend's mind was a little disturbed by the fear of that autumn agitation against the House of Lords which was always coming and never came. The duke would either fail to pass his amendments or he would succeed; in the latter case, he would incur that very danger of irritating the House of Commons which he now deprecated. In England the Ballot might not make much change; it was the case of Ireland that alarmed him, because, if this Bill passed, the legislature would have to meet a demand for separation from the majority of Irish representatives. Believing that a fearful constitutional danger now threatened their lordships, he should give his hearty support to the amendment.

The Lord Chancellor deprecated the unconditional rejection of the Bill, and, as a proof that it was demanded by the country, asserted that every candidate who had gone to an election since the discussion on the Bill had been compelled to declare himself in favour of the Ballot.

Lord Cairns contended that the Bill, by its complicated and

unintelligible directions would disfranchise half the constituency. He would be no party to giving a vote in its favour.

Their lordships divided, when there appeared a majority of 30 in favour of the second reading—viz. Contents, 86 ; Non-Contents, 56.

The Duke of Richmond was as good as his promise, and after accepting the principle of compulsory secret voting by allowing the Bill to pass its second reading, proposed amendments which changed the measure into a Bill for compelling all dependent persons to vote openly. Many politicians believed that his threat was only a device to enable the Bill to slip through, but he actually proposed to allow any voter who chose to show his vote to the agents in the booth, or indeed to decline secrecy altogether; and although Lord Ripon stated that Government could not accept the amendment, and the Liberal Peers showed conclusively that optional secrecy meant publicity for all but those to whom secrecy is surplusage, the Peers carried the alteration by 83 to 67, and thus rendered a conflict with the Commons absolutely inevitable.

Lord Shaftesbury proposed two amendments, which he said had found great favour with the *élite* of the working men, and which together would be eminently favourable to the peace and good order of elections. The first, enabling the poll at borough elections to be prolonged until 8 p.m., was carried on a division by 87 votes against 72. Before the second (closing all the public-houses on the polling day) could be put—

Lord Cairns moved that the chairman report progress, in order to call attention to conduct on the part of the Government which was entirely unprecedented within his experience. Having by their organ, Lord Ripon, refused to accede to the amendment, they suddenly turned round, and all of them went into the lobby with Lord Shaftesbury. This was speaking one way and voting another.

Lord Ripon said he had regretted that the other House had struck out the clause lengthening the hours of the polling, but thought the hour of eight in the evening too late throughout the year. He had voted for the clause with the view of modifying it on the report.

A lively and even noisy discussion now sprang up, in which "words of heat" were exchanged between the leading occupants of the benches on both sides. Lord Salisbury extenuated the conduct of the Government on the ground that, having had an "unfortunate evening," they saw an opportunity of being in a majority for once. Lord Bath made a personal attack on the Lord Chancellor. Lord Granville warmly defended the Lord Chancellor, and said that noble Lords opposite were so accustomed to exercise a despotism over the House that they could not conceive any course for the Government except to be beaten. The imputation of "despotism" was resented by the Duke of Richmond as a personal reflection, and, as such, was indignantly repudiated. Lord Clanricarde called upon the clerk to read the standing order against "sharp and taxing speeches."

Ultimately the motion for reporting progress was withdrawn, and Lord Kimberley having announced that the Government would certainly go into the lobby against Lord Shaftesbury's second amendment, it was rejected by 133 votes against 90. The result of the two divisions is that the poll will be kept open until eight o'clock p.m., while the public-houses will be allowed to remain open during the day of election as usual.

Lord Beauchamp moved to add words to clause 33, limiting the operation of the Act to December 31, 1880, unless Parliament should otherwise determine. The amendment was strongly opposed by the Government, but it was carried on a division by 106 votes against 69.

A larger majority (162 to 91) supported the introduction of securities against personation. When the amended Bill was sent back to the House of Commons, Mr. Forster moved to disagree with the clause making the Ballot optional, which he characterized as making the Bill useless or worse than useless. Mr. Disraeli sustained the Lords' amendments in a skilful little speech, in which he maintained that Mr. Forster's language was extravagant and indefensible from a Government that had already agreed to give an optional Ballot to the "illiterate class of her Majesty's subjects," seeing that according to the Registrar-General one-fifth of all those who marry cannot sign their names to the Register, so that one-fifth of the electors may be taken to be illiterate voters, and the very class who need protection most, without having it accorded to them by this Bill. He argued that it was absurd to give the option to the dependent fifth and refuse it to the independent four-fifths, and he therefore regarded the Lords' amendments making the option universal as "comprehensive and consistent." For himself, he denied entirely the demand of the country for the Ballot; had he been in the Lords, he would have accepted the Bill without alteration, on one condition, that it applied only as a sort of "penal statute" to constituencies where bribery and intimidation had been proved to be widely diffused. He would regard compulsory secrecy as a degrading punishment for "the excesses of electoral society," much as the Riot Act for rioting.

Mr. Gladstone at once took up this last point, and remarked that as Mr. Disraeli seemed to think the Ballot stood in the same relation to corruption and intimidation as the Riot Act does to rioting, he evidently regarded it as an efficient remedy. As to the denial of the general demand for the Ballot, he appealed not to Liberals, but to the newly elected Conservative members for Oldham, the Isle of Wight, Tamworth, and the North-West Riding, and also to the Conservative candidate for Aberdeen, who had apparently found it necessary even in order to get a mover and a seconder, —Mr. Gladstone would not comment on his slender hopes for fear of giving pain,—to declare for the Ballot. Aberdeen had been declared by a great Conservative Scotch Judge to contain the very cream of Scotch politicians, indeed to be so enlightened that "there

was no use in talking nonsense to an Aberdeen man," and Aberdeen would not even hear of Conservatism without the Ballot. Mr. Gladstone made great fun of Mr. Disraeli's notion that the proportion of illiterates to citizens who marry is the same as the proportion of illiterates to citizens who vote, remarking that he had been credibly informed and believed that the practice of marrying went down to the lowest strata of society, and included, for instance, all the agricultural labourers, who had no county vote; and he pointed out that very stringent securities were taken against any publication by the presiding officer of the illiterate person's vote, which securities the Lords had done away with. After a short discussion, in which Mr. Cobbett (Conservative member for Oldham) declined to vote for this Bill, though pledged to the Ballot, on the excuse that it does away with the nomination-day; and Mr. Hanbury the New Conservative member for Tamworth, admitted that the strength of the public feeling had forced the Ballot upon him, and declared that he would support it, the option-giving amendments of the Lords were disagreed with by a majority of 68 (302 to 234). Mr. Henry James made a strong protest against the principle of the scrutiny, but was beaten of course by 245 (382 to 137).

The Lords' amendment, making the Ballot an eight-years' experiment, to expire in 1880, unless previously renewed, was disagreed with by a majority of 81 (246 to 165), after a somewhat sharp collision between the Prime Minister and Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, who, as usual, arrogated to himself the most absolute certainty on a point on which he was entirely astray.

On the question of the optional system there was some reason to fear that the House of Lords would persist in a policy which might have compelled the Government to resign or to dissolve. The majority had placed itself in a false position by an indirect negation of the principle which had been previously affirmed in the second reading of the Bill; but the discipline of the Conservative party in the House of Lords is sufficiently elastic to enable independent members on occasion to correct the errors of their chiefs.

Lord Ripon moved that their Lordships do not insist on the word "secretly," which raised the question of the optional Ballot. He strongly appealed to them not to insist upon an amendment which destroyed the whole character of the Bill. It would have been better to throw out the measure on the second reading than to adopt an illusory Ballot, which ate out the heart of the Bill.

The Duke of Richmond, in recommending their lordships to insist upon their amendment, disputed the assertion of Lord Ripon as to the feeling of the country, by quoting South-West Yorkshire and other elections against the returns for North-West Yorkshire and Tamworth, which had been relied upon by the President of the Council. Believing that the great bulk of the country was not in favour of secret voting, he declared that the majority ought not to be coerced by the minority. Under the Bill as it stood those who wished to vote secretly could have as much secrecy as they pleased.

The amendment which their lordships had adopted on his recommendation had been brought forward with due thought and deliberation, and he asked them to give those who wished to vote openly an opportunity of doing so.

The Duke of Northumberland regretted that he felt bound on this occasion to vote against his party. He was not disposed to look upon the Ballot with favour, and the course taken by its former opponents had done much to shake his faith in public men. He saw, however, many strong objections to an optional Ballot, and their lordships would, he thought, show true courage in retreating from an untenable position.

The Duke of Marlborough recommended their lordships to insist upon the optional Ballot.

Lord Grey said that he intended to support the amendment which limited the duration of the Bill, but their lordships would be cutting the ground from under them on that question unless the Ballot were tried in a form and manner satisfactory to its advocates. He had heard with astonishment the assertion of the Duke of Marlborough that he did not wish to delay the settlement of this question, it being notorious that to insist upon this amendment would be fatal to the Bill.

Lord Russell, premising that he had had great Parliamentary experience on this subject, said that when he went to Lord Grey with the draught of the Reform Bill of 1831, Lord Grey insisted on the Ballot being left out. To this he had no objection, because, in the small Committee which sketched out the Bill, he had used every argument against secret voting. The Reform Bill was, therefore, passed without it. The Ballot was also opposed by Sir Robert Peel, who was as strongly averse from it as Lord Grey. After controverting the allegations upon which the Prime Minister had rested his conversion to the Ballot, he said that secret voting would increase bribery, personation, and fraud. The privilege of a man to vote publicly should be guarded as sacredly in Old England as it was at this day in New England. While our modern Parliamentary history had been one continued and successful struggle for publicity, and while it was insisted upon even in the disclosures of our Divorce Court, elections alone were now to be secret and private. The introduction of secret voting would not, however, stand alone. Universal suffrage might soon follow in its train, and he contrasted regretfully the constitutional language of the Earl Grey of the Reform Bill with the language used at Blackheath in regard to organic change. What he now vainly desired to experience was a permanent feeling that the safety of the Constitution was assured.

Lord Penzance pointed out that if the word "secretly" were left out of the clause the voting would be neither open nor secret, but would combine the evils of both. It would especially enable bribery to be perpetrated with far greater ease and facility than at present.

Lord Harrowby, who warmly renewed his objection to secret

voting as "shabby," maintained that an optional Ballot would give a very fair trial to a change which could only be regarded as an experiment.

Lord Granville, alluding to the impatience manifested by some Opposition Peers, said that this clamour for an early division showed that noble Lords were hardly aware of the importance of the occasion. In answer to the Duke of Richmond's charge against the Premier, of having sneered at the House of Lords, he said that last year the Ballot Bill was postponed because they were told that it was impossible to discuss it in less than three weeks or a month. Mr. Gladstone had, therefore, a right to advert to the fact that the Bill had been got through and materially changed in the course of a single evening. He could hardly conceive that their lordships would place themselves in opposition to the other House on a question affecting the procedure at elections. Lord Russell had quoted Victoria as a colony which had refused to adopt the Ballot, but Victoria had the very form of Ballot which was engrafted upon this Bill. Lord Russell was, naturally perhaps, *laudator temporis acti*, but he had not used one good argument in favour of this mixture of open and secret voting. Doubting whether it was consonant with true Conservative feeling for that House to declare that the House of Commons was not the correct exponent of the feeling of the country, he impressively cautioned their lordships never to take a stand against the other House unless their ground was much firmer than it was upon this question.

Their lordships divided upon the question that they insist upon their amendment, when the Contents were 138 and the Not Contents 157, being a majority of 19 in favour of the Government.

The Lords thus conceding the main point in dispute, and the Commons on their part accepting the Scrutiny Clause (with certain modifications), and Lord Beauchamp's amendment, making the operation of the Bill temporary, a great constitutional change was completed, after a controversy of forty years, in spite of the all but unanimous hostility of the House of Lords, the secret disapproval of the House of Commons, and the indifference of the general community<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There are thirty-three sections in the statute, divided into four parts, and there are six schedules. The first part relates to the procedure at Parliamentary elections in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

In England the nomination of candidates for a county or borough is to be in writing, by two registered electors, as proposer and seconder, and eight other registered electors assenting to the nomination, and is to be delivered during the time appointed for the election to the returning officer by the candidate himself or his proposer or seconder. If, at the expiration of one hour after the time appointed for the election, no more candidates stand nominated than there are vacancies to be filled up, the returning officer shall forthwith declare the candidates who may stand to be elected, and return their names to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery; but if at the expiration of such hour, more candidates stand nominated than there are vacancies to be filled up, the returning officer shall adjourn the election, and shall take a poll in the manner in the Act mentioned. A candidate may, during the time appointed for the election, but not afterwards, withdraw by giving a notice to that effect, signed by him, to the returning officer, provided that the proposer of



The first election under the new Act took place in August, at Pontefract, the successful candidate, curiously enough, being Mr. Childers, who solicited re-election on being given a seat in the

a candidate nominated in his absence out of the United Kingdom may withdraw such candidate by a written notice, signed by him, and delivered to the returning officer, together with a written declaration of such absence of the candidate. In case of the death of a candidate the returning officer, shall countermand notice of the poll. In the case of a poll the votes to be taken by ballot. The ballot-paper to show the names of the candidates, with a number printed on the back, and attached to it a counterfoil, with the same number printed on the face. At the time of voting the ballot-paper shall be marked on both sides with an official mark and delivered to the voter within the polling station, and the number of such voter on the register of voters shall be marked on the counterfoil, and the voter having secretly marked his vote on the paper, and folded it up so as to conceal his vote, shall place it in a closed box in the presence of the officer presiding at the polling station after having shown to him the official mark at the back. Any ballot-paper which has not on its back the official mark, or in which votes are given to more candidates than the voter is entitled to vote for, or in which anything except the said number on the back is written or marked by which the voter can be identified, shall be void and not counted. After the close of the poll the ballot-boxes shall be sealed up, so as to prevent the introduction of additional ballot-papers, and shall be taken charge of by the returning officer, and that officer shall, in the presence of such agents, if any, of the candidates as may be in attendance, open the ballot-boxes, and ascertain the result of the poll by counting the votes given to each candidate, and shall forthwith declare to be elected the candidates or candidate to whom the majority of votes has been given, and return their names to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. The decision of the returning officer as to any question arising in respect of any ballot-paper shall be final, subject to reversal on petition questioning the election or return. Where an equality of votes is found to exist between candidates, and the addition of a vote would entitle any such candidate to be declared elected, the returning officer may give such additional vote, but shall not in any other case be entitled to vote at an election for which he is returning officer. The offences in respect of nomination-papers, ballot-papers, and ballot-boxes are set forth. The law is amended as to the division of counties and boroughs into polling districts. The duties of returning officers and election officers are detailed. The alterations as to Scotland and as to Ireland are set forth.

The second part of the statute relates to municipal elections, and the third part to "personation" at Parliamentary and municipal elections. It is to be deemed a felony, and the offender is to be liable to two years' imprisonment with hard labour. In the fourth part of the Act the schedules and notes are to be deemed part of the Act. The Acts repealed, according to the extent specified in the schedules. The statute is to be cited as "The Ballot Act, 1872," and to continue in force until December 31, 1880, and no longer, unless Parliament shall otherwise determine. The first schedule contains rules for Parliamentary elections, the poll, country votes, and general provisions. The second part contains rules for municipal elections. The second schedule contains forms to be used, and the other schedules relate to the various statutes affected by the new law. There are six offences set forth at elections. Every person is guilty of an offence who forges or fraudulently defaces, or fraudulently destroys any nomination-paper, or delivers to the returning officer any nomination-paper, knowing the same to be forged, or forges, or counterfeits, or fraudulently defaces or fraudulently destroys any ballot-paper, or the official mark on any ballot-paper, or without due authority supplies any ballot-paper to any person, or fraudulently puts into any ballot-box any ballot-paper other than the ballot-paper he is authorized by law to put in, or fraudulently takes out of the polling-station any ballot-paper, or without due authority destroys, takes, opens, or otherwise interferes with any ballot-box or packet of ballot-papers then in use for the purposes of the election. Any such offence is to be deemed a misdemeanour, and a returning officer or clerk in attendance at a polling-station is to be liable for it to two years' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, or any other person to six months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour. Any attempt to commit any of the offences specified is to be dealt with in the way of punishment as the offence itself is punishable.

Cabinet. He was returned by a vote of 658 to 578, and as the number of registered electors is 1960, more than a third of the constituency abstained from voting. An interesting statement of the working of the Act was sent to the *Times* by the Mayor of Pontefract. The abolition of the public nomination he regarded as a decided improvement. The excitement and drunkenness which invariably attended the first stage of a contest under the old system were nowhere to be observed on this occasion. The town wore its every-day aspect; hardly any one left his work or business. There was, of course, more bustle on the polling day; but no one was shocked by the familiar scenes of other times. The public-houses were quiet; there was no crowd round the polling-places, and no difficulty in getting to the poll. So much for the external aspect of things. In the mysterious recesses occupied by the returning officer and his deputies the dreaded innovation worked, on the whole, equally well. The illiterates gave some trouble: the time wasted over them was extreme. The average time occupied in taking the votes of those who could read was, however, only from thirty to forty seconds each, and surprise was generally expressed at the simplicity of the process. Much had been said about the delay which must arise in counting the ballot papers. The authorities at Pontefract were new to the work, and were, perhaps, a little nervous; but the Mayor believed that this part of the returning officer's duty may be made much less laborious and protracted than might be supposed. On one other point connected with this subject his testimony is interesting. He does not believe that the ballot deterred any considerable section of the electors from voting. The illiterates—who, it was predicted, would shrink from the ordeal of declaring their ignorance—came to the polling-places in as full proportion to their numbers as the rest of the constituency.

A more interesting experiment, because on a larger scale, was that which followed shortly afterwards at Preston, Mr. Holker being the Conservative and Major German the Liberal candidate. The following graphic account appeared in the *Times* :—

“Usually an election day here has been a day of great political tumult and uproar. But to-day the general aspect of things was changed. When the poll opened the principal streets of the town were almost as quiet as usual. Fishergate, the main thoroughfare, was actually quieter. At the polling-booths, thirty-seven in number, there was very little crowding, and generally, the town seemed to have got up this morning no earlier than usual, though in an extreme state of mystification. At each polling-booth there was erected, under contract with the Corporation, the compartments prescribed by the Act to secure privacy to the voter while marking his voting paper. These compartments consisted of an open, movable box, with four stalls or recesses, each supplied with a small ledge to serve as a desk, and placed back to back, so that four voters might be engaged in marking their papers at one and

the same time. The size of the partitions prevents a voter from overlooking his neighbour either at his side or in front of him. Each of these compartments was supplied with a pencil, secured by a string, like those in the telegraphic departments at the Post Office.

The Conservatives appeared to be infinitely more active with their agents at the various polling-booths than the Liberals, and both tried to get an insight into the way affairs were going by means of tickets. Each elector had sent to him previously—the Conservatives ostensibly began this, and the Liberals followed them—a ticket with a request that he would vote for Holker or German, as the case might be, and that after voting he would, if a Conservative, hand it over to the agent who would be at the door, and if a Liberal, would give it up at the nearest committee-room. The Conservative agents had blue cards fastened in front of their hats, and upon each card there was printed the words "Conservative agent." As a rule, two of them stood close to the door of egress at each polling-booth. In one instance a couple of them managed to get into a booth, but being detected by a Liberal, were ordered out. In other instances, the Conservative agents were upon the "premises" of the polling-booth, and at one of the booths a couple were seen in the back-yard within a foot of the door leading out of it, their object being to ask for the tickets of the voters as they left the room. The Liberals did not push themselves so keenly within the precincts of the booths, but seemed to be anxious to get as near as they could. In the end, the ticket system got thoroughly confused,—Liberals, in mistake, gave their tickets to the Conservative agents; Conservatives gave them to those on the Liberal side, so that it became impossible accurately to test what was being done by the plan. The voting went on rather slowly; four voters were admitted at a time to each booth, and after receiving their papers, proceeded to the "stalls" behind the officials, marked their papers, and then returned, putting them into a large sealed tin box, with a narrow slit at the top, as they passed out. The general business was very quietly transacted; there was even a dead calm about it at times. Some of the working-men, of the ordinary labouring class, seemed to have no proper idea at all of the Ballot; odd ones of them would, on entering the booth, ask the constable at the door where they had to tell the name of the candidate they wanted to vote for, and others were very stupid in their folding up of the voting papers. They crumpled them up occasionally, or doubled them in such a way as to hide the stamp at the back. This bungling was chiefly the work of the more illiterate classes. One or two cases of personations were early reported; but the guilty parties made a clear escape. There has been more of novelty than of difficulty in working the Ballot here; and, excepting the cases of stupidity mentioned, no awkwardness or hitch has occurred. As the morning advanced the booths became thronged; and at noon the work of vote-recording was at its greatest

pitch of activity; but the increase in it then in no way deranged the general mechanism adopted. From about eleven o'clock in the forenoon till five this afternoon the streets have been very crowded, the bulk of the people being of the working-class order. Even the most sapient and experienced could not tell 'which way the wind was blowing'—could not tell whether German or Holker was ahead. There was, however, a very general impression among Conservatives that their candidate was first, and a very strong apprehension on the part of the Liberals that this really was the case. Bills, &c., professing to show the state of the poll were occasionally put out, but only the most stupid placed any reliance upon them. Cheers and counter cheers have occasionally been heard in the streets as the respective candidates and their friends have been noticed passing along them. There has been no display of colours, no bands of music; and even in St. John's ward an astonishing degree of order and sobriety has been observable. The Ballot, whatever it may not effect, has clearly from to-day's experience conduced in a striking degree to the general sobriety and good order of the people. There is much talk about bribery and some about personation.

At 8.30 the result of the election was announced by a card at the Town Hall. The figures were Holker 4542—German 3824: showing, as there are 10,214 eligible voters on the register, that 1848 had not recorded their votes.

The result had, by some means, been forecast by the Conservatives after the closing of the poll, with curious exactness. They had calculated that their majority could not be less than 709."

Much greater excitement was caused in the country by the Government Licensing Bill, which was introduced by Lord Kimberley in the House of Lords, and directed to the repression of excess or disorder, and of adulteration. In introducing the Bill, he began by stating the reasons which had induced the Government to introduce the Bill in their Lordships' House. Declining to go into the history of the Licensing Laws, he said that anything more complicated or difficult could hardly be conceived. No less than 12 descriptions of licence were in force at the present moment. Glancing at the various agitations carried on by those who desired an alteration of the law, he said that the opinion of the country was in favour of a regulated monopoly. The Bill which, on the part of the Government, he had now to explain did not claim to be an ambitious measure. It would not seriously disturb existing interests, but its effect would be to limit the number of licences, and to prevent, by stringent police regulations, the abuses of the present public-house and beer-house system. Under the Suspensory Bill of last Session no new licences could be granted by the Brewster Sessions unless they were confirmed by the Secretary of State. The first part of the present Bill regulated the granting of new licences. In counties all new licences would be granted, as at present, by the justices in Brewster Sessions; but they would not

be valid until confirmed by a special committee appointed at Quarter Sessions. In boroughs the practice would vary according to the number of justices. In boroughs where the number of justices does not exceed nine, new licences will be granted, as at present, on their recommendation. In all other boroughs no new licences are to be granted, except upon the recommendation of a committee to be appointed by the justices, and whose grants should be confirmed by the full court. In all cases, whether in counties or boroughs, no new licences will be valid until approved by the Secretary of State, whose confirmation had been found to work well in the Suspensory Act, and would insure uniformity of control throughout the country. The system applied to the boroughs could be easily worked in the metropolis. Licences were at present issued by the magistrates of the different counties forming the metropolis. They would appoint a moderate number as a committee to grant new licences, and the only duty of the full body would be to confirm or otherwise the acts of the committee. The granting of new licences was an administrative act, but their renewal was more of a judicial character, and the Bill proposed no change in the present system. All questions regarding the renewal of licences would continue to be dealt with at Brewster Sessions, subject to an appeal to Quarter Sessions. The Bill gave ratepayers no direct control over the issue of new licences, but any person who objected to the transfer, renewal, or grant of a licence might appear before the Brewster Sessions, with an appeal to Quarter Sessions, or to the confirming body in the case of a new licence. Publicans would be, however, protected against frivolous and vexatious appeals. The Bill would consolidate all the present police regulations, and include some of those in Mr. Bruce's Bill of last year. A register would be kept of serious and repeated offences on the part of publicans and beerhouse keepers, and in the graver cases the certificate would determine of itself without any action or option on the part of the magistrates. The Bill increased the penalty of drunkenness from 5s. to 10s. It also contained penalties against the adulteration of excisable liquors; and he read an amusing description of the mode in which beer was usually adulterated. The Bill would alter and simplify the present hours of closing. Within four miles of Charing Cross public-houses and beer-houses would not be allowed to open before 7 a.m., and must close at midnight. Elsewhere in the Metropolitan district and in towns of not less than 10,000 souls they must not open before 7 a.m., and must close at 11 p.m. In other towns and districts the hour of opening would also be 7 a.m., and of closing 10 p.m. On Sundays they must not open until 1 p.m., and must close between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. On Sunday nights the hour of closing would be an hour earlier than the hour of closing on weekdays, and would be accordingly eleven o'clock in London, ten o'clock outside the four mile radius and in large towns, and nine o'clock in the country. The police regulations of the Bill would be enforced by special police inspectors, not less than one

such inspector being appointed for every 100,000 inhabitants, to overlook public-houses, and see that the law was enforced. The Bill set up no rating qualification in the case of public-houses. A rating qualification only existed in the case of beer-houses, and with this the Bill would not interfere. Inasmuch, however, as there was reason to believe that many of the worst-conducted beer-houses existed under false pretences, the Bill would give the magistrates power to institute a special valuation, which would weed out a number of low houses. The Bill might be called a moderate measure, but it would diminish the tendency to an undue multiplication of public-houses, and simplify the existing law, without interfering with the just rights of property.

In the course of the debate on the second reading the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee) made a remarkable and courageous speech. He pleaded for the right of the ratepayers to have some voice in the regulation of the liquor traffic, by giving them representatives on the Licensing Boards, but he said incidentally that he was not only not pleading for the principle of the Permissive Bill, but that he abhorred it:—"If I were given the choice, I should say that it would be much better that England should be free than that England should be sober,—for with freedom we must eventually obtain sobriety, but on the other hand we should lose both freedom and sobriety together."

The Bill, however, passed through Parliament with but little debate and almost without alteration. Sir Wilfred Lawson denounced it as a very weak Bill, but the Licensed Victuallers accepted it as a compromise; and a rival Bill, introduced by Sir H. Selwin Ibbetson, was ultimately withdrawn. The first part of the new statute relates to illicit sales of spirits, and declares the penalties to be enforced; and the penalties for drunkenness are increased from 10s. for a first, to 40s. for subsequent offences. The Act then imposes penalties on adulteration of liquors with "coccus indicus, chloride of sodium (otherwise common salt), copperas, opium, Indian hemp, strychnine, tobacco, darnel seed, extract of logwood, salts of zinc or lead, alum, &c." On the vexed question of the hours of closing, the Act provides that they shall be in the City of London or liberties thereof, or any parish subject to the Metropolitan Board of Works, or within four miles radius from Charing Cross, on Sunday, Christmas Day, and Good Friday, during the whole day before one o'clock, and between three and six o'clock in the afternoon, and after the hour of eleven of the clock at night, and on other days before five o'clock on the following morning shall be closed; if situated beyond those places, on Sunday, Christmas Day, and Good Friday, during the whole day before the hour of half-past twelve (or, if the licensing justices direct, one) in the afternoon, and between the hours of half-past two (or, if one be the hour of opening, then three) and six in the afternoon, and after the hour of ten (or if the licensing justices direct, any hour not earlier than nine and not later than eleven) at night; and on all other

days before the hour of six (or if the licensing justices direct, any hour not earlier than five, and not later than seven) in the morning and after the hour of eleven (or if the licensing justices direct, any hour not earlier than ten and not later than twelve) at night.

This effort to make people virtuous by Act of Parliament created at first great excitement out of doors. During the progress of the Bill Lord Kimberley and Mr. Bruce were waited upon by a number of deputations to urge upon them changes and modifications in its provisions; and on its coming into operation, as it did immediately on receiving the Royal Assent, riots that threatened to be serious greeted it in many parts of the country. At great meetings held in London and the principal provincial towns the general feeling was expressed with sufficient clearness. Oxford and Exeter were prominent in opposition to the Act; but opposition did not induce the magistrates to show themselves willing to avail themselves of the discretion vested in them with reference to the hours of closing.

At the general annual licensing meeting of the borough of Folkestone, intimation was given to the publicans that in future 11 p.m. would be the hour of closing. On Saturday evening (August 31) a number of fishermen, roughs, &c., assembled at the lower part of the town, many of them carrying large bottles and cans of beer, which they took to the front of the Pavilion Hotel. Lights were burning in some of the rooms of the hotel, and the crowd demanded that as the "little houses" were closed the "large ones" should follow their example. Stones were thrown and several windows broken. The crowd, after hooting, singing, and making hideous noises outside the hotel for about half an hour, paraded through the town to the other hotels, and some lights being visible in the windows of the Albion, several panes of glass were broken by the rioters.

The magistrates of Stroud adopted the Act with such rigour, that by a reading of their own they will succeed in entirely closing, after the present year, nearly every full-licensed public-house in the district. At Liverpool, Norwich, Colchester, Coventry, York, and other towns, memorials very largely and influentially signed were rejected, and a resolution of the Oxford magistrates to alter the hours of closing to half-past eleven on weekdays and half-past ten on Sundays, was almost a solitary exception to the rule of Spartan severity. In the City of London the Licensing Act was put into operation without difficulty of any kind; but the general and widespread discontent aroused by this measure do not seem likely to pass away with the riots which were its first consequence in many parts of the country.

During the laborious weeks which preceded the Prorogation, the progress of business was interrupted by an exciting debate on an Irish topic which had created much interest in the country. An account of the Galway election has been given in a preceding chapter. The petition against Captain Nolan's return was heard by Mr. Justice Keogh, who gave his decision in a judgment which occupied nine consecutive hours, with an interval of a quarter of

an hour only, and unseated Captain Nolan on the ground that his election was procured by undue influence and clerical intimidation. The judgment was conceived in a very one-sided spirit, and couched in very passionate and undignified language, and while it condemned with great force and just severity the high sacerdotal influence used in favour of Captain Nolan, and invalidated his election, on account both of the physical and the spiritual terrorism exercised on his behalf,—it justified the counter-combination of the landlords for Captain Trench, and had nothing but panegyric for their conduct in the election. After reviewing the state of things in the county, and the circumstances preceding the recent election, the learned judge deals with the question of treating and the question of the undue influence of the Roman Catholic clergy. Briefly disposing of the first of those questions, he goes on to the second, some forty-five pages of the judgment as printed being devoted to the analysis of the conduct of a number of individual priests in the matter of the election, and as witnesses in the court before him. His comments on this conduct are strong and severe, and he sums up his determination thus:—"I shall state to the House of Commons the result of all the evidence that I have now investigated as regards the organized system of intimidation which has pervaded this county in every quarter, in every direction, in every barony, in every town, in every place. I shall report to the House of Commons that the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Galway, the Bishop of Clonfert, all the clergymen whose cases I have gone through, and who have not appeared (with one exception, which I tore out of my paper lest I should make any mistake about it), and all the clergy who have appeared, with, I think, a few exceptions, which I will look most carefully into (I observe that the English judges have frequently reserved that power as to particular cases), have been guilty of an organized attempt to defeat the free franchise and the free votes of the electors of this county, and that Captain Nolan by himself, and Mr. Sebastian Nolan, his brother, as his agent, in company with all those episcopal and clerical persons whom I shall set out by name, have been guilty of these practices; and I will guard the franchises of the people of this county for seven years, at least, for the statute will not allow any one of those persons to be again engaged in conducting or managing an election, or canvassing for a candidate aspiring to be the representative of Galway."

In the course of this judgment Judge Keogh said that the Galway election presented "the most astonishing attempt at ecclesiastical tyranny which the whole history of priestly intolerance afforded." He also defended Oliver Cromwell from the abuse to which his name had been exposed "by the vile tongue of that audacious and mendacious priest, Father Conway." He said the gentry had been hunted through the fields by "the fellows who followed that obscene monster, Pat Barrett." He spoke of an agent of Father Loftus as a man "called upon to vamp up the debauched evidence of that priest," and altogether used language apparently intended to convey



the passion of a partisan rather than the reprobation of a judge. He expressed his intention of reporting that Archbishop M'Hale and two of his bishops had been guilty of using undue influence in the election, and spoke of Captain Nolan's great crowd of 2800 supporters as "mindless cowards, instruments in the hands of ecclesiastical despots."

The excitement aroused in Ireland by the delivery of this judgment was unbounded, and furnished a rare theme to the journalists. Never was a public man, not to say one of the judges of the land, an object of such unmeasured abuse as Mr. Justice Keogh. It poured upon him in torrents from all the Roman Catholic journals, whether professing Liberal, National, or Fenian politics. Their differences were for the time forgotten, and they all joined with hearty zeal in a chorus of execrations. All the old stores of vituperation which they had kept in reserve for special occasions were searched for epithets to express their rage and fury. The *Freeman* complained that neither prelate nor priest escaped the "torrent of vituperation which foamed in increasing volumes from the judgment-seat," and contrasted the "courtly phrases applied to the aristocratic prosecutor of the prelates and priests of Galway and the insolence of judicial insult indulged in against the prelates of the people." It even asserted, as a matter of fact, that "the organized attempt of the bishops and priests to put down freedom of election, which the most learned Judge asserts to have been proved before him, and on which he bases his judgment, existed only in the extravagant harangues of the lawyers and the excited fancy of the Judge." The cry of the *Freeman* was caught up in the provinces, and repeated with all the vehemence of the weekly press. Some of the journals engaged in this exercise every day, and devoted not one but several articles to the subject. The *Nation* was especially profuse in its invective. It said the "scandalous speech" of the learned Judge "has excited throughout the length and breadth of Ireland feelings of the most profound disgust and indignation;" that "the blood boils in the veins of honest men as they read his villanous diatribe against the clergy of Ireland, and some of the most illustrious and venerated members of their sacred order." There is "no good Irishman living," it said, "who does not feel, like a personal wound and insult, the outrage offered by that swaggering upstart, the pledge-breaker of Athlone, the whilom friend, companion, and political conspirator of John Sadleir, to the great and good Archbishop of Tuam." It described the whole proceeding as "the Galway plot," got up by the Galway landlords to have revenge of the bishops and priests, and to ruin Captain Nolan by piling up the costs of a deliberately protracted inquiry.

The *Irishman* described the rhetoric of the Judge as "plainly modelled after that of Jeffreys," and the *Weekly News* assailed it as "like the man himself, coarse, vulgar, insolent, impudent, and outrageously truculent." A subscription was started for Captain Nolan, the results of which were not quite adequate to the general

enthusiasm. Justice Keogh was burned in effigy in many parts of the country. The Catholic Clergy, under the presidency of Cardinal Cullen, published a long protest in the form of an Address to the Catholics of the Archdiocese of Dublin. The meeting of clergy at which it was adopted was held with closed doors. Its tone may be judged from the keynote which is struck in the opening passage:—

“Dear Brethren,—A great scandal has come upon us. A judge—a professing Catholic, clothed in the ermine of calm reason and matured wisdom—is reported to have uttered from the judgment-seat words of fiercest insult—words which have roused up the sleeping monster of bigotry throughout the Empire, which have been echoed back to us from England in menaces of renewed persecution, which have brought disgrace on the cause of justice, and filled the friends of discord and disloyalty with unutterable joy.”

It alludes to the wise policy of English modern statesmen, which had “done much to rear up a throne for justice in the affections of the people of Ireland,” and states that the events of the past few days have well-nigh shattered that throne by “rousing into almost unprecedented indignation the feelings of a whole nation.” For centuries the Bench was regarded by the people as the stronghold of their oppressors, until better times came round, and they began to look at it as the seat of impartial justice; but the words of passion which have lately come from it have done much to awaken the memories of wrongs which they were willing to forget. Only those who are conversant with their inner feelings can sound the depths of their indignation. They feel that “the laws of decency have been violated in order that their reverence for religion might be wounded,” that “by the unjustifiable language of a public officer, paid by their industry to administer justice, their religion has been blasphemed throughout the Empire.” The Address goes on to say that the clergy do not feel called on to canvass the merits of the decision at which the Judge arrived, and leave to others the task of criticizing it, if criticism be called for; but they enter their “solemn protest against the outrage on all propriety implied in the most unbecoming language, which the reports of the public journals put into his mouth.” They “with unfeigned indignation repudiate the calumnious misrepresentation by which it is attempted to be established that the priesthood of Ireland was prepared to prostitute the most sacred institution of religion to the unworthy purposes of low political intrigue.” In the strongest terms which the sanctity of the place in which they stood would allow, they resented the tone of the “harangue,” which was full of “insults to the religion and honour of the people.” There was nothing so sacred that it could hope to escape the “sacrilegious invasion of this wild effusion.” The Holy Father was sneered at, the national priesthood maligned, the discipline of the Church distorted, the unhappy cleric who was dragged before the tribunal was “mimicked to cause amusement for his enemies.” The following passage is suggestive:—

"It is not our business to defend the political actions imputed to some of our clerical brethren, neither is it our right to sit in judgment on their conduct. Indiscreet zeal may have carried a few of them beyond the line of decorum. But surely it is a question open for discussion which of the two is most unpardonable—the priest, in the heat of an angry contested election, in which he believed that the independence of his flock was assailed, yielding to an impulse, unbecoming, if you will; or the ermined Judge, in the delivery of a solemn judgment, surrendering himself to almost a paroxysm of vituperation? If the cassock is judged to be defiled, surely the ermine is not quite unstained. If the priest is to be relegated to obscurity and political silence for his indiscretion, is the Judge to go unquestioned? If altar denunciations are censurable—as most unquestionably they are—is the temple of justice exactly the place to hear the foulest epithets hurled from the very seat of justice on the heads of men to whom the people look with respect, and in whom they repose their entire confidence?"

The end of the Address contains some balm for the wound received, and a sting for the giver:—

"Although this Judgment has, for the moment, wrought mischief, good, great good, will come forth from it. It has aroused already the indignation of the whole kingdom against the insult offered to the national pride and to the religious convictions of the people; and when the great battle of Irish Education is to be fought, our countrymen will then remember that one of their own flesh and blood and religion, through the withering curse of a hostile University, was prepared to act a part from which we firmly believe the honest instincts of a Protestant-born man would make him shrink. We must not conclude without putting on record our firm conviction that the Courts of Justice in Ireland will not retain the respect or command the confidence of our people if men capable of thus insulting all they hold venerable and holy are allowed to preside on their benches."

Meanwhile the learned Judge, with unruffled composure, lodged a case submitting questions for the consideration of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, which, by a majority of three to one, upheld the judgment by which Captain Trench obtained the seat; and the Chief Justice, in stating the grounds of his dissent, took occasion to say he had no doubt as to the truth of the allegations of undue influence and intimidation by Captain Nolan and his agents. Consequently, he could not question the propriety of unseating him. Mr. Justice Keogh, who spoke last, gave judgment as follows:—

"It now becomes my duty to express my opinion on this case. I gave no opinion on the matter in court at Galway; there the questions were most ably argued by the counsel on both sides, especially so by the junior counsel for the respondent, Mr. M'Dermott. I have not given any opinion upon those questions since. I regret that there should be any division in the Court, but I cannot see this great case by the lights of authorities which my

Lord Chief Justice has brought to bear upon it, and I am happy to be fortified in the conclusions at which this Court has arrived by the authority of that great jurist and magistrate Lord Denman, Chief Justice of England, who, when he believed the liberties of his country were in danger, knew how to use words fit for the occasion, and calculated to rouse the attention of the people of England. I stated, in the case submitted to this Court, and for the purpose of the questions I reserved, that the electors of the county of Galway had been intimidated by threats and denunciations of temporal injury and spiritual punishment. I now, sitting on this bench, which I am warned that I occupy at the will of and in subordination to Powers other than my Sovereign, here declare that I have been obliged to consider this case and to deliver this judgment—namely, that Captain William Le Poer Trench is entitled to be declared the member for the county of Galway—under many terrible denunciations, public and private.”

Meanwhile the excitement continued, though with many signs that seemed to stamp it as to a great extent factitious. Many of the leading Catholics openly avowed their assent to the principles of the judgment. The Kilkenny Town Council, however, adopted a memorial calling for the removal of Mr. Justice Keogh from the Bench.

Emboldened by the impunity which they enjoyed, the mob, represented by a few desperadoes, continued to make him the object of scandalous outrage. An effigy of him was burnt, with circumstances of aggravated insult, on Harold's Cross Green, situate within view of Richmond Bridewell, outside the city at the southern side. The figure was brought out on the back of a donkey, and a “death warrant” having been read, it was dismounted and set on fire amid the cheers of the populace. No attempt was made by the police to put a stop to the exhibition. At the same time a rude effigy of the Judge was burnt in the main street of Kingstown in presence of a large crowd. In Bray an attempt was made to burn an effigy, but the constabulary prevented it. A tar-barrel, supposed to represent the Judge, was lighted in Pill Lane, close to the Four Courts, Dublin, as a manifestation of popular feeling. The police arrested one of the persons most active in getting up the demonstration, and were assaulted by the mob with stones.

Shortly afterwards Judge Keogh went on circuit, and strong precautions were adopted against personal violence. The Grand Juries adopted strong addresses in his favour. “We desire,” said the Jurors of the North Riding of Tipperary, “to express at this, the earliest opportunity afforded us, and in language that cannot be mistaken, the indignation we feel at the accumulated insults that have been heaped upon one of Her Majesty's Judges for the upright and fearless manner in which he has discharged a most arduous and difficult duty imposed upon him by Her Majesty's Government. From town to town in this country, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the judgment of Mr. Justice Keogh

has been made an excuse for holding public meetings, at which every effort has been made to bring the authority of the law into contempt. We desire at the same time to express in the strongest terms our approval of the conduct of a Judge who has not hesitated to prefer the honest and uncompromising discharge of his duty to every other consideration that could be brought to bear upon him, and who has been compelled, in his own language, to perform his duty under the most terrible denunciations, public and private."

The same tone was strongly adopted at Cavan, Meath, Monaghan, Enniskillen, and Tyrone, and by public feeling in England the Judge was as strongly supported. The Government even accepted the resignation of the Lieutenancy of his county by Lord Granard, who had publicly professed his sympathy with the clamour; but Mr. Gladstone maintained the closest reserve, when Mr. Butt, as the advocate of the Irish clergy, gave notice of a series of Resolutions, ending in a motion for the removal of Mr. Justice Keogh from the Bench. In an elaborate and ineffective speech, Mr. Butt commented on the undeniable faults of the Galway judgment, but he was compelled to begin with the fatal admission that Captain Nolan's seat had been justly forfeited. In a more violent harangue, Mr. Mitchell Henry, himself the nominee of the Galway priests, declaimed against Mr. Justice Keogh, and demanded his dismissal from the Bench. On the other side, Mr. Henry James, in a powerful and conclusive argument, proved, by an examination of the evidence, that if the accused Judge had compromised his own character for prudence and good taste, he had vindicated the cause of justice. Irish members, who were eager to defend their clerical allies and patrons, compelled the adjournment of the debate, which, after a long interval, was renewed, and only concluded at a very late hour of the morning with a clear expression of the opinion of the House by an overwhelming majority.

A more than sufficient concession was made to Irish exigency in Lord Hartington's speech on Sir Rowland Blennerhassett's motion for the purchase by the State of the Irish railways. Although the present Parliament has devoted two Sessions out of four to the Irish Church Bill and the Irish Land Bill, Lord Hartington professed to admit that Irish business had been too much neglected, and he almost pledged the Government to undertake the purchase, on which patriotic members, without distinction of party, are with suspicious unanimity bent. Mr. Chichester Fortescue endeavoured to explain away the language of his colleague, but the foundation has been laid either for a new Irish grievance, or for a sacrifice of Imperial Revenue.

Mr. Goschen and Mr. Stansfeld conducted with ability the business of their respective departments during the year. Mr. Goschen explained the Naval Estimates, amounting, he said, in round numbers, to 9,500,000*l.*, and divided the sum total in this way—5,600,000*l.* for the *personnel* of the Navy, 3,400,000*l.* for the *matériel*, and 500,000*l.* for the Establishment and Miscellaneous

Services. This was a reduction of 218,000*l.* on last year, but the Estimates had not been yet reduced to the level of what he called the normal year 1870-71, which he attributed to the large sums, amounting to 1,000,000*l.* odd, spent on an entirely new department of our Navy, ships of the "Rupert" and "Cyclops" classes and gunboats, all intended for home defence. It was not intended, however, to spend any more large sums on these defensive vessels, it being thought that we are strong enough in that respect. Mr. Goschen went into considerable detail in accounting for the decreases and increases in the various Votes, dwelling for some time on the Wages Vote, which gave him the opportunity of relating what is being done for manning the Navy and maintaining the Reserves. The force taken this year is the same as last, 61,000 men and boys, and he showed by the returns the unfounded character of the rumour that the service is unpopular, and that there is any difficulty in getting men. He explained next certain changes in the mode of recruiting boys, and in the inducements held out to men to join the Reserves. Among other things it is in contemplation to require as a condition for a pension that a man must join the Reserve, and a plan is in preparation to raise a body of Naval Volunteers at every port in connexion with the gunboats building for Coast Defence. From the concurrent testimony of all Naval officers who had recently returned from service, Mr. Goschen contradicted the assertions that our ships are undermanned, or that there is any deterioration in the character of our men. Passing from this he explained at great length the changes proposed in the education of officers, which embrace the establishment of a Naval College at Greenwich, with which will be combined the Kensington School of Naval Architecture. Cadets will be taken hereafter at the age of fifteen instead of thirteen, and sent to sea for three years, after one year's training on shore; and a training brig for instruction in seamanship is to be attached to the Mediterranean Fleet. Next he touched on the Retirement question, and then coming to the shipbuilding programme he considered this under four heads—What have we got? What do we want? What is proposed to be done? and Where? The first two points led him into a comparison of the relative strength of other naval Powers, and into a vindication of our recent types of men-of-war—the "Devastation" and "Rupert." The shipbuilding programme of the year contemplates the building of 20,400 tons, of which 3000 are by contract. In the first place all the ships in progress are to be completed except the "Fury," two new first-class ironclads are to be laid down, as well as a corvette of the "Blanche" class, two large covered corvettes, five sloops, eight gunboats, and a torpedo ship of 540 tons. Notwithstanding the recommendation of the Committee of Designs to the contrary, one of the ironclads is to be a first-class sea-going cruiser on the broadside principle, with improvements for bow-firing. The character of the second ironclad will not be decided until the "Devastation" has been tried at sea; and it is also proposed to try an experiment on the "Glatton" by

firing one of the "Rupert's" 25-ton guns at her turret. Finally, he explained his policy in regard to stores and the increase in the Admiralty vote, and concluded by reminding the Committee that a large portion of the money voted for the Fleet is spent on purposes entirely apart from offensive and defensive warfare, and in which the whole civilized world is interested.

Mr. Stansfeld declined, on the plea of insufficiency of time, to comply, in the present year, with the recommendations of Sir Charles Adderley's Committee by consolidating the various Sanitary Acts into a consistent and intelligible code. On the same ground all the provisions of the Bill, except the clauses by which the sanitary authorities are constituted, were afterwards abandoned. With the aid of a manual which the Government has undertaken to compile in anticipation of a Consolidating Bill, the Boards of Guardians will be enabled to introduce many sanitary improvements. The inspectors and medical officers will probably supply, under the influence of professional zeal, some of the probable deficiencies of the constituted authorities.

On the whole, although Scotch as well as Irish members have occasionally complained of Parliamentary neglect, the results of the Session ought to satisfy a reasonable appetite for legislation. The conduct of business has been facilitated by the appropriation of Monday sittings to Supply, although the change was denounced as an infringement on the privileges of private members. In a former Session, Mr. Gladstone had asserted that the House of Commons must either modify its rules of procedure or abdicate its supreme control over legislation and government. The House itself is, not unwisely, jealous of its traditions; and a series of resolutions, moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for alterations of the standing orders, were but coldly received. His proposal for an abolition of the rule which enables a single member to demand the exclusion of strangers was, after some debate, adjourned, and not afterwards reproduced. The Government was compelled to content itself with the concession of Monday evenings, and, on the other hand, ambitious private members find year by year additional difficulty in carrying Bills through Parliament. The reaction which has succeeded to the political excitement of two or three years ago has found expression in more than one recent address to public meetings. Mr. Harcourt, who in graver matters is not the least exacting among the critics of the Government, lately complained at Oxford of the morbid activity of minute legislation, and Mr. Bruce reminded an audience at the Mansion House that Parliament had recently provided, not only for the safety of miners, but for the preservation of the sparrow on the house-top, and of the robin on the bough. He also stated that, within a limited period, four thousand Acts of Parliament had been added to the Statute Book. The House sat, altogether, for 142½ hours after midnight this Session—that is more than the average number in recent years. In July, when the "eleventh hour" was come, the House sat, altogether, for nearly

43 hours after midnight, an unusual number for even that month in recent years. The House of Commons divided 287 times this Session, being a larger number than in either of the two next preceding. There were 277 divisions on public Bills and 10 on private Bills. As many of the 115 of the former class of divisions occurred after midnight, this is almost exactly the same number as in 1871, but 38 more than in 1870. The largest division was on June 28, on the Lords' Amendments of the Ballot Bill—304 voted against, and 230 for, the Amendment under consideration. There were 63 divisions on the Ballot Bill; 31 on the Scotch Education Bill; and 24 on the Licensing (Public-houses) Bill. In the Session of 1872 Parliament passed 190 private Bills—89 relating to railways; 11 to tramways; 4 to other roads and bridges; 13 to waterworks; 8 to ports, piers, harbours, and docks; 2 to canals and navigation; 2 to churches or burial-grounds; 20 to paving, lighting, and improving; 1 to county buildings; 6 to markets; 1 to drainage; 25 miscellaneous; 7 estates Bills; and 1 naturalization Bill.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Proceedings under the Treaty of Washington—Rules of International Duty embodied in the Treaty—The American "Case" raising the Indirect Claims—Debate thereon in the Senate—In Parliament on the Queen's Speech—Discussions on the meaning of the Commissioners as to these Claims—Draft Article proposed by Britain to the United States to get rid of them—Proceedings thereupon—Meeting of the Tribunal of Arbitration—Rejection by it of the Indirect Claims—Decision and Award—Statements of the several Arbitrators—The Treaty adopted by the Canadian Parliament—Award of the Emperor of Germany in the San Juan Arbitration.

IN the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1871 the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington, in May of that year, and the discussion respecting it in Parliament in August, were mentioned; as well as the ratification of the Treaty by the United States' Senate. English dissatisfaction with some portions of the arrangements already evinced itself in that discussion. It was felt that the exclusion from the list of subjects to be submitted to the Joint High Commission of the claims of Canada in respect of the Fenian "raids," was, in point of fact, the deliberate omission from our side of the account of claims of which we had a moral right to demand the settlement, and which were also of importance in counterbalancing the allegations so perseveringly made on the part of the States of unfriendly conduct and sentiments on the part of Britain during their great civil war. It was felt, also, and by experienced politicians more seriously, that the statement of certain principles of international law, not hitherto specifically admitted, as legal and conclusive for the purposes of the arbitration, was a very dangerous concession,



not only with reference to the pending question itself, but to our political interests in the event of future differences with other maritime Powers, or between other maritime Powers. The "rules" which had been prepared by the American Commissioners, and acceded to by the English, at Washington, in April, 1871, ran as follows:—

"That a neutral Government is bound, first, to use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use.

"Secondly. Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men.

"Thirdly. To exercise due diligence in its own ports or waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties.

"It being a condition of this understanding that these obligations should in future be held to be binding internationally between the two countries.

"The American Commissioners," it was added, "referring to the hope which they had expressed on the 8th March, inquired whether the British Commissioners were prepared to place upon record an expression of regret by Her Majesty's Government for the depredations committed by the vessels whose acts were now under discussion; and the British Commissioners replied that they were authorized to express, in a friendly spirit, the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the 'Alabama' and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels. The American Commissioners accepted this expression of regret as very satisfactory to them, and as a token of kindness, and said they felt sure it would be so received by the Government and people of the United States."

These rules were represented by those who criticized the proceedings of Government as innovations on the established principles of international law, assented to on our side merely by way of concession to American feeling. On the other side it was contended that they only expressed in definite language what had been already impliedly recognized as the law of nations.

But although these difficulties were serious enough, and tended greatly to increase the unpopularity of the entire arbitration scheme not only with a large political party, but with the public in general, another cause of dissension, which very nearly led to the total failure of the negotiation, was as yet undeveloped. This was the determination on the part of America to press her so-called "indirect" claims:

those growing out of the acts of the cruisers, of whose proceedings complaint was made, consequentially and not immediately.

The English "Case," which was submitted to the Arbitrators appointed under the Treaty in January of this year, contained no reference whatever to this inopportune and, as it subsequently turned out, unnecessary difficulty. Its contents were briefly and accurately summarized in the newspapers :—

"The Case sets out by expressly limiting the subject in dispute. According to the views which we present to the Arbitrators, the claims referred to the tribunal are claims 'growing out of the acts' of certain vessels in respect of which the Government of the United States alleges that Great Britain has failed to perform some international duty. The tribunal is reminded that these vessels have not been designated by name, but are only indicated by reference to a particular class of claims, which are assumed in the Treaty to have become familiar to both Governments. The only vessels in respect of the acts of which any claims have been made by the Government of the United States up to the present time are the 'Alabama,' the 'Florida,' the 'Georgia,' and the 'Shenandoah.' On one occasion since the war mention was indeed made in an American despatch of a vessel called the 'Sumter'—but no claims in respect of this vessel were made then or since. The Queen's Government therefore assumes, as the basis of the proceedings, that the only question for the Arbitrators is, whether and how far England has been guilty of a breach of international law with respect to these four vessels, and is liable to the claims 'growing out of their acts?'"

"This position, if sanctioned by the Arbitrators, reduces the case to certain definite issues, on which evidence may be presented for or against. But as the nature of the war, the belligerent character of both the parties to it, and the law of nations with respect to the export of warlike material and the non-liability of the neutral for the acts of individual citizens who engage at their own risk in such a practice as blockade running, may be elements in a proper consideration of our dealings with these four vessels, the British Case makes an 'introductory statement' of events which attended and followed the commencement of the Civil War, and of the course pursued in relation to it by Great Britain and other naval Powers.

"It is urged that what the United States Government now calls an 'insurrection,' was really a war between two States of vast geographical area, of great resources, and unflinching determination; that the armies of the North were overthrown in Virginia, and only succeeded in reconquering the territory of the Confederate States after a conflict of four years; that the North did, in fact, recognize the conflict as a war by the proclamation of blockade, by the seizure and condemnation of neutral ships, the number of vessels captured or destroyed by vessels of the United States during the war, for breach of blockade or in battle, exceeding 1200. To these facts the British Government applies the following general

propositions, which it believes to be in accordance with the principles of international law and the practice of nations:—That it is the duty of a neutral Government, in all matters relating to war, to act impartially towards the belligerent Powers; that this duty, inasmuch as it flows directly from the conception of neutrality, attends the relation of neutrality wherever it exists, and is not affected by considerations arising from the political relation which before the war the belligerents may have sustained to one another; that in maritime war a neutral Power is bound to recognize, in matters relating to the war, commissions issued and captures made by each belligerent; and, lastly, that where either belligerent is a community or body of persons not recognized by the neutral Power as constituting a sovereign State, commissions issued by such belligerent are recognized as acts emanating, not, indeed, from a sovereign Government, but from a person or persons exercising *de facto*, in relation to the war, the powers of a sovereign Government."

The publication of the American "Case" in answer, which soon became known through the newspapers, first created the untoward embarrassment of which we have spoken. Mr. Bancroft Davis, the American counsel, has in popular opinion the credit—whether justly or otherwise we know not—of having brought into the arena a class of pretensions which (in the belief at least of our diplomatists) had been discussed, and waived, at Washington. And the British public certainly entertained no notion whatever that they were about to be revived. The principal claims of the "indirect" class thus put forward included the national loss incurred through the transfer of much of the American commercial marine to the British flag, the enhancement of insurance, and the prolongation of the war; and the addition of a large sum to the cost of the war and suppression of the rebellion.

In the American Congress, however, the question of the Indirect Claims was early agitated. The speech in the Senate of Senator Edmunds, of Vermont (Feb. 5), may be taken as affording a fair view of the light in which the politicians of that side of the water regarded it. The English Government, said the Senator, were reported to be prepared to repudiate the Treaty, if these claims were urged on the part of the States. To see whether this pretension is well founded, Senator Edmunds made copious extracts from the American Case, in which are cited the Protocols of the Joint High Commission and the words of the Treaty itself. He laid especial stress on the following words of the Treaty:—

"Now, in order to remove, and adjust all complaints and claims on the part of the United States, and to provide for the speedy settlement of such claims which are not admitted by Her Britannic Majesty's Government, the high contracting parties agree that all the said claims growing out of acts committed by the aforesaid vessels, and generally known as the Alabama Claims, shall be referred to a Tribunal of Arbitration."

This, Senator Edmunds argued, was in the express language of the Treaty itself a statement that all the American complaints and claims set up as growing out of the acts of those cruisers—that is, the necessary and natural consequences of them as well as the acts themselves—not only the acts of the cruisers themselves, but growing out of those acts as consequences,—should be submitted to this Tribunal of Arbitration, and be decided upon the principles fixed for their decision. He also argued that it was a matter of public history that the claims so covered embraced all damages and losses arising from the necessary and natural consequences of the wrongful acts and omissions of the British Government. That claim had been stated by Senator Sumner in a speech on the preceding Treaty, and it was as well, if not better, known in England than here. For years the British Government had notice that these damages were a part of the American claim for reimbursement, and that the American people thought them a just and proper ground. The outcry in England, he thought, “looked almost like a pretext for revoking the Treaty, or a contrivance to exert an external influence upon the Arbitrators prejudicial to the American Case before them, if the Government or Parliament of England were to assume the attitude imputed to them by the press reports. If this be the fact, let us say “Amen,” and enter into no more Treaties with Powers so ready and willing to break them, and be ready at the proper time to vindicate the honour and enforce the just claims of our country.”

A short extract from an article by the well-known and intelligent French public writer, M. John Lemoine, in the *Débats* of Feb. 17, may serve to show the view of the subject of debate which suggested itself, at this point of the negotiation, to an impartial neutral:—

“The principal fact is, that there has been between the two Governments a complete misunderstanding as to the functions of the Arbitrators, or at least as to the points in dispute which are to be submitted to them. The English Government understood that the Arbitrators would only have to consider the question of direct damage caused to the United States marine by Southern cruisers, armed and fitted out in English ports, while the American Government seeks to submit to the Arbitration Court all cases of indirect losses which were the consequence of the prolongation of the war. England—and here we speak not solely of the Government, but also of the nation—will not tolerate that interpretation; it is categorically rejected. Without reproducing here all the notes which are daily interchanged by means of the Atlantic cable, it is sufficient to say that the United States Government maintains its right to interpret the Treaty in their own way, and to submit such and such questions to the Arbitrators; while, upon its side, the English Government declares that there has been an essential misunderstanding with respect to the Arbitration, and that the two parties having understood in a totally different manner that which was to be considered

and determined, the Treaty must be considered no longer as existing. That is how the question stands at present. The English have shown themselves so unconcerned in all that related to us that we cannot do better than imitate that indifference in what concerns them. We will say, therefore, with the utmost impartiality, that there are faults on both sides. The Government of the United States is attempting to introduce into international law an inadmissible doctrine—that is, of requiring the cost of a war from Powers which are not responsible for it, and who even have been in their interests its first victims. We perfectly understand that we must not accept seriously the pecuniary demands which are presented by the Americans in respect of the prolongation of the war, for the advanced rates of insurance, and other pretexts equally elastic and impossible to estimate—demands which reach a higher amount even than the milliards which we are indebted to our conquering enemies. The Americans themselves know quite well the value of these claims, and have not the least intention of enforcing payment of them. But, at the same time, they maintain, and with a certain degree of reason, their right to interpret the Treaty; and here it is that it must be acknowledged the English Government has entered into engagements with an imprudence and carelessness which may possibly before long recoil upon them.”

In the debate on the Queen's Speech in the British Parliament, which we have elsewhere analyzed, this displeasing question of the “Indirect Claims” occupied of course a predominant place. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Derby accused the British negotiators of carelessness in not explicitly excluding them, the Americans, of “a good degree of acuteness—I will not call it by a harsher name,” in contriving to prevent them from being absolutely barred. Lord Granville was cautious in his answer; but Mr. Gladstone, in the Commons, took higher ground, and was reported to have declared not only that he and his colleagues had uniformly spoken and acted on the supposition that these indirect claims were excluded “by the limits of the reference,” but that it was impossible for any reasonable person to understand the matter otherwise.

To a certain extent, Mr. Gladstone thought it advisable, a little afterwards, to modify the strength of the expressions which he had used in this debate, as appears from the following letter, which he addressed to the London Correspondent of the *New York World* :—

“10, Downing-street, Whitehall, February 15.

“SIR,—I am much obliged by your courteous letter. Permit me to assure you it is an entire mistake to suppose I have ever said ‘that every rational mind’ must see but one meaning in the Treaty of Washington. Nothing would have induced me to use such an expression. The limit of my assertion, stated briefly, was, and is, as follows :—

“I believe the meaning of the Treaty to be clear and unambiguous, according to any legitimate test whatever which can be applied to it. This proposition I am, of course, ready to sustain in argument.

"But every other person is equally entitled to think, if he see cause, that what I hold to be clear and unambiguous is dark and doubtful; or, that it is clear and unambiguous in the sense contradictory to mine. What I trust is that others, upon a close examination, will not see cause to think any such thing. This point, a little time and patience cannot fail thoroughly to elucidate.

"Setting aside the remark which I did not use, and which I think open to severe animadversion, I have always understood, and still understand, that any man is at liberty to hold and to state with the utmost confidence an opinion as to the meaning of a document (and this I have done), without being open to the charge of what I conceive to be a gross offence, namely, his presuming to restrain for others the liberty which he claims himself. Indeed, speaking according to the usages and habits of English public life, I feel as if the utterance of such a proposition were not so much a truth as a truism.

"If, however, this truth, or truism, be applicable to documents in general, it requires but a moderate share of modesty to adopt it in the case of documents such as a treaty and its protocols.—I have the honour to be, sir, your faithful servant,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

The position of the two countries up to this point in the discussion cannot, perhaps, be more conveniently summed up than it was by the same impartial authority already cited, that of the *Journal des Débats*:—

"The claims of the American Cabinet start from the commencement of the Southern Secession, and may be summarized under five heads:—1. The direct damage resulting from the destruction of vessels and cargoes by the Southern States' privateers; 2. The losses occasioned by the transfer of the American shipping trade to the British flag; 3. The considerable expenses imposed on the United States by the necessity of chasing the privateers; 4. The losses from the increase of insurance premiums; 5. The enlarged war expenditure caused by the prolongation of hostilities.

"The American case endeavours, by way of introduction, to show that even before the outbreak of hostilities, and during their whole course, England, or rather her Government, cherished evident hostile sentiments towards the Northern States and sympathy for the South; and to prove this position they cite, among other testimony, a summary of an alleged conversation held by an English Consul at Charleston, quoted from an unpublished report in the State Department at Washington, without giving any proof of the authenticity of this paper, which may perhaps be only one of the apocryphal documents published so largely during the war by the Confederate press in the interest of their cause. They refer, also, as indicating the tone of the British feeling towards the Union, to certain speeches of Messrs. Bright and Cobden, and, instead of viewing these as so many testimonies of sympathy on the part of more than one Englishman with the North, they forge them into an engine to catch

the nation and its Government in a vague charge. But all this is only preliminary matter, on which the English press has not dwelt with much emphasis, feeling perhaps the difficulty of a complete and decisive defence.

"Proceeding to the question of the right which England had to recognize the Confederates as belligerents, the American Case admits that this right is incontestable, although the Federal Government has not always held that tone. It sees, however, a proof of hostility in the circumstances under which, and the manner in which, England exercised the right. The British contention, in reply, is that the Queen's proclamation of neutrality was published at the instance of the partisans of the North, and in the interests of the North, and that the proclamation was determined by the news of President Lincoln's proclamation of a blockade and enrolment of militia, two facts which, it has been held by the American Supreme Court, constituted a formal declaration of war. The British Government could not then, it is answered, have deferred pronouncing its neutrality, issuing its immediate instructions to its agents in every port, and warning its subjects of the risk to which the war must expose them. Then, having decided on observing a strict neutrality, England was compelled to grant the Southern privateers the same treatment as those of the North.

"The United States' Case further makes it a charge against Great Britain that she came to an agreement with France as to the mode in which the laws of neutrality were to be carried out, and the Case finds in this concert between the two Powers a new mark of hostile sentiments on the part of England. The answer made to this argument is, that it was absolutely necessary from the moment the war broke out to bring about a common understanding of all the neutral Powers, and that the readiest means for doing this was a preliminary agreement between France and England, whose example and influence were likely to draw along in the same course of policy the other States.

"After these preliminary recriminations, the American Case approaches the foundation of the discussion—that is to say, the manner in which England has understood and practised the duties of neutrals. This part of the document which we analyze commences by eulogizing the impartiality of which the United States have never failed to give proof in the character of neutrals in former wars. Every one can, no doubt, write history in this fashion; but they forget at Washington, and the English press very appropriately reminds them, that in the war between Brazil and Portugal out of nearly thirty privateers armed in the ports of the United States half-a-dozen at most were stopped and seized by the orders of the Government; the rest continued freely the course of their depredations upon Portuguese commerce. To the reproaches, more or less well-founded, which they address to her, England replies, not without some appearance of reason, that quite recently, in a time of complete peace, the Federal authorities have allowed bands of banditti to organize them-

selves in military fashion upon the territory of the United States, to invade and pillage Canada, and then return and take refuge with impunity in the places where they concerted this culpable enterprise.

"These reciprocal reproaches are not of a character to appease any more than to clear up the discussion. The fault of one does not exclude that of the other; and if the Government of Washington has opened the way to the incursions of the Fenians, they are not more excusable in London for having favoured, or for not having prevented, the departure of the 'Alabama,' which had been denounced as a Confederate cruiser. It will be proper, therefore, for the Commissioners at Geneva, instead of stopping at these superficial disputes, to confine themselves to examining positive complicity, and at this point again they will find they have to deal with grave contradictions and difficulties."

The course adopted by the British Government, after much consideration, was the following, as explained in Parliament by Lord Granville in a subsequent debate (May 13). Having, he said, consulted with Sir Roundell Palmer, who had consented to act as counsel for Her Majesty's Government, and who agreed with him that the American claims transgressed the limits of the reference, he brought the matter before the Cabinet, which, on the 18th of January, decided that it was impossible to submit the Indirect Claims to Arbitration. The result was a suspension of the proceedings of the Arbitration, which was adjourned for two months. Accordingly, on our side, a counter case was sent in to the American Government, relating solely to the question of direct damages, accompanied by a note protesting against the inclusion of the indirect; stipulating that we would not accept any decision or discussion upon that class of claims; and announcing that if the American Government should not have formally abandoned them before the 15th June, the last day for giving in statements, the Treaty and the Tribunal would be regarded by us as at an end.

Much discussion, and not of the most satisfactory kind, took place respecting the mutual "understanding" of the two governments as to these claims, which, it was contended on our part, if not clearly and unambiguously excluded by the Treaty, the protocols, and the subsequent correspondence, had been at all events, tacitly, or, otherwise, abandoned with the knowledge and consent of the American commissioners. Little advantage could be obtained by our reviewing a controversy of which the interest has ceased, and which could not, at the time, be carried on without charges of something approaching to bad faith being advanced, under cover of whatever amount of polite insinuations. It was asserted, on the one hand, that General Schenck, by his presence at a debate in the House of Lords (June 12, 1871), in which Lord Granville strongly asserted his view of the case, had not merely laid himself under the obligation to communicate that view to his Government, but had implicitly assented to it. But it was certainly laying down a somewhat vaguely extensive canon of the duties of a diplomatist to maintain that he was bound,



and his Government through him, by any ministerial statement made to the legislature which he happened to overhear; nor, after all, were Lord Granville's expressions on that occasion, taken with their context, so distinct and comprehensive as was supposed by controversialists on our side. Lord Granville thus addresses General Schenck on this subject:—

“That her Majesty's Government never intended to refer these claims to arbitration, and that in ratifying the Treaty they never contemplated their being revived in the argument before the Arbitrators, must have been obvious to you from the language used in the debate in the House of Lords on the 12th of June, on the motion for an Address to the Queen, praying her Majesty to refuse to ratify the Treaty. On that occasion I distinctly stated this to be the understanding of her Majesty's Government, and quoted the very Protocol of the 4th of May, to which I have referred above, as a proof that these Indirect Claims had ‘entirely disappeared.’ When Lord Cairns, to whose speech allusion has been made in the United States' Case, subsequently said that extravagant claims might be put in and take their chance, he was met with expressions of dissent. Moreover, Lord Derby, while criticizing the negotiations and the terms of the Treaty in other respects, particularized the withdrawal of Indirect Claims. ‘The only concession,’ he said, ‘of which I can see any trace upon the American side, is the withdrawal of that utterly preposterous demand that we should be held responsible for the premature recognition of the South as a belligerent Power, in company with that equally wild imagination, which, I believe, never extended beyond the minds of two or three speakers in Congress, of making us liable for all the constructive damages to trade and navigation which may be proved or supposed to have arisen from our attitude during the war.’

“I observed that you were present in the House of Lords on that occasion, and you informed me in January that you were present during the speeches of Lord Russell and myself, and that you communicated the next day the full newspaper report of the debate to your Government.

“Sir S. Northcote, in the House of Commons, repeated, in other words, the substance of my remarks on the limitation of the terms of reference; and as his speech is printed in the papers on Foreign Relations recently laid before Congress, it must also have been reported to your Government. But neither on the occasion of my speech nor of his, nor when the ratifications of the Treaty were exchanged on the 17th of June, did you call my attention to the fact that a different interpretation was placed on the Treaty and Protocol by her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States; nor, so far as her Majesty's Government are aware, was their interpretation, thus publicly expressed, challenged either by the Statesmen or the public Press of the United States. Her Majesty's Government must therefore confess their inability to understand how the intimation contained in my Note of the 3rd of February last can have been received by the President with surprise.”

Sir Stafford Northcote's explanation was given in a letter to Lord Derby, which his lordship communicated to the House of Lords, June 6 :—

“86, Harley-street, W., June 5, 1872.

“Dear Lord Derby,—I observe that in your speech in the House of Lords last night you referred to a recent statement of mine with regard to the negotiations at Washington in a manner which shows me that you, as well as many other persons, have misunderstood my meaning.

“It has been supposed—and you seem to have supposed—that I said that an understanding existed between the British and the American negotiators that the claims for Indirect Losses should not be brought forward; and it has been inferred from this that we, relying upon that understanding, were less careful in framing the Treaty than we should otherwise have been.

“This is incorrect. What I said was, that we had represented to our Government that we understood a promise to have been given that no claims for Indirect Losses should be brought forward. In so saying, I referred to the statement voluntarily and formally made by the American Commissioners at the opening of the Conference of the 8th of March, which I, for one, understood to amount to an engagement that the claims in question should not be put forward in the event of a Treaty being agreed on.

“I will not enter into a discussion of the grounds upon which I came to that conclusion; but will simply say that we never for a moment thought of relying upon it, or upon any other matter outside of the Treaty itself. We thought, as I still think, that the language of the Treaty was sufficient, according to the ordinary rules of interpretation, to exclude the claims for Indirect Losses. At all events, we certainly meant to make it so.”

It is unnecessary, after the course taken by subsequent events, to recapitulate the complicated and vexatious particulars of the negotiations between the two countries relative to the withdrawal of these claims. It may suffice to say, once for all, that our Government, amidst much hostile criticism and dissatisfaction, pursued steadily the double purpose of preserving the arbitration and excluding the indirect claims: and it will be seen that their efforts were ultimately attended with success.

The following draft of a “Supplementary Article” was tendered by our Government (May 10) :—

“Whereas the Government of her Britannic Majesty has contended, in the recent correspondence with the Government of the United States, as follows, namely :—

“That such Indirect Claims as those for the national losses stated in the Case presented on the part of the Government of the United States to the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva, to have been sustained by ‘the loss in the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag; the enhanced payments of insurance; the prolongation of the war; and the addition of a large sum to the

cost of the war, and the suppression of the rebellion : '—firstly, were not included, in fact, in the Treaty of Washington ; and further, and secondly, should not be admitted in principle as growing out of the acts committed by particular vessels, alleged to have been enabled to commit depredations upon the shipping of a belligerent by reason of such a want of due diligence in the performance of neutral obligations as that which is imputed by the United States to Great Britain :

" And whereas the Government of her Britannic Majesty has also declared that the principle involved in the second of the contentions hereinbefore set forth will guide their conduct in future :

" And whereas the President of the United States, while adhering to his contention that the said claims were included in the Treaty, adopts for the future the principle contained in the second of the said contentions, so far as to declare that it will hereafter guide the conduct of the Government of the United States, and the two countries are, therefore, agreed in this respect :

" In consideration thereof the President of the United States, by and with the advice of the Senate thereof, consents that he will make no claim on the part of the United States in respect of Indirect Losses as aforesaid, before the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva."

This proposal was, however, controverted on the other side. To the last, the American diplomatists contended that the consideration of the Indirect Claims should be proposed to the Arbitrators, though more, as it would seem, in the spirit of a litigant who cannot make up his mind to surrender any point for which he has made a stand than with any real purpose of insisting on their pretension as a *sine qua non*. The pending question was discussed in the House of Lords on June 4.

The difficulty of the negotiation at this point was increased by the publication, in America, through the newspapers, of the Supplementary Article in question : a publication which was strongly disavowed on the part of General Schenck. The following extracts from a debate in the House of Commons (May 27) explains the course which Government thought it necessary to take:—

Mr. Disraeli said,—I think that the Prime Minister might have felt it his duty to make some statement to the House with reference to the state of the negotiations at Washington ; but as he has not done so, I feel it my duty to ask one or two questions. The House will recollect that immediately before our adjournment for the holidays the right hon. gentleman made a most important and interesting statement on the subject of our negotiations with the United States. I concluded from what he said that Her Majesty's Government had made to the Government of the United States a proposition, the object of which was to terminate the difficulties connected with the Indirect Claims, and with the view of virtually withdrawing these claims from the Tribunal at Geneva. I inferred, also, that the Government of the United States had received our proposition in a sympathizing spirit, and that the President was prepared to place the proposition in the form of a short Supplementary Article before the Senate for its consideration

and approval. It would have been, I am sure, most interesting to this House, and to Parliament generally, if we could have been made acquainted before the adjournment with the terms of the Supplemental Article. But it appeared to me that the plea urged for withholding such information was quite irresistible, seeing that the right hon. gentleman told us that the Supplemental Article was to be discussed in a secret Congress of the Senate, and that it would be looked upon as a breach of confidence prematurely to make it public. I felt, and I think the sentiment was general on both sides of the House, that it would be impossible after that statement to press for particulars. I must say, however, that it was with the greatest mortification I found, immediately after the adjournment, that the contents, almost the verbal contents, of the article had been made known in America, and had, in consequence of the rapid means of communication now existing, become immediately afterwards familiar to the people of this country. The consequence was, that having, from a delicate feeling of honour—which I trust will never be wanting in this House—made that great sacrifice for an object of the greatest importance, we were deprived of all advantages of the sacrifice which we might have expected by the circumstance to which I have referred. I make no charge against her Majesty's Government; I only refer to the matter in order to make other matters more clear on which I require explanation. I am sure that the right hon. gentleman opposite, any more than any other adviser of her Majesty, or any gentleman who may hope to become a Minister of the Crown, will never trifle with the House of Commons. I have no doubt that the statement of the right hon. gentleman was a *bonâ fide* statement, but I regret that Her Majesty's Government did not take the necessary pains to become well informed on the matter. But I should now like to know on what representation the right hon. gentleman felt himself justified in calling upon the House of Commons to make so great a sacrifice, and to refrain from asking for the means of forming a comprehensive opinion. We have heard to-day that the Senate has accepted the Supplementary Article, but with modifications. What I wish to learn from the right hon. gentleman is, first, whether it is authentic that the Supplementary Article has been approved by the Senate; and, secondly, whether the modifications which have been introduced, and which are now in the possession of Her Majesty's Government, will be published in the "London Gazette?" I wish to know if he can inform us what are the modifications which have been made in the Supplementary Article? and, secondly, whether an opportunity will be given to Parliament, before the Ministerial sanction of those modifications, to express an opinion as to their expediency? There is one other topic connected with these negotiations respecting which I think the House has a right to some information. The House is aware that by the fifth article of the treaty of Washington, within two months of the period upon which the Counter Case was sent to Geneva, which would be April 15, we

are called upon to offer, in a printed or written form, our arguments in favour of our views. Now, that is a statement which is of course the most important document that can be placed before the Tribunal at Geneva; and as, according to the fifth article of the Treaty of Washington, it cannot be sent in after June 15, I wish to know whether, with reference to the state of the negotiations at Washington, the right hon. gentleman will be able to comply with the conditions of the fifth article in such a manner as not to impair our case or damage our present position. The House will see at once that if the Supplementary Treaty is not agreed upon between both Governments by June 15, and that if we do not by that date send in our arguments, the Treaty will lapse; if we do send them in for final adjudication, waiving our protest against the Indirect Damages, we shall be placed in a position of extreme difficulty. The House will see the importance of being quite sure on this head. It has been proposed by an eminent authority on the other side of the Atlantic that a joint note should be sent in by the two Governments asking for time and requesting delay; but it appears to me, and it may also appear to others, doubtful whether the Tribunal at Geneva could grant such delay. I think, so far as the question can be judged by the experience of previous Courts of Arbitration, that even if the Tribunal at Geneva had the power, it would decline to exercise it. The House will see how important it is to have the clearest information on this subject, and I would therefore request the right hon. gentleman to inform us whether it is in his power to make us acquainted with the reported modifications in the Supplementary Article, and whether, when these modifications are placed in the ultimate and authentic shape, he will give this House an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon them. I wish also to know whether the right hon. gentleman, remembering that after the Supplementary Article has been approved of by the Senate, it must still be negotiated in the form of a Treaty about which considerable time must elapse, can inform the House what precautions have been taken that we shall not, under its fifth article, lose the advantages of the main Treaty, or be committed to the Indirect Claims by prematurely sending in our arguments, and thus waiving our opposition to claims which we have so long opposed.

Mr. Gladstone answered: I shall deal with the topics of the right hon. gentleman in the order in which they have been introduced by him. He has alluded first to the appeals which were made to both Houses of Parliament before the holidays, entreating a prolongation or repetition of the indulgence which had been shown in a remarkable degree during the previous few months. That appeal was founded by us on considerations of general precedence. I stated that the President of the United States had actually submitted for the consideration of the Senate the Supplementary Article which had been drafted by this Government on a suggestion from the other side, and which had been transmitted for the consideration of the Presi-

dent. Further, I may say that, when making the appeal, the motive which was principally in my mind was not so much an apprehension as to the premature discussion of the Supplementary Article by Parliament on the public here, as that its premature publication in America might lead to mischief. At all events, I was anxious that the question of publicity should be left for the consideration of parties there. I cannot be surprised that the right hon. gentleman should feel some mortification at seeing that very soon after the article was almost textually divulged in America and transmitted here, the right hon. gentleman asked on what representations I felt myself justified in making the appeal I did make. Well, so far as general policy is concerned, the appeal was not founded on any representation, but on our own judgment. I stated at the time that the article was submitted for the counsel and advice of the Senate, and that that submission, as we understood the constitution of America, was strictly in the nature of a confidential submission; but if the right hon. gentleman asks me how the article so shortly after became public, I am afraid that the question must be put in another place on the other side of the water. It is not for me to venture upon a surmise as to whether the publication was made by accident or through inadvertence. Such things do happen from time to time in America, and perhaps in other countries, but the disclosure is not one for which this Government can be made responsible. The right hon. gentleman next inquires with respect to the present state of communication. What I have to state is that we were informed yesterday that the Senate had agreed, by a large majority, to the last article which had been prepared by Her Majesty's Government, but with certain verbal amendments, or, to quote more strictly, with amendments of its words. These amendments were not made known in a formal or accurate manner, so as that any step could be taken upon them until this day. The Cabinet met to consider them this afternoon; but the House will bear in mind that these questions require careful consideration and advice from the counsel of the Government, and will not be surprised, when it is considered that the Cabinet met only one hour and a half ago, to learn that we have not yet been able to transmit our final argument to the American Minister. The right hon. gentleman will understand that, under these circumstances, I am not in a position to make the communication he desires to Parliament; had I been so, I should not have waited for his question. These modifications have not been published in America; they are strictly confidential between the two Governments, and cannot therefore be disclosed until the disclosure may be made without disadvantage to the important interests involved. The right hon. gentleman asks whether time will be given for consideration before the ratification of the Treaty; but that is a stage which has not been reached, inasmuch as the terms are still under discussion between the two Governments. I would much rather that the right hon. gentleman should be good enough to put his question on paper, so that I may give him an

answer with perfect precision. I have my own idea upon the subject. I apprehend that before ratification these conditions must be transmitted across the water. Communications are now going on by telegram, and I would much rather wait for more precise information. The right hon. gentleman has also referred to the necessity of laying our arguments before the Tribunal at Geneva previous to June 13. I think it would be premature to make any announcement to Parliament with respect to the steps which may be taken at Geneva until we have been able to conclude the business which is now in hand with respect to the Supplementary enactments. All proceedings at Geneva must, it is evident, depend in a material degree upon the nature of the termination to which the present negotiations on the Supplemental Article may arrive. So far from giving information, it would rather tend to confuse this House and the public mind if we were to allow our views on the two subjects to be mixed up together. What I have to state is, that we have carefully considered the question of time; and that in considering it the position of Parliament, as well as our own, will be taken into consideration. The right hon. gentleman has referred to the idea that an application should be made to the Arbitrators for an enlargement of time, and has expressed a doubt as to the powers of the Arbitrators in that respect. It is not necessary for me to enter into the question of sufficiency of powers, because it is quite evident that if an enlargement of time should become necessary, power could be given by agreement between the two Governments. As far as this Government is concerned, the question has been considered with great promptitude. I am not able to say how it is in America, but the element of time would be treated by this Government with the main object of attaining the ends of the negotiation; that is to say, that no question of time should be allowed to interfere with such result. Until, however, we know more we shall not be able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to whether an enlargement of time will be necessary, or to raise a discussion on the subject. I have now answered the right hon. gentleman's questions, and I have only to make this one addition. I have said that we appreciated the importance of the element of time as respected Geneva, but we are still more impressed with its importance as regards the negotiations which are now going on; and I may say, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, that not one moment shall be lost in returning our reply to the last proposal of the American Government, so as to make our contribution towards producing the consummation which both nations so ardently desire.

On June 3, Lord Russell moved his long-deferred resolution (originally introduced early in the Session) against going on with the Geneva Arbitration until the Indirect Claims were withdrawn. Premising that this kingdom was, in his opinion, fully equal to the United States or any other State in the world in point of diplomacy, he recapitulated the circumstances which would, in his opinion, justify the Government in declaring that they would not negotiate on the

basis of a Treaty to which they had never been parties. It was now exactly a twelvemonth since the Treaty came before their lordships, and yet the question was in the same state of doubt and anxiety as when it was originally raised. Great Britain would never pay a farthing of damages on the ground of the Indirect Claims, and Her Majesty's Government would be placed in an ignominious position if they found themselves before a tribunal which took those claims into consideration. They should, therefore, speak plainly, and tell the American Government that until those claims were withdrawn no representative of Her Majesty's Government should appear at Geneva. What the Americans respected in us was the quality vulgarly called "pluck." It was evident from the correspondence surreptitiously published that the views of the two Governments were as wide as the poles asunder. If this were frankly acknowledged, the present Treaty might lapse, but at some future time the American Government would be guided by counsels of wisdom and conciliation. Accusing Her Majesty's Government of great negligence in not urging the claims of the Canadians for compensation for the Fenian raid, he called upon their lordships to affirm his resolution, and to show that they were not wanting in regard for the honour of the British Crown.

Lord Granville, after pointing out that the American telegraphic correspondence was not applicable to the present state of the negotiations, first defended individually the composition of the Commission, and then confidently asserted that they had done their work well. The one omission in the Treaty was in regard to the Indirect Claims, and upon this point he again asserted that neither her Majesty's Government nor that of the United States intended to include the Indirect Claims in the Treaty. They were also waived by the Protocol and by the Treaty itself. Citing high English and American authorities to show that the Indirect Claims were kept out of the Treaty and waived by it, he added that her Majesty's Government would stand better before the world should the Treaty fall to the ground—which was not yet certain—if they exhausted every possible means of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion.

General Schenck, the American Minister, was at last able to communicate with Lord Granville, by letter, in a manner so far satisfactory that on the next day of debate (June 6th) Lord Russell felt warranted in withdrawing his resolution.

"On the 6th," says a newspaper reporter, "the scene in the House, from the moment when their lordships assembled till even after the adjournment, was one of the most interesting and exciting that has been witnessed for a long time. There was a large attendance of peers when Lord Derby rose to read Sir Stafford Northcote's explanation; and among the privy councillors who crowded the space around the throne was Sir Stafford himself. As soon as Lord Derby had resumed his seat, Lord Granville rose with a beam of satisfaction on his face; but not till he had made his few



prefatory observations, and had announced the receipt of General Schenck's letter, did he display the document itself. As, in measured tones, he read the letter, every member of the House and all the 'strangers' around the throne and at the bar, strained forward to follow him in every sentence. When he had concluded, a general cheer was raised, and then, from all sides, there was the half-audible inquiry, 'Where's Russell?' Lord Grey was proceeding to comment on the difficulty to which Lord Russell's absence gave rise, when Lord Bessborough whispered something in his ear which evidently broke the thread of his commentary, and which was generally understood to be an intimation that Lord Russell was within the precincts of the building. All eyes were turned to the bar, which at that moment Lord Houghton was approaching, and several peers exclaimed, 'Here he is.' Lord Grey paused, but when the mistake was discovered he resumed, and briefly recommended an adjournment. Lord Salisbury then rose, and at the same instant Lord Russell entered, and was met by Lord Granville, who handed him General Schenck's letter. While Lord Russell was perusing it, Lord Cairns crossed the House and joined him. Both went through the letter together, the House meanwhile waiting to learn what course Lord Russell would adopt. The conclusion appeared to be satisfactory to everybody, and for some minutes after the House stood adjourned their lordships conversed in little groups, both within the House itself and about the writing-room at the back of the throne."

On June 15, the Arbitrators met at the Hôtel de Ville at Geneva. This august body was thus composed:—

Her Britannic Majesty named Sir Alexander James Edmund Cockburn, Baronet, a Member of her Majesty's Privy Council, Lord Chief Justice of England;

The President of the United States, Charles Francis Adams, Esquire;

His Majesty the King of Italy, his Excellency Count Frederic Sclopis, of Salerano, a Knight of the Order of the Annunciata, Minister of State, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy;

The President of the Swiss Confederation, M. Jacques Staempfli;

His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, his Excellency Marcos Antonio d'Araujo, Viscount d'Itajubá, a Grandee of the Empire of Brazil, Member of the Council of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France.

The Agents named by each of the High Contracting Parties, by virtue of the same Article II., to wit:—

For her Britannic Majesty, Charles Stuart Aubrey, Lord Tenterden, a Peer of the United Kingdom, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

And for the United States of America, John C. Bancroft Davis, Esquire.

Sir Roundell Palmer (now Lord Selborne) subsequently attended as Counsel for Britain; General Cushing and Mr. Evarts for America.

The following extract from a newspaper of the day gives a graphic account of the ceremony :—

“The first member of the Tribunal to put in an appearance on Saturday was Count Sclopis, the representative of King Victor Emmanuel, and President of the Tribunal. Count Sclopis de Salerano is a good-looking man, hale and hearty for his age, although he is, if I mistake not, considerably the most elderly member of the Tribunal. On his arrival he was instantly ‘interviewed’ by the representative of a local paper, who requested to be admitted to the approaching sitting. The Count promised to refer the application to his colleagues. The next person to arrive was M. Favrot, the secretary of the Tribunal, a man of many languages, as he speaks German, French, and English (and, I believe, Italian as well) with equal facility and correctness. Next came the two counsel of the United States, General Cushing and Mr. Evarts, followed by Messrs. Wayte and Beaman, the solicitors to the United States Government. Very shortly afterwards Sir Alexander Cockburn and Sir Roundell Palmer appeared. Next came Mr. Bancroft Davis, ‘the man that caused all the mess,’ said a New Englander—with his nephew, bearing a whole bundle of documents. The last Arbitrator to arrive was Mr. Adams, who was ten minutes late. However, Lord Tenterden, also with many documents, was later still.

“The room in which the Tribunal sits is a large oblong room, which has been made use of on several occasions for the reception of international congresses and the like. It was in this room that the Convention of Geneva for the protection of the wounded in war was debated and signed some few years back. The room is permanently arranged for meetings, with raised desk or ‘tribune’ for the President, and immediately under it one for speakers. In the middle is a large table covered with the time-honoured green baize. Round the room are placed seats for members of the Fourth Estate, which are, I fear, only too likely to remain unoccupied on the present occasion. A picture—*Helvetia*, in a snow-white robe, and a blood-red flag—flanked on either side by two indifferent landscapes, which look rather as if they had been drawn in Surrey than in Switzerland, are the only ornaments of the room.

“Count Sclopis, as President, had his seat in the centre of the semi-circle; on his left were Baron d’Itajubá and Sir Alexander Cockburn; while the places on his right were occupied by M. Staempfli and Mr. Adams. The agents and counsel sat at a square table in front of the Arbitrators—Lord Tenterden on one side, with the British counsel behind him; Mr. Bancroft Davis on the other side, similarly supported. The American argument was presented to the Court in an octavo volume of 600 or 700 pages, accompanied by a smaller supplementary volume, and printed in English only.

"It may possibly be worth while to say a few words about the languages spoken by the different members of the Tribunal. Count Sclopis, the President of the Tribunal, and representative of the King of Italy, speaks French very fluently; indeed, he has written two books in that language. He also speaks and writes English, though not so idiomatically or with such ease as French. Herr Staempfli, as a Swiss, of course speaks French and German with almost equal facility; he is well acquainted with English literature, but does not speak it. Baron Itajubá speaks French very fluently, but not English. Mr. Adams speaks, besides his native tongue, the language of Voltaire with as much ease and readiness as his countryman Benjamin Franklin. Sir Alexander Cockburn is the best Frenchman of all, his mother having been a French woman, and he himself having been born and bred in France, as the Chief Justice's father was one of the British subjects so unjustly seized and detained prisoner by Napoleon at the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. Of the Americans, General Cushing is a good French scholar; and, though his accent is not quite that of a native of Touraine, he speaks fluently and correctly. Mr. Evarts does not speak French; but he reads it with ease. Of the two solicitors named by the United States, Mr. Beaman reads French, as of course Sir Roundell Palmer does, though he is said not to speak it very readily. Mr. Bancroft Davis and Lord Tenterden both speak French fluently and well."

The Arbitrators met again on the 19th, and after receiving argument on both sides, the English appearing under protest, rejected altogether the Indirect Claims. Their decision was then communicated to the House of Lords by Lord Granville on June 27. He read the note delivered to the Arbitrators by the British agent in lieu of a written or printed argument. He also read the important declaration made by the Arbitrators as to the inadmissibility of the Indirect Claims put forward by the United States. He laid stress upon the fact that in this declaration the Arbitrators neither assumed jurisdiction nor proposed now or hereafter to make any award or judicial deliverance, but made the principle of the declaration cover, not only the disallowance, but also the exclusion from consideration of these claims. He also noted with satisfaction that the Arbitrators avoided laying down any larger principle than that involved in the immediate controversy, or which could be made use of in the course of the Arbitration itself as to any of the other claims, or as implying anything in their favour. The declaration having been accepted by the President, the Indirect Claims were formally withdrawn by the United States agent, whereupon the British agent filed his summary of arguments with reference to those claims to the consideration of which by the Tribunal no exception had been taken by her Majesty's Government.

The statement of the Arbitrators was delivered by Count Sclopis in the following terms:—

"The Arbitrators wish it to be understood that, in the observa-

tions which they are about to make, they have in view solely the application of the agent of her Britannic Majesty's Government, which is now before them for an adjournment, which might be prolonged till the month of February in the next year, and the motives for that application, viz., the difference of opinion which exists between her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States as to the competency of the Tribunal, under the Treaty of Washington, to deal with the claims advanced in the case of the United States in respect of losses under the several heads of:—(1) The losses in the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag; (2) the enhanced payments of insurance; and (3) the prolongation of the war, and the addition of a large sum to the cost of the war and the suppression of the rebellion; and the hope, which her Britannic Majesty's Government does not abandon, that if sufficient time were given for that purpose, a solution of the difficulty which has thus arisen, by the negotiation of a Supplementary Convention between the two Governments, might be found practicable. The Arbitrators do not propose to express or imply any opinion upon the point thus in difference between the two Governments as to the interpretation or effect of the Treaty. But it seems to them obvious that the substantial object of the adjournment must be to give the two Governments an opportunity of determining whether the claims in question shall, or shall not, be submitted to the decision of the Arbitrators; and that any difference between the two Governments on this point may make the adjournment unproductive of any useful effect, and after a delay of many months, during which both nations may be kept in a state of painful suspense, may end in a result which, it is to be presumed, both Governments would equally deplore, that of making this Arbitration wholly abortive. This being so, the Arbitrators think it right to state that, after the most careful perusal of all that has been urged on the part of the Government of the United States in respect of these claims, they have arrived, individually and collectively, at the conclusion that these claims do not constitute, upon the principles of international law applicable to such cases, good foundation for an award of compensation or computation of damages between nations, and should upon such principles be wholly excluded from the consideration of the Tribunal in making its award, even if there were no disagreement between the two Governments as to the competency of the Tribunal to decide thereon.

“With a view to the settlement of the other claims, to the consideration of which by the Tribunal no exception has been taken on the part of her Britannic Majesty's Government, the Arbitrators have thought it desirable to lay before the parties this expression of the views they have formed upon the question of public law involved, in order that, after this declaration by the Tribunal, it may be considered by the Government of the United States whether any course can be adopted respecting the first-mentioned claims, which would

relieve the Tribunal from the necessity of deciding upon the present application of her Britannic Majesty's Government."

After one or two subsequent meetings, the Arbitration was adjourned to July 15, and then again to the 25th July, after which the proceedings were continuous, until the award was given on the 24th September. At the meeting of 25th July, the President, Count Sclopis, requested to be assisted by the arguments of counsel on both sides on the following three questions:—"That of 'due diligence' to be treated in a general manner;" "That of the effect of the commissions possessed by the Confederate vessels of war which entered British ports;" "That of the provision of coal granted to those vessels in the ports in question." On these three questions Count Sclopis afterwards expressed his opinion, in a document attached to the award.

According to the authoritative record of proceedings, "the Conference of September 25th was held with open doors, pursuant to adjournment. All the Arbitrators and the agents of the two Governments were present.

"The President then presented the decision of the Tribunal on the question of the Alabama Claims, and directed the secretary to read it; which was done, and the decision was signed by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Count Frederic Sclopis, M. Jacques Staempfli, and Viscount d'Itajubá, Arbitrators, in the presence of the agents of the two Governments.

"A copy of the decision thus signed was delivered to each of the agents of the two Governments respectively, and the Tribunal decided to have a third copy placed upon record; they further decided that the decision should be printed and annexed to the present Protocol.

"Sir Alexander Cockburn, as one of the Arbitrators, having declined to assent to the decision, stated the grounds of his own decision, which the Tribunal ordered to be recorded as an annex to the present Protocol.

"The Tribunal resolved to request the Council of State at Geneva to receive the archives of the Tribunal, and to place them among its own archives.

"The President, Count Sclopis, then directed the secretary to make up the record of the proceedings of the Tribunal at this thirty-second and last Conference, as far as completed; which was done, and the record having been read and approved, was signed by the President and secretary of the Tribunal and the agents of the two Governments.

"Thereupon the President declared the labours of the Arbitrators to be finished, and the Tribunal to be dissolved."

This record was signed by the President, Count Sclopis, and by Lord Tenterden and Mr. Bancroft Davis, as agents of the two Governments.

The "Decision and Award" of this Tribunal will be found in the Appendix to this volume. Four of the Arbitrators found that Great Britain had failed in the case of the "Alabama," by omission, to fulfil

the duties prescribed by the first and third rules of the Treaty of Washington.<sup>1</sup> Sir Alexander Cockburn agreed, but differed in his reasons. A similar decision (four against one) was pronounced in the case of the "Florida," under the second and third rules of the same articles. In the case of the "Shenandoah," they held, unanimously, that Great Britain had not failed in any duty with respect to her, prior to her arrival at the port of Melbourne; but (by majority of three against two—Count Selopis and Sir A. Cockburn) that she had so failed after the said arrival. As to the "Retribution," that Great Britain had not failed—by three to two. As to the "Georgia," the "Sumter," the "Nashville," the "Tallahassee," and the "Chickamauga," respectively, the same finding, unanimous. And, by a majority of four voices against one, they awarded to the United States a sum of 15,500,000 dollars in gold, "for the satisfaction of all the claims referred to the consideration of the Tribunal, conformably to the provisions contained in Article VII. of the said Treaty."

The "reasons" of the several Arbitrators for their judgment were stated at length, and published. That of Sir Alexander Cockburn occupies two hundred and fifty folio pages in the Supplement to the *London Gazette*; and, whether it may or may not command in all points the assent of the reader, furnishes at all events a most striking example of legal acuteness and power of general reasoning, applied to a series of complicated and momentous questions. To an Englishman with an Englishman's prepossessions, its vigorous language may naturally have appeared irresistible. It does not follow that it would commend itself equally to the judgment even of impartial foreigners. His energetic disclaimer of unfavourable sentiments on the part of England towards the North in the great struggle could meet among them with little response; and their inference that her conduct towards the North in the matters before the Tribunal had been influenced by such sentiments could not be shaken by simply denying their existence. Moreover, the whole fabric of Sir Alexander's arguments appears founded on certain prescriptive principles of English jurisprudence, which require strict proof as against one put on his trial where strong presumptions would satisfy foreign courts trained under a different law of evidence; and its effectiveness therefore was of that kind which depends in some degree on the preparation of the mind to receive it.

He begins by regretting that the whole subject-matter of this great contest, in respect of law as well as of fact, was not left open to the Court, to be decided according to the true principles and rules of international law in force and binding among nations, and the duties and obligations arising out of them at the time when these alleged causes of complaint are said to have arisen. When, however, the Queen's Government gave way to the desire of the United States, and consented to make the "three rules" the

<sup>1</sup> See "Annual Register for 1871," p. 294.

measure of past obligations, it was a great and generous concession. But although a special liability has been admitted by treaty, it will still be necessary to resort to general international law in order to determine the degree of diligence required of a neutral Government. In discussing the elements of neutrality, he takes occasion to remark that the Government of a country can only be held responsible for breaches of neutrality committed by its subjects when it can reasonably be expected to prevent them. There are things which a Government can prevent, and others which it cannot. It can prevent things which are done openly and in defiance of the law. But a Government could not be held liable in respect of things it cannot prevent; such as the conduct of individual subjects in enlisting or serving in the land or sea force of a belligerent; or things done clandestinely or surreptitiously, so as to elude observation or detection notwithstanding the exercise of proper diligence to prevent the law from being broken. But then the exercise of such diligence is part of the duty of a Government, and the condition of its immunity. If this diligence has been wanting, a belligerent has just cause to hold the neutral State responsible for wrongful acts done by its subjects in violation of neutrality, and from which he, the belligerent, has suffered. A very elaborate review follows of the opinions of Galliani, Lampredi, Azuni, Massé, Ortolan, Heffter, Bluntschli, Phillimore, and Hautefeuille as to the restrictions to which a neutral's trade is subject, and it is observed that their differences of opinion arises from the different point of view from which each party considers the question. The one party assume that to supply a belligerent with articles of warlike use, though in the way of trade, is to take part in the war; assuming which, they say, with truth, that it is the same thing whether the objectionable articles are sold to the belligerent in the country of the neutral or in his own. The other party, starting from the principle that, according to natural justice, the rights of the neutral should be left free and untouched by the wars of others, look on the existing restraints on the freedom of his commerce as encroachments on his rights, and, considering these restraints as arising entirely from convention, deny the illegality of any trade which the actual practice of nations does not prevent. The great authority of Chancellor Kent, and of the majority of writers, is in favour of the latter view. Sir A. Cockburn lets it be seen throughout that he inclines to the view most favourable to the liberty of neutrals. From his review of the present state of international law, Sir A. Cockburn draws the inference that the American allegation that the English Foreign Enlistment Act is only a recognition of duties imposed by international law is untrue.

In discussing the question what constitutes due diligence, Sir A. Cockburn appeals to the opinions of eminent Continental jurists, and stoutly contends against the doctrine on which the award is apparently based. A Government has a right to execute its neutrality laws by a procedure in harmony with its own institu-

tions, and these will be different under despotic and free Governments. "It is to be remembered that a Government cannot be taken to guarantee the event; in other words, to be answerable at all hazards and under all circumstances for a breach of neutrality by a subject, if it occurs. In spite of the law, and of the vigorous administration of the law, offences will take place, and neither at home nor abroad can rulers be held, under all circumstances, answerable to those who suffer from them. All that can be expected of the Government of a country is that it shall possess reasonable means to prevent offences, and use such means honestly and diligently for the benefit of those who are entitled to its protection. The terms of the Treaty, which require no more than 'due diligence,' exclude all notion of an absolute unconditional responsibility. This is evidently the meaning of an observation of the British counsel at the close of the fifth section of his argument on 'due diligence,' which the President of the Tribunal appears to have found some difficulty in understanding." The complaint of the American Government that our Foreign Enlistment Act is less stringent than theirs is shown to be unfounded, as also the statement that it is less so than those of the chief European States. The conduct of the United States in respect of its obligations to neutrality is then investigated with results not favourable to that Government.

The Government, though bound to prevent any known violation of the law, was, he holds, under no obligation to a belligerent to enforce the law for his benefit, and incurred no liability to such belligerent for not doing so, so long as the law was not enforced against the latter any more than against his enemy. Any hostile expedition permitted to leave the shores of Great Britain, which the Government by the exercise of reasonable diligence could have prevented, would have amounted to a breach of neutrality, for which it might have been held responsible. But for the mere equipping of a vessel, by ship-builders in the way of trade, though intended for a belligerent, the Government would not be responsible; and though every Government is, no doubt, bound to prevent infractions of the law, so far as it knows of them and can prevent them, still this general duty which it owes to its own country is obviously a very different thing from the responsibility it incurs as representing the State, in relation to a foreign Power. In the one case, the maintenance of the law is left to the ordinary authorities, and to the individuals who have occasion to seek protection or redress from its operation; in the other, the action of the Government by its immediate officers becomes necessary for its own protection. No doubt, as a matter of comity, and from a sense of justice, a Government would pay ready attention to the representatives of a belligerent power complaining of an infraction of the municipal law in a matter in which the interests of the belligerent were affected—more especially in a matter lying, as it were, on the confines of municipal and international law—and would call into action the preventive powers it possessed, to keep the law from being broken. But, under such



circumstances, it might fairly leave to the representative of the belligerent to make out a case for the application of the law, just as it is left so to do to an ordinary individual who desires to put the law in motion in order to obtain redress on his own behalf. Hence, no doubt, had arisen the practice, common to the Governments both of the United States and Great Britain, of requiring the representative of a belligerent Power, invoking the aid of the Government, to produce evidence by which the action of the executive, when brought to the test of judicial inquiry, can be justified and upheld.

It is obvious that the degree of active diligence which could reasonably be expected from a Government under such circumstances is very different from what it would be bound to exercise in order to prevent a violation of neutrality, according to the law of nations, for which, as a Government, it would be properly responsible to a belligerent State. Though, by the Treaty of Washington, it must be taken that Great Britain was bound to use due diligence to prevent the equipping of ships as a matter of neutral obligation, and not as a mere matter of municipal law, yet that in determining whether due diligence was then applied or not, we must look to the relative position of the parties at the time, and insist on no more than would have satisfied the exigency of obligations then existing. Morally, in judging the conduct of the Government of that time, we are assuredly bound to do so.

Sir A. Cockburn now passes to the particular vessels charged. We only notice here those vessels as to which his judgment differs from that of his colleagues. The first case is that of the "Florida," or "Oreto." Sir A. Cockburn's conclusions are that "the equipping of this vessel not amounting to a violation of neutrality, but simply to a breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act, the Government had no authority to seize it by the mere exercise of the prerogative of the Crown, or by virtue of any executive power. Its powers were derived from the Act of the 59th of George III., the Foreign Enlistment Act. There was not evidence on which to seize this vessel and to ask for her condemnation under the Foreign Enlistment Act. There were no means of obtaining such evidence except by the exercise of inquisitorial powers which the Government did not possess. It was not incumbent on the Government of Great Britain to ask for, or on Parliament to grant, powers inconsistent with the established principles of British law and government, and with the general institutions of the country. It cannot properly be imputed to the Government, as want of due diligence, that it did not endeavour to obtain such powers when the existing law had hitherto proved sufficient. It would be in the highest degree inequitable and unjust to hold the contrary in favour of the United States, when the law of the latter was substantially, if not absolutely, the same as that of Great Britain, and therefore could have afforded no more efficacious means of prevention than that of Great Britain." At Nassau the "Florida" was seized, and proceedings were taken in the Admiralty Court of the Bahamas for her condemnation. She was, however,

acquitted, as Sir A. Cockburn thinks, by a miscarriage of justice. He defends, nevertheless, the integrity of the prosecution and of the court, which was governed by a mistaken view of the law.

"But it is said, in the second place, that the equipment and sending out of an armed vessel from the port of a neutral being a violation of its territory and neutral rights, and therefore a hostile act, Great Britain had the right to seize these vessels on their again coming within her jurisdiction, and was bound to do so, to prevent them from continuing to make war on vessels of the United States. The answer of the British Government is threefold—1st. That it had not the right, according to international law, to seize these vessels, seeing that when they came again into British ports, they were admitted as the commissioned ships of war of a belligerent State. 2ndly. That, independently of the foregoing ground, the British Government could not as a neutral Government, seize a ship of war of a belligerent State for that which was not a violation of neutrality, but only of its own municipal law. 3rdly. That even if it had the right, it was under no obligation to exercise it. The first of these grounds depends on the effect of the commissions which these vessels had in the meantime received from the Government of the Confederate States as ships of war. Now, it must be taken as an unquestionable fact that these ships were built, or equipped, for the *de facto* Government of the Confederate States, and were employed by it as regular ships of war, under the command of officers regularly commissioned. Hereupon two questions present themselves. Were these commissions valid? If so, what was their effect as to affording impunity to a vessel, thus commissioned, from seizure by the Government of Great Britain? No doubt, the effect to be given to the commission of a belligerent Government must depend on its power to act as a Government. And I repeat what I have before endeavoured to make good: namely, that where an integral portion of a nation separates itself from the parent State, and establishes a *de facto* Government of its own, excluding the former Government from all power and control, and thereupon a civil war ensues, a neutral nation is fully justified in recognizing the Government *de facto* as a belligerent, though it has not as yet acknowledged it as a nation; and that from the time of the acknowledgment of its belligerent status, the Government *de facto* acquires, in relation to the neutral, all the rights which attach to the status of a belligerent of an established nationality. The practice of nations has been uniform on this point; all the maritime nations concurred in according to the Confederate Government the status and rights of a belligerent. The commissions of the Confederate States must, therefore, be taken to have been valid, and to have had the same force and efficacy as the commissions of any recognized Government would have had."

The case of the "Alabama" is brought into a much shorter compass than that of the "Florida." Adverting to the fact that the legal opinion for which the Government was waiting was delayed through the illness of Sir John Harding, Sir A. Cockburn says that

a delay arising from such a cause could not properly have been attributed to want of due diligence; the lack of diligence on which his judgment is based is to be found farther back. It was the duty of the Collector of Customs at Liverpool, as early as the 22nd of July, to detain this vessel. When, for his better guidance and protection, the collector sought the directions of his superiors, it became the duty of the Commissioners of Customs at once to direct the seizure to be made. Misled by advice which they ought to have rejected as palpably erroneous, they unfortunately refused to cause the vessel to be seized. The matter properly belonged to their department; it was competent to them to act independently of any other department of the State; and the case was too clear to require the opinion of the law officers, although, after the decision of the Commissioners, it might well be deemed proper on the part of the heads of the Government to consult the law officers before acting in opposition to it. The mistake was such as to carry with it legal responsibility as its consequence. But the want of due diligence did not stop here. The vessel might have been seized in Moelfra Bay, if the opinion of the law officers had been promptly communicated to the Customs authorities.

The next case is that of the "Shenandoah," which is discussed at length.

On the question of damages, Sir Alexander Cockburn's conclusions, so far as they differ from those of the other arbitrators are governed by the preceding views. On the review of the whole case, Sir Alexander remarks, "The result is that, while I differ from the grounds on which the decision of the Tribunal in the case of the 'Alabama' is founded, nevertheless, owing to the special circumstances to which I have hereinbefore called attention, I concur in holding Great Britain liable in respect of that ship. With respect to the 'Florida,' on the best judgment I can form upon a review of all the facts, the charge of want of due diligence is not made out. I cannot concur in thinking that anything was left undone by the Government of her Majesty, which could be reasonably expected of them, or the omission of which can justly subject them to the charge of want of due diligence and care. I cannot agree that the law of Great Britain should have been changed because of the breaking out of the civil war. First, because the existing law was adequate to all that could reasonably be expected; secondly, because, at all events, there was at the time no reason for believing it other than sufficient; lastly, because, even if the law might have been improved and the hands of the Executive strengthened with advantage, the United States could have no possible right to expect any amendment of the British law so long as their own remained unaltered. As to the 'Shenandoah,' I cannot express too strongly my dissent from the decision of the majority. Not concurring in the decision as to the 'Florida' and 'Shenandoah,' I cannot, of course, concur in awarding the sum which is to be paid on account of the damage done by them. Even if this were otherwise, I should still hold the

amount awarded greater than it should have been. Lastly, under the very special circumstances out of which these claims have arisen, it appears to me that the allowance of interest was uncalled for and unjust."

The statement of Sir A. Cockburn has been given thus in long extracts, because, while in itself more interesting to English readers than the others, it gives a fuller and more detailed summary of the arguments on both sides than can be elsewhere found. That of Mr. Adams, the American arbitrator, is also marked by great ability, and takes rather the politician's than the lawyer's view of the questions at issue, as was most advantageous to the side which he represented. He laid especial stress on the general disinclination of our scattered home and colonial local authorities to assist in any way the cause of the North, and their readiness in sheltering their partiality under any shadow of legal or administrative justification. "On a calm examination of the evidence presented to us (in the case of the 'Alabama') respecting the measures taken by the authorities charged with the duty of prevention, it really looks as if they had chosen to look any way for it rather than the right way.

"It is alleged that the escape of this vessel was effected earlier than originally contemplated, by reason of the reception by the managers of intelligence from London of the intent of the Government to detain her. This statement appears in the deposition of one of the persons who served as an officer on board from the start and during the whole of her first cruise. Certainly a delay of five whole days in announcing a decision might furnish ample opportunity for active sympathisers, of whom there was notoriously an abundance in that capital, to watch and report every symptom of change that might be gathered from sources of authority. Even the fact of the long delay itself might be construed as ominous. Of the causes of that delay no absolute knowledge has ever yet been completely obtained. Neither is it deemed expedient here to enter into any examination of it. It is sufficient to the present purpose to say that the omission to act in season was due to causes wholly within the province of her Majesty's Government to control, and that the failure is one which must entail the responsibility for the great injuries that ensued, not upon the innocent parties whom it was the admitted duty of that Government to have protected, but upon those through whom the injuries became possible.

"It thus appears, that this vessel was built and fitted up with the intent to carry on war with the United States, in the kingdom of Great Britain, in violation of her laws; and that, notwithstanding the evidence of the fact was established so far in the opinion of her Majesty's law officers as to justify detention, by reason of the absence of due vigilance, not without suspicion of connivance on the part of some of her Majesty's officers, and of an extraordinary delay in issuing the necessary orders at the most critical moment, the vessel was suffered to escape out of the juris-

diction; that her armament, her supplies, and her crew were all provided and transported from her Majesty's kingdom without the smallest effort to investigate their nature or their purposes; that though orders were freely given for the detention of the vessel at any of the colonial ports at which she might arrive, the first time that she did actually appear she was received and recognized with all the honours due to the marine of a recognized belligerent Power, without the smallest manifestation of dissatisfaction with the gross violation of laws that had entailed upon her Majesty's Government a grave responsibility to a Power with which she was at peace.

"Thus it appears to me beyond a doubt that in the case of the 'Alabama,' Great Britain, by her omission to exercise due diligence in preventing the fitting out of this vessel, which it had reason to believe intended to cruise against a Power with which it was at peace, has failed to fulfil the duties set forth in the first article prescribed to the arbitrators as their guide under the terms of the Treaty of Washington."

Then follow (in the order given in the *Gazette*) the statements of Viscount Itajubá and M. Staempfli. Some criticism was expended at the time on a singular misstatement, through inadvertency, of some of the facts of the "Florida" case by the latter of these diplomatists; but it cannot be said that it was such as to impair the reasoning on which his judgment is founded. The statement of Count Sclopis, the President, concludes the papers. These three are all given in the French language. In respect of the case of the "Florida," he observes that certain errors which he notices may have been those of the local authorities at Melbourne, but that "in the affairs of customary administration, and in all which relates to the execution of special regulations, the responsibility for the acts of all subaltern agents, when a controversy arises between two sovereign States, must rest with those who hold the superior government"—a dictum which certainly does not hold out much prospect of success, in future arbitrations in similar cases, to the holders of a vast colonial empire like ours. In the matter of the "Alabama," he held that our Government was gravely and directly in fault. He entered into a minute discussion of the question, What constitutes "due diligence" according to the meaning of the Treaty of Washington? and laid it down that "the neutral Power cannot, in such a case, discharge himself of responsibility by having exacted of the belligerent sufficient proof to support a regular procedure before the tribunals. This would reduce the belligerent to the same condition with a private citizen of the neutral country. The law of nations (*le droit des gens*) does not content itself with these narrow measures of precaution. It requires greater liberality of proceeding. It is not only the comity of nations which claims this indulgence; it is the real need which nations have of mutual aid and protection to maintain their independence and guarantee their security." This passage is quoted because it exemplifies, better perhaps than any other, the difference between the view commonly taken of this series of questions by

English statesmen, from Lord Russell downwards, and that which prevailed with the arbitrators.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lowe) criticized the proceeding of the arbitrators in thus giving the reason of their several judgments, in a speech delivered on the occasion of his being presented with the freedom of the city of Glasgow (Sept. 27). Passing on to allude to the Geneva award, he remarked that he conceived it to be the duty of this country to obey that award without cavil or comment; and that, though he was happy to see that such was the opinion of Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, he regretted that his learned friend had not taken the course of simply signing the award with the other arbitrators, instead of having published his argument. He also regretted that the arbitrators of Geneva should have felt it necessary to deviate from the practice of ordinary arbitrators, and to give the reasons of their award. With regard to the principles of international law which the arbitrators had laid down, he did not consider that this country was bound by those principles. In connexion with this subject, he noticed the feature of the American constitution which necessitated foreign treaties being submitted to the Senate, and took occasion to condemn the views of those persons in this country who held that treaties should be submitted to Parliament.

Such was the termination of the proceedings, hitherto unexampled, under the arbitration clause of the Treaty of Washington. The decision of disputed points between nations has been on many previous occasions entrusted by mutual consent to a neutral sovereign, but never before to a tribunal of learned men specially named for the purpose, and with the form and method of a public legal controversy.

The Mixed Commission, appointed to sit at Washington for the settlement of English claims arising out of the civil war, disposed of 130 such claims before the end of the year, and then adjourned to January, 1873.

It remains to notice the effect of the Treaty of Washington and the proceedings under it, so far as concerned the Dominion of Canada. It has already been stated that the negotiators on the side of Great Britain did their best to import into the Treaty the claims for compensation on account of the losses inflicted on Canada by the Fenian raids; but that, finding the objections of their American colleagues to this course insuperable, those claims were withdrawn. By that Treaty it was finally arranged that the fishermen of the United States should enjoy, in common with British subjects, the use of the coast fisheries of Canada, omitting, however, the fisheries in rivers and estuaries, which were still reserved to British fishermen, similar privileges being granted to British subjects on the eastern sea-coasts of the Union as far south as lat. 39°, maintaining, however, the reservations as to places which are specified in the former treaty of 1854. But, inasmuch as the concession thus made by Great Britain was asserted by us to be of greater

value than that made in return by the United States, commissioners were to be appointed to assess the amount of compensation which might be due to the British Government—representing in this matter Canada—on full inquiry. Three commissioners to be appointed, one by each Government, and one by the Governments conjointly, and to meet at Halifax for the purpose. Certain stipulations were added as to the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and of certain American waters, by the subjects of the two countries; and others to regulate transit trade. These articles were to take effect as soon as laws were passed to enforce them by the two countries and by Canada, and were to last for ten years, and remain in force afterwards only subject to notice on either side.

The provisions of the Treaty met, as might be expected, with considerable disapproval in Canada. The Canadian Government objected that "the principal cause of difference between Canada and the United States (the danger from Fenian raids) has not been removed by the Treaty, but remains a subject for anxiety:" and that "a cession of territorial rights of great value has been made to the United States (namely, the coast fishery), not only without the previous assent of Canada, but contrary to the expressed wishes of the Canadian Government." They complained that the only substantial advantage which the States could offer them, namely, freedom of trade, had been persistently withheld. "What," they said, "the Canadians were willing to accept as an equivalent for the fisheries was the concession of certain commercial advantages; and it has therefore been most unsatisfactory to them that her Majesty's Government should have conceded the use of the inshore fisheries for considerations which are deemed wholly inadequate. They have failed to discover, that in the settlement of the so-called 'Alabama' claims, which was the most important question in dispute between the two nations, England gained such advantages as to be required to make further concessions at the expense of Canada." (Minute of Canadian Privy Council, July 28, 1871.)

Although, however, the view of the subject thus taken by the Canadian Government was at once natural and just, yet the subsequent course of events showed that although seriously, it was not very strongly, entertained. In point of fact, the admission of America to the coast fisheries interested not Canada in general, but Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island; and the inhabitants of these maritime provinces, though they cherished their exclusive privileges, perhaps were not long in discovering that considerable compensation might be expected for them, not, probably, in the counter privilege conceded to them on the American side, but in the continuance of the stimulus to local trade which the partial and temporary concession of those privileges had already produced. Ultimately, the Canadian Government offered (by minute of 20th January, 1872) to be satisfied with "an imperial guarantee," to the extent of 4,000,000*l.*, "to a portion of the loan which it will be necessary for Canada to raise in order to procure the construction of

certain important public works, which will be highly beneficial to the United Kingdom as well as Canada." The work principally in view was a railway to be constructed through British territory to the Pacific.

The negotiation came to a conclusion by the counter-proposal of Lord Kimberley that the guarantee should extend only to 2,500,000*l*. This was accepted on the part of Canada, and the laws necessary for carrying the Treaty into effect were enacted by its Parliament before the close of the year.

Farther enactment by the British Parliament was necessary in order to carry into effect the fishery clauses of the Treaty; and this gave occasion for a discussion of the subject (July 5), on the second reading in the Lords. Lord Kimberley explained the necessity for legislation:—"Thinking it needless to go through and defend the clauses of the Treaty, he would only take this opportunity of stating that, although, in the first instance, the Treaty was undoubtedly received with a certain amount of dissatisfaction in Canada, that dissatisfaction to a great extent disappeared on its being fully considered, and its provisions better understood. He would remark also that when the Treaty came on for discussion in the Canadian House of Commons, it was so well supported that on the second reading of the Bill the Government had a majority of 66—and what was more remarkable, there was a majority from every one of the provinces. Ontario gave a majority of 44 to 34; in Quebec the numbers were 45 to 16; Nova Scotia 13 to 2; New Brunswick 10 to 3, the other provinces being unanimously for it. It should also be specially noted that the three maritime provinces, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, the provinces specially affected, gave a majority of 68 to 21 in favour of the Bill. It would be unfair to ascribe the majority solely to satisfaction with the Treaty, though he was confident that its provisions, when thoroughly understood, were found more favourable than the Canadian people at first supposed. He attributed it also in no small measure to the good feeling manifested throughout the Dominion towards this country, and to the desire which they entertained of acting in unison with the policy of the mother-country, and of supporting it on all occasions. That spirit was markedly exhibited during the debates, and it was alike gratifying to England and honourable to the whole Canadian people.

The Marquess of Salisbury said, he would not utter a word in depreciation of the loyalty of the people of the Dominion, or in diminution of the just eulogy passed on them by the noble Earl. They had shown a desire to co-operate with the people of this country, both in accepting the Fishery Clauses, which must, in many respects, have been very distasteful to them, and in waiving their just claim to compensation for the Fenian raids. But, however flattering to ourselves, it was, nevertheless, hardly consistent with historical truth to suppose that they had been influenced solely by sentimental reasons for the courteous and friendly course they had taken. Her Majesty's Government had obtained the co-operation



of Canada; but it must not be forgotten that, in return for that co-operation, they had consented to a certain financial operation which added considerably to the price this country would have to pay for the Treaty. This country was, in fact, about to undertake the hazardous guarantee of a large sum the Dominion was to borrow. He regretted that the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) had not consented to wait and submit this important measure to a fuller House, when it could have been more carefully gone into; but it was certainly consolatory to think that, however badly the interests of England might have been looked after by the Government in the proceedings of which this Bill was the crown, that they had been attended with no diminution of the good feeling which existed, and he hoped would always exist, between Canada and this country.

Before the end of the year, another item was added to the catalogue of disappointments which had followed our negotiations with the United States. In order to explain this, it is necessary to revert to the Treaty of Washington of the 15th June, 1846, commonly called Lord Ashburton's Treaty, although in fact the particular question was not included in those settled by his Lordship. The Treaty of Ghent had made the parallel of 49° N. the boundary-line between the two countries as far as the Pacific. Opposite the sea termination of this line lay Vancouver's Island, recognized as a British possession. At the date of this Treaty, the portion of North-western America adjacent to the line was altogether uninhabited by settled colonists; but as far as British dominion extended, it was held under a terminable lease by the Hudson's Bay Company, and used only by hunters and fishermen under its control, in common with numerous tribes of Indians. The Treaty provided that the line of the 49th parallel, "should be continued to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean."

The negotiators would seem to have been either ignorant or neglectful of the fact that in the very middle of the channel thus defined lay the Island of San Juan, somewhat larger than the Isle of Wight, together with several smaller islets. The question, of course, immediately arose, to whom this island should belong. The English contended that the Rosario Straits between San Juan and the continent, must have been intended. The Americans maintained that the strait called De Arro or De Haro, between San Juan and Vancouver, was really meant. It was obvious to any impartial observer, that neither party could be strictly in the right, the actual state of facts not corresponding with that assumed by the negotiators; that the description, if construed by legal rules, would be held "void for uncertainty," and that the only peaceful course open was that of compromise. But, as usual in such controversies, each party contended for the letter of its own interpretation, and much argument was spent over a question really unsusceptible of it.

The matter, however, might have remained for future generations to settle, had it not been for two circumstances. One of these was the attempt of General Harney, a United States' officer, to carry the point by a *coup de main*, through the occupation of San Juan in 1851 by an armed force. The Americans afterwards withdrew this unjustifiable step, and a joint occupation was agreed on. Subsequently to this came the colonization of Vancouvers' Island, which, with its magnificent harbour and its natural productions, bid fair to become a valuable British possession; and that of British Columbia on the mainland opposite, together with the gold discoveries within its limits. It now became of material importance to settle the pending dispute, for it was apprehended, on the part of Great Britain, that the possession of San Juan by the Americans would seriously menace the capital of Vancouvers' Island, and interfere with our maritime traffic within the channel; and the Americans were of course equally anxious to secure such an advantage.

Accordingly, by the 34th article of the Treaty of 1871, it was determined that "the respective claims of the two Governments should be submitted to the arbitration and award of the Emperor of Germany, who should decide thereupon, finally and without appeal, which of these claims is most in accordance with the true interpretation of the Treaty of June 15, 1846." It has been made a subject of accusation in this country, against the managers from time to time of our foreign policy, that no opening was left for the compromise of any portion of our original claim. Admiral Prevost, when on a boundary commission in 1856, is said to have offered the American Government a line running between the island of San Juan and that of Oreas, by way of satisfying both parties. But as no official papers on this subject have been as yet made public, we content ourselves with stating the substance of the Emperor's award, made in December this year, which was unreservedly in favour of the American claim.

## CHAPTER V.

New Commercial Treaty with France—Strikes—Agricultural Strike—Builders', Police, Gas Strike—Severe Measures in connexion with the latter—The Public Revenue and Money Market—Rise of prices—Elections after the Session—Belfast Riots—Speeches of Members of Parliament, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Goschen—Changes in the Ministry—Mr. Childers appointed Chancellor of the Duchy—Sir Roundell Palmer becomes Lord Chancellor—The Athanasian Creed—Dean Stanley's Speech—Speech of Mr. Gladstone at Liverpool—Colonial Affairs—Murder of Lord Mayo—Appointment of Lord Napier—The Diamond Fields of South Africa—First responsible Ministry at the Cape.

IN the month of February, with the approbation of the great mass of the French nation, the French Government gave England notice

of the termination of the Commercial Treaty of 1860; a step for which previous discussions had paved the way. "We long hoped," wrote M. de Remusat in his despatch to the Duc de Broglie, the French Ambassador at this Court, "to avoid this denunciation: we feared that it might be looked upon as the commencement of a commercial revolution; that it might cause too sudden a disturbance in interests based on the faith of former Conventions; lastly, that it might become to prejudiced minds a token of a coolness between two countries moved only by a desire for constant agreement and mutual understanding. But the declarations of the Government of the Queen entirely reassure us. We read in the despatch which is communicated to us, that if it regards the denunciation of the Treaty as a step towards its definitive extinction, it nevertheless does not look upon it as a bar to future negotiations. We also read that, whatever the result of the discussion may be, England will strive to prevent any alteration in the cordiality of the relations between the two countries; and, finally, although she has no intention of entering upon a war of tariffs, she, like ourselves, would attach much value to the recovery of her fiscal freedom.

"These are our sentiments. For us, in effect, fiscal freedom would be very precious, even necessary, at a time when we should require all our resources to meet extraordinary burdens. It is this consideration, above all, that would make us desirous to be freed from the restrictions which a series of Commercial Conventions has imposed, as regards us, on the right of taxation which every nation possesses over itself. It is in order to extricate ourselves from this kind of helplessness that we are led to place a limit, as soon as we have the power of doing so, to the engagements which are the result for us of numerous Treaties of Commerce. The one which binds us to Great Britain is the first which has arrived at a term when it can be regularly annulled. We can no longer even reckon with any certainty on the possibility of modifications which would be necessary to us. We are, therefore, obliged to prepare for its cessation by denouncing it now. Confident in our intentions, resolved to use only with great moderation the freedom which will be restored to us, either by negotiations of new Conventions, or rather by our own legislation on our commercial *régime*, we have taken this step under the pressure of a public interest which cannot be misunderstood. Will you, therefore, M. l'Ambassadeur, make known to the Principal Secretary of State of her Britannic Majesty, that in our opinion the operation of the Treaty of January 23, 1860, will expire in one year from the day on which you announce to him our intentions. You will inform us immediately of the fact, in order that it may be communicated in the proper manner to the trading and industrial communities."

By this act France became free to take any financial course she pleased. She might be as Protectionist as she liked, without fear of reprisals on the part of England. The great mass of the French nation have always been bigoted Protectionists, deeply imbued with

commercial prejudices against England. Their fixed idea of a Commercial Treaty is that of a compact in which one party gains something at the expense of the other; of international trade, that one side loses what the other gains. The Treaty with England was, in their eyes, a bargain by which England gained much which France lost. M. Thiers himself, thoroughly imbued with the Protectionist fallacies, held the same opinions. He and they looked forward to undoing all the evil which they believed had been inflicted by the Treaty by a course of Protectionist legislation. The French Government at once set about doing so. The Minister of Finance, M. Pouyer-Quertier, one of the largest cotton manufacturers in France, a zealous adherent of the same doctrines, looked forward to be amply recouped for his leader's duties on raw materials, by the exclusion of English manufactured cottons from the French markets.

Their scheme was complete. The agricultural interest was to be propitiated by duties on raw materials—cotton, silk, wool, hides, &c. The manufacturers to be reconciled to these duties by heavy import duties on all manufactured goods; the mercantile and shipping interest of the French sea-ports, whose trade would be injured by the check given to commerce by protective duties, to be mollified by heavy protective duties on foreign shipping (*surtaxe de pavillon*), and thus all classes were to be compensated except that uncomplaining race, the general mass of consumers, who were to be told to attribute all the increased prices to the Prussians.

The opposition raised by England to the commercial measures of the French Assembly, had less for its object to protect her own immediate material interests, than to assert a principle of political economy upon which, for many years, her commercial and industrial system has been based. She refused to countenance any attempts to return, under the pretext of taxing raw materials, to the old system of Protection. If at the commencement of the negotiations relating to the new tariffs, and the new duties of import and export, the French Government had made known the amount of the import tax which it intended to lay on raw materials, and if that amount had not exceeded the amount voted in the last resort by the National Assembly, many people believed that England would at once have submitted to what she would have looked upon as a fiscal necessity, and that the commercial relations between the two countries would never have been on the point of being profoundly disturbed. But at the outset the English Government endeavoured to ascertain the exact amount of the import tax which it was intended to lay on raw materials, but found it impossible to obtain this information. The English Ambassador passed an evening with the then Minister of Finance, and in the course of a conversation, which lasted four hours, the Minister either could not or would not state what would be the amount of the import tax on raw materials. It is, therefore, easy to understand why the English Government distrusted the financial policy of the French, especially as M. Thiers, who all his life had been an avowed Protectionist, had not then let fall a word from which

it could be inferred that he had in the slightest degree modified his views. Some time after appeared the project of M. Pouyer-Quertier, which laid before the public the amount of the tax proposed by the Minister of Finance. Raw materials were taxed from 12 to 15 and 20 per cent.; the drawback was replaced on most of the materials newly taxed; in a word, all that formidable machinery was set up again with which the partisans of thorough-paced Protection have resisted Free Trade, and that "wall of China" rebuilt which is so effective a barrier between national industry and the contact of progress. At the same time the French Government firmly persisted in maintaining the vexatious differential duties on British shipping, against which Lord Granville never ceased to protest since they were first levied under a law of the 2nd of February. Some arbitrary proceedings of the French Custom-house also gave rise to serious complaints, indicating, as they did, a disposition to strain the spirit, if not to violate the letter, of the still-existing Treaty. Fortunately, meanwhile, for the maintenance of amicable relations, the scheme of the French Government broke down in the working.

The great mass of French manufacturers, great part of whose trade was export, protested that duties on raw materials would ruin their export trade, which would not be aided by duties on manufactured goods entering France. Drawbacks on export were proposed, but found impracticable and useless. They also found the *surtaxe de pavillon*, which enhanced freights on raw material, as burden they could not bear, while the ports which were to have been conciliated by the protection to French shipping were even the loudest in their protests against it. The small quantity of French shipping indeed got increased freights, but the whole trade of the ports was injured, and by a curious irony of fate German shipping, which is under "the most favoured nation" clause, profited by the penalties imposed on the flags of other nations.

The fall of M. Pouyer-Quertier paved the way for a new understanding, and allowed the Assembly to abandon the heavy taxes proposed in his scheme, and to vote taxes too moderate to be fairly regarded as a move backwards in the direction of Protection. Negotiations were opened for a new Treaty. Under the heavy pressure of the fiscal necessities of France, England conceded the point of a reduced tax on raw materials, but only on the condition that the French Government should cease to appear as the partisan of Protection, and that England should feel there would be no return to an exploded policy in which she could never consent to participate, could she agree to assist the efforts of France to repair the losses of the war. M. Thiers did not hesitate to reduce to the lowest possible proportions the figures of the new tariff, nor did he fear to authorize the negotiators of the new Treaty to give a formal assurance that he was acting entirely and solely under the pressure of fiscal necessities, and was perfectly free from any Protectionist afterthought. The following were to be the main conditions of settlement:—"The

tariff of the Treaty of 1860 to remain in force, with the addition of compensatory duties equivalent to the taxes paid on raw materials by the French producers; England to be replaced in the position assured to her for her navigation by the law of the 19th of April, 1866, now repealed in France. Complete freedom regained by England in respect of her own duties on wine, coal, and all other imports and exports. A general reform in the method of settling Custom-house disputes, both as to classification and value. The French to have power to increase the duties on any branch of industry, by giving six months' notice, and obtaining the consent of the other Treaty Powers. The new Treaty to remain in force till the expiration of the Treaty with Austria on the 1st of January, 1877; after which date England shall enjoy the most favoured nation treatment in respect of any Treaty subsequently contracted."

The proposed new Treaty met with great opposition from the more advanced champions of Free Trade. M. Michel Chevalier, in France, notwithstanding M. Thiers' declaration, demanded it as "facilitating the execution of plans, conceived by the chief of the French Protectionists, to throw back France under a Protectionist policy;" and the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, at home, in answer to a circular of Lord Granville addressed to the various Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom, announcing the approaching close of negotiations and inviting suggestions, took the lead in protesting against the Treaty. Especially they protested against the imposition of any increased duties of a protective character on cotton fabrics, which branch of trade they described as "already taxed out of existence" by the duties imposed under the first Treaty; insisted on the impossibility of adjusting compensatory duties with fairness, and declared through their President, Mr. Hugh Mason, their conviction that "no temporary advantage, however apparently expedient, can justify a departure from well-ascertained principles; that the pure and unmodified doctrines of Free Trade are those on which alone the true commercial progress of nations can be based; and that it is the duty of this Chamber manfully to uphold those doctrines in their fullest integrity." The answer of Lord Granville, however, was that it was too late to argue against any renewal of the Commercial Treaty. And looking to the interests of the trade of the country at large, the Government had apparently, in renewing it, the support of the great majority of the mercantile community. On the 5th of November the Treaty was signed.

The obligatory clauses are on this occasion accompanied by an extensive Schedule of specific duties, instead of those duties being reserved for announcement many months after the publication of the Articles which fixed their maximum, as happened in 1860. By the Second Article of the new Treaty it is provided that, save and except so far as engagements made by France with foreign Powers other than this country shall entitle us to call for a reduction of duties under the most favoured nation clause—the duties

leviable on British imports from the date of the operation of the Treaty until December 1, 1876, shall be those set forth in the First Annex or Schedule which is published with the Treaty. Those duties are to be levied as from the 1st of December next, if the Treaty and its Protocol should be ratified by that time by the respective Powers; if not then from the date of that ratification. The enacting clauses of the Treaty open with a guarantee, which the two parties give to each other, of treatment such as each gives to the nation it most favours, or may at any time favour. At the same time, a difference is made in the treatment of two classes of British imports. Those designated in the Annex accompanying the Treaty will be liable to the new duties from December 1, 1872; while for all others the duties contained in the tariff of the Convention of 1860 will stand until the 15th of March next. The last paragraph of the third Article contains the stipulation which has done more than anything else to secure the success of the Treaty—that which declares that “hereafter British ships and their cargoes shall in France and Algeria, from whatever place arriving, be treated in every respect as national ships and their cargoes, vessels engaged in the coasting trade alone being excepted.” The French Government equally binds itself to levy no transit dues in France or Algeria. Neither Power is to issue any prohibition of importation or exportation against the other, which shall not at the same time be applicable to all other foreign nations whatsoever. The clause by which each of the two Governments reserved, in 1860, the right to levy, on the imports of the other, an equivalent compensatory duty against an excise tax or inland duty imposed by itself, is revived by the fifth Article of the new instrument.

A number of Articles then follow, designed to protect the British importer against unjust treatment at the hands of the French Customs officers in the production of goods liable to *ad valorem* duties. The sixth Article, prescribing the basis on which value shall be estimated, is taken almost word for word from the fourth Article of the old Treaty; by the eighth and seven following Articles, security is taken for the due application of the principles previously laid down. Whenever the French Customs authorities decline to exercise the right of pre-emption against a British importer, they are not to detain his goods, but surrender them, provided that he leaves samples and gives security for the payment of such duties and fines as a jury of experts may eventually declare to be payable. In all cases of dispute, the declarant is to have the option of removing the valuation by experts from an outport to Paris. The experts who are to decide a dispute at an outport are to be nominated one by the declarant, and the other by the local head of the Customs service. In case these cannot agree upon a valuation, they may appoint an umpire; and if they cannot agree upon an umpire, the President of the local Tribunal of Commerce is to act. Both the importer and the Customs authorities, however, will have the right to adopt an alternative course, and

refer the inquiry to the Board of Experts sitting at the Ministry of Commerce at Paris. No decision of experts must be withheld more than eight days at an outpost, or fifteen days at Paris. As to some questions concerning the duties to be levied on the articles mentioned in the first Annex to the Treaty, the two Governments have not come to a final decision; and these, with certain other questions mentioned in the Protocol accompanying the Treaty, are to be referred to a Special Commission, which is to sit at Paris. Those provisions of the Treaty which concern import duties are to continue in force, except as may hereafter be otherwise provided, until the 1st of January, 1877, and those as to navigation until the 15th of July, 1879. The provision made in the twenty-second Article, with respect to the preservation of the Treaty and the manner in which it may be prolonged, is important. After setting forth that the provisions in regard to tariffs contained in Article two of the present Treaty are to remain in force until the just-mentioned dates, the Article states that "the High Contracting Parties, if they think fit, may communicate with each other respecting the general working of the present Treaty, and come to an understanding by means of a Declaration or Protocol with respect to its further duration. Failing such definite understanding, and subject to the condition in the next Article stated, either party may, by twelve months' previous notice, which may be given either at any time after the aforesaid dates respectively, or within the twelve months next preceding the same, terminate any of the provisions contained in the preceding Articles of the present Treaty; and, until the expiration of any such notice, this present Treaty, or such part thereof as shall for the time being not be terminated by any similar notice, shall remain in force." By the next following Article, however, the two Governments bind themselves to maintain the principle of treating each other at all times as to matters of commerce and navigation, on the footing of the "most favoured nation," even when specific duties are changed.

So far the clauses of the Treaty are an improvement on that which it supersedes; but the new duties argue much retrogression in French policy.

A glance at the Tables and Schedules of the Treaty will show how far France has fallen from the measure of commercial freedom which she lately enjoyed. There is no need to look round for considerations to justify us in consenting to these quasi-protective duties, because at no time was our consent necessary to the levy of any duties which the French Government might choose to impose after its notice to terminate the Treaty of 1860 had expired. But it may reconcile us to this Treaty to remember that, after a short experience of the new taxes on raw materials, France may be as anxious to recover that form of commercial liberty which involves freedom of exchange, as M. Thiers has been to grasp that very peculiar privilege which he calls by the same name, but which is nothing but the power to obstruct and embarrass



trade. In that case the Government of France will not find it difficult to approach our own with a view to a revision of this Treaty. Four years soon pass away; but the aggravated charges now imposed may have even a shorter term of existence. France cannot remain permanently behind the rest of the world. By the treaty of 1860 she passed from duties, many of them prohibitory, to a maximum of 30 per cent., to be reduced in 1864 to 25 per cent. Her example has been largely followed by the principal nations of Europe, who are too well aware of the advantages they have gained on every approach to Free Trade to go back to their former erroneous systems. France, in recovering her strength, will recover that old spirit which never permits her for any long time to lag behind the civilization which she ought to lead and inspire.

The numerous strikes which have occurred during the year have produced general anxiety by the formidable nature of their possible results, and by the extension of the system to classes which had hitherto abstained from combination. Joseph Arch, an agitator with a considerable command of language, who had formerly worked in the fields, succeeded in organizing an Agricultural Labourers' Union in several counties. The movement began in Warwickshire. Stoneleigh Abbey, the seat of Lord Leigh, some four or five miles north of Warwick and Leamington, was the extremity of the disturbed district in one direction; and in the other its limit was found at Wellesbourne, six or seven miles south of Leamington, through Whitnash, Barford, and Wasperton, the intermediate hamlets. There was by no means a general strike in this district; it appears that not more than 200 men, out of 2000 or 3000, had thrown up their work, and the farmers had no difficulty in getting on without them. The dispute began in February, at Wellesbourne, with a claim that the rate of wages should be raised from 12s. to 15s. or 14s. a week, not including certain allowances in kind. Some farmers granted the advance to 14s. without beer, while others did not. The Leamington propagandists of trade unionism, hearing of this dispute, sent an emissary to Wellesbourne, and a society was soon got up called "The Warwickshire Agricultural Labourers' Union," which obtained flattering promises of support from Birmingham and other manufacturing towns. The local newspapers, by reporting and advocating this organization, gave it an appearance of political importance, which was increased by borrowing the names of Professor Beesley, of University College, London, and Mr. Henry Fawcett, M.P., as patrons of the movement. The Hon. Auberon Herbert, M.P., with his usual alacrity to figure as a "people's friend," and Mr. Edward Jenkins, the author of "Ginx's Baby," were induced to come forward at Leamington tea-meetings, where many people of that little town, having no business of their own, were disposed to hear speeches from the notable strangers. The landowners and gentlemen-farmers of Warwickshire, on their part, held a meeting, and passed a resolution deprecating the interference of political agitators. One of

them, Sir Charles Mordaunt, gave some of his cottagers who had joined the union notice to quit, but he was willing to raise wages to 16s. a week. A conference with a view to a settlement of the dispute by arbitration was proposed; but in the meantime offers of employment were sent from the West Riding of Yorkshire, Gateshead, and Liverpool, at higher wages; and the emigration agent of the Canadian Government announced his readiness to take a good number.

By these means the difficulty was at first tided over. But among so uneducated a class as that of the labourers, it is natural that many should readily accept the suggestion that they have a claim, not only to larger wages and to better houses, but to a share in the land. Late in the year a resolution to this effect was carried at a meeting in London in the presence of many leading philanthropists and divines, who had not been admitted to the secret when they undertook to advocate the movement. In other departments of industry the bearing of strikes on the interests of the general community has been forcibly illustrated. The labour which the Trades' Unions purposely interrupt at the time when it is most urgently required is necessary to the master that he may supply the wants of his customers. At the most active season of the year, early in the summer, the workmen in the London building trade struck for a reduction of the hours of labour, and consequently almost all building operations were suspended for two or three of the best months of the year. The battle was begun by the masons and the joiners, who presented memorials to the employers for "nine hours, and ninepence per hour." The strike of the joiners against two large firms belonging to the Masters' Association produced a lock-out on the 17th of June, throwing out of employment the men in the other branches who had taken no part in the movement—the painters, plasterers, bricklayers, metal workers, and labourers. In self-defence these branches at once proceeded to organize committees, to collect funds to support the number locked out, and an amalgamated committee was formed, composed of two delegates from the committee of each trade. It was soon announced that sixty-four firms had closed their establishments in London. This total is below a third of the number which locked out the men in 1859. The number of workmen out proved to be as follows: Carpenters and joiners, about 1600; masons, 800, of whom 250 have left London; bricklayers, 200; plasterers, 300; painters, 300; smiths, 150; labourers, 1500; and other trades, such as sawyers, plumbers, &c., about 300; making a total of 5400 men.

Strenuous efforts were made in various quarters to bring about an amicable and speedy adjustment of the dispute, either by arbitration or otherwise. In addition to resolutions adopted by the London Trades' Council, recommending the masters to concede the nine hours, and the men to refer the question of wages and table of working rules to a board of arbitration composed of an equal number of masters and men, the Trades' Union Committee of the Social

Science Association, and the Trades' Parliamentary Committee appointed at the late Nottingham Trades' Congress, each issued an address to the masters and men, suggesting modes by which the dispute might be settled.

These efforts led to no good result, but before the organization of the men was well completed the lock-out was withdrawn by the masons coming to an arrangement with the masters. The masons at once withdrew from the amalgamated committee, and the committees of the other branches, with the exception of the carpenters and joiners, having reviewed their position, and finding that their organization and pecuniary resources did not warrant them in entering upon what promised to be a long and expensive struggle, virtually withdrew from the contest, tacitly allowing the members to resume work under protest, upon the terms accepted by the masons, keeping the committees intact to meet any contingencies which might ensue. To put themselves right, however, before the masters for any future movement, these committees, on behalf of their respective trades, sent in memorials to the masters identical in terms with those previously sent in by the masons and the joiners, with a request, through the amalgamated committee, that the masters would receive a united deputation to enforce the terms of these memorials. The carpenters at their district meetings denounced the action of the masons, and it was not till the end of August that the dispute ended in a compromise. The following were the terms agreed upon under protest:—

The working hours to be 52½ per week all the year round for joiners in shops, and 52½ hours per week for 40 weeks in summer and 48 per week in winter for outdoor work, leaving off work at one o'clock on Saturday during winter weeks. Wages to be 8½*d.* per hour all the year round. Overtime beyond the above hours, when worked at the request of the employer, to be paid for at the following rates:—For the first hour at 9½*d.* per hour, and from the end of the first extra hour until 8 o'clock p.m. at the rate of 10½*d.* per hour; after eight o'clock at the rate of 1*s.* 0½*d.* per hour. This scale not to apply to the case of men working over the time at their own request, or to make up time lost by them during the week. Extra time on Saturday to be paid for at the rate of time and a quarter up to five o'clock, and after that time at the rate of time and a half.

The original demand of the carpenters and joiners was a nine hours' day, 9*d.* an hour, and a code of working rules. As a result of the struggle, it has been calculated that the men generally, in the first place, lose 1*s.* 6½*d.* every week, while those who may, by any new rules, be restricted in the matters of overtime and piece-work, of course, lose considerably more. Then the masters, although they thus pay the men individually so much less, obtain less labour in proportion of the difference of the hours worked; or, in other words, they have to pay more by 2*s.* 4*d.* to obtain as much work as they formerly got from one man in one week. Thus both sides lose. The men, indeed, hope that when the short time has had its full

effect wages must rise again, owing to the supply of labour being practically lessened. The masters, too, may escape loss, for they will naturally charge their customers extra prices. The public, consequently, have to bear the expense as usual.

The journeyman bakers were the next to demand a diminution in their hours of labour, on pain of a strike, which, as they justly anticipated, would have caused great inconvenience to the householders of London. The occupation of a baker requires but a moderate amount of skill; and the numerous master bakers, many of whom carry on business on a small scale, understand all the details of the business. It appeared that it was necessary for the trade to consult the habit and fancies of the consumers, more especially in the poorer neighbourhoods. In some cases trifling concessions were made, and the project of the strike, happily, collapsed.

Graver uneasiness was felt when, in the month of November, the contagion of strikes extended to the Metropolitan Police, where it assumed the character of mutiny; but the movement was, happily, checked at the outset, and the minor offenders were, after a time, on their expression of contrition, re-admitted to the service with suitable reduction of rank and of pay. The Chief Commissioner had for some time past been negotiating with the Force about an increase of pay. The negotiation was conducted through a Committee of Delegates, and ended in a victory for the men, whose pay was raised about 20 per cent. Some one in authority, however, resented the action of the delegates, and their Secretary, Goodchild, was removed to Bromley, in Kent. He refused to go, and was dismissed, whereupon he telegraphed to the stations, and at Bow Street and two others the men one night refused to go on duty, alleging that if Goodchild were guilty so were they. They ultimately obeyed orders, but the authorities prosecuted three of them, carefully picking out two men who had been delegates, and whose action they had condoned by negotiating with them, and finally suspended all the subordinates, 179 in number, and dismissed 69 of them.

A meeting held in Hyde Park to express sympathy with the dismissed policemen provided another opportunity for the "roughs," who always form the majority at these open-air gatherings, whether held for political or social objects.

Shortly afterwards the Stokers in the employment of several of the London Gas Companies suddenly abandoned their employment at the dictation of a recently formed Union. The strike began at the Fulham station, the excuse being that a coke-backer had been discharged, for a manifest breach of duty, and another man, who was a non-unionist, had been put in his place. The disaffection spread from the Fulham to St. Pancras station, and thence to the Haggerston station, where the men struck. About a month before the directors of this company increased the wages of their workmen nearly 20 per cent.

The example was followed by no less than 2500 men in different

parts of London, none of whom made any pretence of being dissatisfied with their wages or hours of work.

The crime, the pecuniary loss, and the universal annoyance which would have been caused by a stoppage of the supply of gas were, happily, averted by the vigour of the officers of the Companies and by the ready co-operation of all their public and private customers.

The several gas companies lost no time in engaging as many labourers as they could get to do their work; but the production of gas was much diminished; and, to save the lessening stock in the gasometers, they reduced the amount of supply to their customers and to the street lamps. This occasioned some temporary inconvenience in particular districts on the first evening. In Westminster, every alternate street lamp was turned off; the St. James's Theatre was closed; and naphtha lamps were used on the Metropolitan and District Railway. Ludgate-hill station was lighted with carriage-lamps. There was a run upon the chandlers' and oilmen's shops by many of the householders and shopkeepers, who had been led to expect that they would be entirely deprived of gas at night, and that they must furnish themselves with other means of lighting up their premises. These apprehensions were, fortunately, not altogether realized by the event, as the supply of gas, which had begun on a low scale that evening, improved after nine o'clock, thanks to the exertions of the company's directors and officers; but the inconvenience resulting from the strike was felt for ten days in a greater or less degree. The outbreak of public indignation was at the least in full proportion to the criminal action which provoked it. The Chartered Gas Company, which was exceptionally ill-treated by the men in its employ, summarily and permanently dismissed all the strikers, 1400 in number, and five of the leaders of the strike were indicted for conspiracy, and tried at the Central Criminal Court before Justice Brett, who summed up heavily against them, and on their being convicted on the counts that charged conspiracy, sentenced them to twelve months' imprisonment. The unexpected severity of this sentence provoked much comment and discussion, and formed a dramatic close to the strikes of the year, of which the few that we have touched upon are but the most salient examples. The infection has been fast spreading in every direction.

Meanwhile, notwithstanding rapid fluctuations in the value of money and grave economical symptoms, commercial activity has not been seriously checked. The imports and exports have exceeded in value the amounts of all previous years, though the quantities of goods have not increased in the same proportion. The estimates of the public revenue have, during eight months of the financial year, been largely exceeded; and it is already certain that the Budget of 1873 will exhibit a considerable surplus. The oscillations of the Money Market have been due to causes over which English capitalists and traders could exercise no control. Of the

vast sums which have been paid, under the provisions of the Treaty of 1871, by France to Germany, a large portion has been retained in the hands of the Government and of private speculators in anticipation of the proposed substitution of gold for silver in the currency of the Empire. Calculations based on the course of commercial transactions necessarily fail to meet the contingency of political derangements; but vigilant precautions sufficiently guard against the risk of a sudden or excessive drain of bullion. It was found necessary in the month of April to raise the Bank rate of discount from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , and afterwards to 4 per cent.; but in June the percentage was again reduced, and in July and August it remained steady at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In the Autumn the effects of the French payments to Germany, under the Supplementary Treaty of Peace, caused in the course of five or six weeks a rise in the Bank rate by successive stages to 7 per cent. This high rate of interest has produced its natural result in attracting bullion to the English market; and during December it was found possible to reduce the Bank rate to 5 per cent. The prosperity of trade has enabled the industrial classes to bear with comparative equanimity a general rise in prices which presses heavily on less elastic resources. The dearness of provisions, and especially of butchers' meat, may be attributed partly to an unexampled demand, and, in some degree, to the prevalence of the foot and mouth disease among cattle and sheep. Almost all manufactured commodities have been enhanced in cost by the great rise in the price of coal, which is in its direct operation still more burdensome to the whole community. Some kinds of coal have within twelve months doubled in price, and the average increase in the price of household coal is not less than 40 or 50 per cent. The causes of the advance are imperfectly understood; but it is certain that a large portion of the increase has swelled the profits of the coal-owners. Although it would be useless to blame any class of producers for making the most of their opportunities, it is not unnatural that the colliery proprietors should seek to depreciate the invidious amount of their gains by endeavouring to shift a portion of the responsibility to their workmen. The colliers have, chiefly by means of actual or threatened strikes, obtained an increase of wages which may, perhaps, account for a tenth part of the advance in the price of coal. It unluckily appeared that their previous wages had been sufficient for their wants, and that, by an untoward exercise of their absolute discretion, the colliers preferred to take out the increased value of their labour rather in repose than in money. In many places they have declined to work for more than three days in the week; and for the purpose of maintaining or increasing the high price of coal they have intentionally restricted the supply. It may be hoped that, in spite of the efforts of 'Trades' Unions, the inconvenience may hereafter be wholly or partially removed by competition. In the meantime the consumers are the principal sufferers, though the coal-owners are louder in their complaints. The production of coal, though it has been artificially

restricted, has been greater than in any former year, and the demand, which has exceeded even the liberal supply, has enabled the proprietors to charge enormous prices. All kinds of iron and hardware have naturally risen in price with coal; and the innumerable articles which are wholly or partially produced by the aid of steam power have also become dearer. The Railway Companies, which have carried a larger traffic than in any former year, find their expenses of working and maintenance greatly increased. They are compelled, in common with other employers, to raise their wages; they are large consumers of coal, and, although their refuse iron has become more valuable, they incur additional expense in relaying their rails.

No events of political interest followed the close of the session. The occasional elections which occurred attracted attention rather to the operation of the Ballot Act, than to their effect upon the balance of parties. Those of Pontefract and Preston we have described in a previous chapter. At Tiverton Mr. Massey, who professed extreme opinions, secured for the Ministerial party the seat which had been vacated by the promotion of Mr. Denman to the judicial Bench. Richmond was carried against an extreme Liberal by a representative of the powerful Whig family which has long controlled the representation. Two Scotch county members have been returned by the tenant-farmers for the purpose of supporting their demands on the landlords. In Ireland the Conservative candidate, Mr. Lewis, defeated at Londonderry Mr. Palles, who had succeeded Mr. Dowse as Attorney-General; and the Home Rule party, which had nominated a candidate of its own, obtained less than a hundred votes. In other Irish contests, as in Kerry and Galway (which have been described), and in Cork, the supporters of Home Rule have been more successful.

One other disgraceful incident marked the Irish history of the year. A series of savage and bloodthirsty conflicts between the Orange and Roman Catholic faction-mobs in the town of Belfast commenced on the anniversary of the 15th August (Thursday), and continued day after day till the ensuing Wednesday, in spite of the efforts of 4000 soldiers and armed police, who were obliged more than once to charge the rioters with the bayonet, or even to fire upon them. The blame of the first act of violence rests with the Orange or "Protestant" faction, who attacked a procession of Roman Catholics, on their road back from a "Home Rule" or "Nationalist" meeting, at the neighbouring village of Hannahstown. There was some fierce fighting, in which not only stones were thrown, but pistols were used, and several persons were wounded. In the evening of the next day the two parties met for a pitched battle, to the number of several thousands, in the brickfield between the Shankhill and Fall roads. The police tried in vain to separate them, and the military were sent for; sixty men of the 4th (Royal) Dragoons and a detachment of the 78th Highlanders, forced the combatant mobs apart; but showers of stones

were thrown over the heads of the line of soldiery, and fierce howls of mutual execration were exchanged by the hostile bands of Irishmen, who were prevented from slaughtering each other.

On the Saturday and Sunday there were frequent skirmishes in different parts of the town with bludgeons, stones, and fire-arms; but the Monday's rioting was much worse. It began early in the day, and great mischief was done. About four o'clock in the afternoon, in the Shankhill-road, nearly 5000 men, women, and boys were assembled, cheering and shouting, and cursing the Pope. Shots were fired all round by way of signals, and the men dug up the stones of the pavement, while the women and children piled them in small heaps ready for offensive use. The Roman Catholic party did not come forward, as was apparently expected, for another battle, and the Orangemen expended their fury in an attack on the public-houses and other shops kept by persons of that religion. The windows were presently smashed, the doors burst open, and the premises sacked; barrels of wine, spirits, and beer, with hundreds of bottles, were brought out into the open street, and the liquor was speedily drunk, adding fearfully to the prevailing madness. The police endeavoured in vain to disperse the mob, and, having charged with fixed bayonets, were repulsed and forced to retreat a short distance. They then turned and fired, when two of the rioters were shot, and one soon died of his wound. The soldiers, Dragoons and Highlanders, as before, arrived, and took possession of the ground.

The Mayor of Belfast, Sir John Savage, having taken counsel with other magistrates of the town and county, who sat night and day at the Townhall, issued stringent orders, closing all the public-houses and forbidding the sale of arms. Even in the centre of the town, in Castle-street and at the Bank Buildings, windows were broken by loose bands of rioters, and houses were attacked in St. Peter's Hill and Brown's-square. About one hundred of the rioters were arrested, and were brought before the magistrates; but the proceedings were greatly impeded by the disorderly behaviour of a notorious attorney, named Mr. John Rea, who plays the part of low demagogue, and who bullies and insults the local magistrates on every such occasion. They were at length obliged to commit Mr. Rea to prison for contempt of court. The rioting was continued on the Tuesday; the Roman Catholic chapels and schools were attacked, and great damage was done; many dwelling-houses of poor families were also visited by the destroying and pillaging ruffians. These outrages were perpetrated in different parts of the town, at the same time, by detached gangs or bands of rioters acting in concert, so as to distract the attention of the police and military commanders. A police-constable, named Joseph Morton, was shot dead by one of the rioters in Norfolk-street, while proceeding to search for arms. Business throughout the town was entirely suspended during the first three days of the week, and the loss from this cause alone is reckoned at 100,000*l*. There was some very



sharp fighting between the police and the mob on the Wednesday ; but in the evening rain fell, which cooled the rage of the loyal Protestants, and peace was restored, at least outwardly, in the prosperous town of Belfast. The poor Catholics of Sandy-row and other quarters exposed to Orange violence had been driven to fly from their homes, losing their furniture and household stores, which were destroyed or plundered in their absence. It was not an encouraging prospect for "Home Rule."

Among the countless speeches delivered by members of Parliament after the adjournment, those of Mr. Lowe held a prominent place for their lively and amusing character. Mr. Gladstone was silent ; and Mr. Disraeli, who in the earlier part of the year made a very successful appearance at Manchester, was prevented from speaking at Glasgow, where he had been lately elected Lord Rector of the University, by the death of his wife, Lady Beaconsfield. On the future policy of the Government even Mr. Lowe was vague, though he spoke at Swindon on the prospects of the Liberal party. He declared that the creed of the Tory was to stick to what *is*, and of the Liberal to stick to what *ought to be*, and maintained that while the Liberal acted on his own creed in power as well as in Opposition, the Tory did not. He recalled the forty years when the Liberals "wandered in the wilderness where there was no way," at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, when Lord Byron wrote,—

"Naught's durable about the human race,  
Except the Whigs not getting into place,"

and declared that what they advocated out of office they began to do directly they got into office. But the Tories have not acted in like manner. When they are out of office they stick to what *is* ; but when they come into office they are obliged to do what *ought to be*, and in the case of Catholic Emancipation, Free Trade, the Emancipation of the Jews, and the last Reform Act, they did it. Mr. Lowe also attacked Lord Salisbury for saying "it appears the Government has now determined to split up landed property into the smallest possible portions." Mr. Lowe denied that such a scheme had ever been thought of, and saying "it appears that it does not appear," begged Lord Salisbury to be more careful in future.

Mr. Lowe also was very sharp on Lord Salisbury for his wish that the House of Lords should control the House of Commons in interpreting the wishes of the people. Lord Salisbury had admitted, he said, that the House of Commons and the House of Lords are both servants of the public, and obviously in that case the House of Commons must be the upper servant, for it is always the upper servant who takes his instructions directly from the master, which the House of Lords does not. The House of Commons, then, is the butler and the housekeeper. If either were to control the other, then it should be the House of Commons that should control the House of Lords ; but this Mr. Lowe disclaimed, only advising the

House of Lords not to take Lord Salisbury's advice in this matter, as it so often does, as it might prove a more difficult job than Lord Salisbury expects to control the House of Commons. He also quizzed Mr. Disraeli's *Sanitas sanitarum* cry, calling it the promise to give us all good constitutions, and denouncing as wrong and "wicked" the attempt to make people believe that crime, drunkenness, improvidence, and over-population can be put down by Act of Parliament.

A finer speech, and one which had much of the now old-fashioned ring, was one made by Mr. Goschen at Bristol, and immediately called forth by one of the alarmist attacks upon the condition of the English Navy which have become so painfully frequent, and which it is impossible to estimate at their proper value. The Naval Minister, at all events, had no misgivings. The Ministry, Mr. Goschen says, are at the present moment feeling "the ground grow stronger under their feet." If a wave of political earthquake can be charmed away by a Minister's voice, Mr. Goschen's will certainly have that effect. It breathed the strength of self-confidence, and of self-confidence founded on fixed principles and deliberate convictions. The Government are not ashamed of what they have done; they are proud of having redeemed so many arduous promises; they hope earnestly for the opportunity to redeem more. They are not less proud of what they have refused to do. They have alienated powerful classes at times, because they were strong enough to refuse to buy the support of any class, however powerful, at the public expense. They have not encouraged the disposition to panic which has become so violent of late years; they will do nothing to countenance the impression "that this great old country of ours has at last got its nerves shattered, and can no longer contemplate the hardships of life with the same calmness as in other days." When the pauperism of the country seemed on the increase, there was a panic and a powerful cry for Government emigration; when a railway accident happened, there was a panic and a powerful cry for State management; when we heard of a foreign Government beginning to build a single ship as powerful as any in our Navy, there was a panic and a powerful cry for more ironclads. These panics Mr. Goschen condemns as weak and unmanly, and the Government are not disposed to lose their confidence in deference to them. They do recognize the duty of keeping up the external power of England, and especially—as himself responsible for the Admiralty—says Mr. Goschen, of keeping it the most powerful Navy in the world, and indeed one equal to the united navies of two or three other Powers. Especially do they recognize the Imperial duties of England to defend her Colonies, and to clear the seas of the slave-traders. They do not regard "Imperial" as an obsolete word, whatever the new-fangled Liberal theory may say. In point of fact, no sooner does an occasion arise on which some of these duties are called in question, than the Liberal party rally as one man to the old cry. Mr. Goschen distinctly declares that "he had never known any project submitted

to the present Government for the disintegration of the Empire, and he never had been and never intended to be a party to any such projects." With regard to the Dissenters, that is, to the Disestablishment cry, Mr. Goschen is equally firm. He recognizes the great debt of the Government to the Dissenters, and their great power in borough elections. He is aware that but for them the present Government would not be in power. But they will not budge one inch from the course they believe to be the true one, in order to earn the favour of the Dissenters, any more than they will tamper with socialism, and promise every labourer "a cottage and a pig," in order to win the suffrages of the poor. "While we are in favour of progress, we are also in favour of the old English spirit of self-reliance. We do not wish to substitute Government action for the action of individuals and classes. We wish to deal in the spirit of those who take a strong, manly, sturdy view of English politics, and we wish to say to our supporters, and that they should say to us, 'Quit you like men.'"

Two changes took place in the Cabinet before the close of the year. Mr. Childers was re-admitted as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in place of Lord Dufferin, who was appointed Governor-General of Canada; and Lord Hatherley, resigning the Great Seal in consequence of an infirmity of eye-sight, was succeeded by Sir Roundell Palmer, who had shortly before discharged with his usual distinguished ability the functions of English counsel at Geneva. Under the title of Lord Selborne he was at length raised to the office which nothing but a rare scruple of conscience had prevented his occupying on the first formation of the present Ministry, and for which he had been designated by the unanimous opinion of the Bar and of the public.

The failure of last year has not encouraged the revival of a Republican agitation, and the demagogues who from time to time, on various pretences, interrupt the public enjoyment of Trafalgar Square or Hyde Park have addressed their declamations to scanty assemblages of the lowest rabble. It is prudent not to underrate the extent to which social and political disaffection may prevail, but a time of flourishing industry and of high wages is not favourable to revolutionary manifestations. The next General Election will show whether the subversive faction has yet attained political importance. In the meantime the issues on which parties are to be hereafter divided will have been more clearly defined.

Among the clerical controversies of the year the most remarkable was an agitation against the retention of the Athanasian Creed in the services of the Church, which failed to bring about any change. The Dean of Westminster made an eloquent and courageous speech in favour of the suppression of the Creed, in the Lower House of Convocation.

"Knowing," he said, "how entirely these Damnable Clauses are universally condemned and disbelieved, I might have been well content, using the image of a distinguished statesman, to have

looked upon them as 'a range of extinct volcanoes,' whose jagged and picturesque outline not only pleases the eye, but indicates that their sulphurous fires have long ceased to burn, and their destructive floods of lava have long ceased to flow. I might have been content to look upon them as interesting relics of the Carolingian age, as (if I may use the fine lines in which Chancellor Massingberd has anticipated me) the last

'Blast of that dread horn  
On Fontarabian echoes borne'—

when nations 'were converted in battalions and baptized in platoons.' I might have been well content to look upon them as the last roll of the thunder, the far-off flash of the lightning of those tempests which 300, 400, and 500 years ago deluged Europe with blood, and lighted up the fires of the Inquisition. I might have been content with these reflections; but one does not live for oneself alone; and when I remember that the same scruples which agitated me in my younger years, and which I have no doubt agitate many young men still on entering into holy orders, still continue . . . when I think of the stumbling-block, the unnecessary stumbling-block this formulary presents in its public recitation to our Nonconformist brethren who have not the familiarity which deadens our minds and consciences to it, I feel it my duty, at the expense of time, and trouble, and temper, to do my best to relieve the coming generation of English Churchmen and of English clergy from this almost intolerable burden."

The Archbishops proposed to make the use of the Creed permissive, but the proposal failed to secure a greater measure of support than the larger one.

Later in the year, much excitement was caused by an attempt to exclude Dean Stanley from the list of Select Preachers to the University of Oxford, which however failed.

The Education Act continued to work doubtfully during the year; but at a meeting of the Birmingham National Education League, in November, the leaders showed themselves remarkably moderate in tone, and willing to await the results of the Session of 1873.

Meanwhile a protest of Mr. Gladstone in favour of what has been called the higher education, is worth recording, made as it is at a time when the days of the "classics" would seem to be nearly numbered. The increasing tendency in the schools and systems of the day to introduce other and more practical forms of education, to effect the gradual substitution of such studies as modern languages and physical science, for the old-fashioned Greek and Latin lore, which have contented so many generations of our ancestors, has of late been remarkably observable. Foremost in the crusade against the classics has been Mr. Lowe, though himself an accomplished classical scholar; and Mr. Gladstone, though he had lately thought it necessary to defend himself in the newspapers against

the charge of reading Homer every day, stepped forward at Liverpool College, when distributing the prizes to the pupils, as the champion of the old forms.

"Here and there," said he, "we may find a man whose power of self-training is such that he can dispense with all appliances from without, but these are rare instances indeed. I speak not of one, but of the millions of those who are dependent upon the training that they receive; and I affirm that there is no training for the conflicts and trials of life which does greater justice to the receiver of it than the training of public schools and universities. I speak of my own experience and observation in the sphere in which I have lived, and probably there are few spheres—though I will not say there are none—in which the whole making of a man is more severely tested. That my testimony, which is limited, may be definite, I may add that I speak of such training in the form in which it existed at Oxford (I am sorry to say) more than forty years ago. This must sound like a paradox, and must be a stumbling-block to those who think that the sole or main object of education is to stock the mind with knowledge as a shop is stocked with goods, and the wants of life can be met just like the wants of customers. Doubtless, one of the purposes of education is thus to furnish materials for future employment; but this is its lower, not its higher purpose. The fabric of the shop takes no benefit, though it may take damage, from the wares which it receives; but the greatest and best use of the information which is imported into the mind is to improve the mind itself. A more instructive comparison may be drawn between education and food. As the purpose of food is to make the body strong and active, so the main purpose of education is to make the mind solid, elastic, and capable of enduring wear and tear. The studies which are most useful, so far as utility is external to the mind—though they are on that account the most popular, and though they are indispensable—such, I mean, as reading, writing, arithmetic, modern languages, or geography—are those which do not most, but least, for our moral and intellectual training; the studies which have it for their main object to act upon the composition and capacity of the man will, to such as follow them with their whole heart, be found to yield a richer harvest though the seed may be longer in the ground."

The latter part of this same speech is worthy of being cited as an eloquent and remarkable comment on other tendencies of the age, of a more dangerous nature, against which the Premier warned his young hearers.

"I refer," he said, "to the extraordinary and boastful manifestation in this age of ours, and especially in the year which is about to close, of the extremest forms of unbelief. I am not about to touch upon the differences which distinguish and partly sever the Church of England from those communions by which it is surrounded; whether they be of Protestant Nonconformists, or of those who have recently incorporated into the Christian faith what we must suppose

they think a bulwark and not a danger to religion, the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. For handling controversies of such a class this is not the time, I am not the person, and my office is not the proper office. It is not now only the Christian Church, or only the Holy Scriptures, or only Christianity which is attacked. The disposition is boldly proclaimed to deal alike with root and branch, and to snap the ties which under the still venerable name of religion unite man with the unseen world, and lighten the struggles and the woes of life by the hope of a better land. I will not pain and weary you with a multitude of details. I will only refer by name to one who is not a British writer—to the learned German, Dr. Strauss. He is a man of far wider fame than any British writer who marches under the same banner. He has spent a long life in what he doubtless thinks a good cause; and I mention him with the respect which is justly due not only to his ability but to his straightforward earnestness and to the fairness and mildness towards antagonists in argument with which, so far as I have seen, he pursues his ill-starred and hopeless enterprise. He has published during the present year a volume entitled, 'The Old Belief and the New.' In his introduction he frankly raises the question whether, considering the progress which culture has now made, there is any longer occasion to maintain religious worship in any form whatever. Why, he asks on behalf not only of himself, but of a party in Germany for which he speaks and for which he claims that it answers to the state of modern thought—why should there be a separate religious society at all, when we have already provision made for all men in the State; the school, science, and fine art? In his first chapter he puts the question, 'Are we still Christians?' And after a detailed examination he concludes, always speaking on behalf of modern thought, that if we wish our yea to be yea, and our nay, nay—if we are to think and speak our thoughts as honourable, upright men, we must reply that we are Christians no longer. This question and answer, however, he observes, are insufficient. The essential and fundamental inquiry with him is, whether we are, or are not, still to have a religion? To this inquiry he devotes his second chapter. In this second chapter he finds that there is no personal God; there is no future state; the dead live in the recollection of survivors—this is enough for them. After this he has little difficulty in answering the question he has put. All religious worship ought to be abolished. The very name of divine service is an indignity to man. Therefore, in the sense in which religion has been heretofore understood, his answer is that we ought to have no religion any more. But proceeding, as he always does, with commendable frankness, he admits that he ought to fill with something the void which he has made. This he accordingly proceeds to do. Instead of God, he offers to us what he calls the All or Universum. This All or Universum has, he tells us, neither consciousness nor reason. But it has order and law. He thinks it fitted, therefore, to be the object of a new and true piety, which he claims for his Univer-

sum, as the devout of the old style did for their God. If any one repudiates this doctrine, to Dr. Strauss's reason repudiation is absurdity, and to his feeling blasphemy. These are not the ravings of a maniac; nor are they the mere dreams of an imaginative, high-wrought enthusiast such as Comte appears to be; they are the grave conclusions, after elaborate reasoning, of a learned, a calm, and so far as form is concerned, a sober-minded man, who in this very year has been commended to us, in England, by another apostle of "modern thought" as one of the men to whose guidance we ought, if we are wise, to submit in matters of religious belief. I would not, even if I had the capacity and the time, make an attempt in this place to confute them; for I have no fear that by their exhibition they will beguile you. Neither do I search for the hard names of controversy to describe them, for they best describe themselves. Neither can I profess to feel unmixed regret at their being forced, thus eagerly and thus early, into notice; because it is to be hoped that they will cause a shock and a reaction, and will compel many who may have too lightly valued the inheritance so dearly bought for them, and may have entered upon dangerous paths, to consider, while there is yet time, whither those paths will lead them. In no part of his writings, perhaps, has Strauss been so effective as where he assails the inconsistency of those who adopt his premises, but decline to follow him to their conclusions. Suffice it to say these opinions are by no means a merely German brood; there are many writers of kindred sympathies in England, and some of as outspoken courage. But in preparing yourselves for the combat of life, I beg you to take this also into your account, that the spirit of denial is abroad, and has challenged all religion, but especially the religion we profess, to a combat of life and death. But I venture to offer you a few suggestions, in the hope that they may not be without their use. You will hear in your after-life much of the duty and delight of following free thought; and in truth the man who does not value the freedom of his thoughts deserves to be described as Homer describes the slave; he is but half a man. St. Paul, I suppose, was a teacher of free thought when he bade his converts to prove all things; but it seems he went terribly astray when he proceeded to bid them 'hold fast that which is good;' for he evidently assumed that there was something by which they could hold fast, and so he bade Timothy keep that which was committed to his charge; and another Apostle has instructed us to contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints. But the free thought of which we now hear so much seems too often to mean thought roving and vagrant more than free, like Delos drifting on the seas of Greece without a root, a direction, or a home. Again, you will hear incessantly of the advancement of the present age, and of the backwardness of those which have gone before it. And truly it has been a wonderful age; but let us not exaggerate. It has been, and it is, an age of immense mental as well as material activity; it is by no means an age abounding in minds of the first order, who

become great immortal teachers of mankind. It has tapped, as it were, and made disposable for man, vast natural forces; but the mental power employed is not to be measured by the mere size of the results. To perfect that marvel of travel, the locomotive, has perhaps not required the expenditure of more mental strength, and application, and devotion, than to perfect that marvel of music, the violin. In the material sphere, the achievements of the age are splendid and unmixed. In the social sphere they are great and noble, but seem ever to be confronted by a succession of new problems, which almost defy solution. In the sphere of pure intellect I doubt whether posterity will rate us as highly as we rate ourselves. But what I most wish to observe is this, that it is an insufferable arrogance in the men of any age to assume what I may call airs of unmeasured superiority over former ages. God, who cares for us, cared for them also. In the goods of this world we may advance by strides, but it is by steps only and not strides, and by slow and not always steady steps, that all desirable improvement of man in the higher ranges of his being is effected. Again, my friends, you will hear much to the effect that the divisions among Christians render it impossible to say what Christianity is, and so destroy the certainty of religion. But if the divisions among Christians are remarkable, not less so is their unity in the greatest doctrines that they hold. Well nigh fifteen hundred years—years of a more sustained activity than the world had ever before seen—have passed away since the great controversies concerning the Deity and the Person of the Redeemer were, after a long agony, determined. As before that time in a manner less defined, but adequate for their day, so ever since that time, amid all chance and change, more, ay, many more, than ninety-nine in every hundred Christians have with one will confessed the Deity and incarnation of our Lord as the cardinal and central truths of our religion. Surely there is some comfort here, some sense of brotherhood, some glory in the past, some hope for the times that are to come. On one, and only one, more of the favourite fallacies of the day I will yet presume to touch. It is the opinion and the boast of some that man is not responsible for his belief. Lord Brougham was at one time stated to have given utterance to this opinion, whether truly, I know not. But this I know; it was my privilege to hear from his own lips the needful and due limitation of that proposition. ‘Man,’ he said, ‘is not responsible to man for his belief.’ But as before God one and the same law applies to opinions and to acts—or rather to inward and to outward acts, for opinions are inward acts. Many a wrong opinion may be guiltless because formed in ignorance, and because that ignorance may not be our fault; but who shall presume to say there is no mercy for wrong actions also, when they, too, have been due to ignorance, and that ignorance has not been guilty? The question is not whether judgments and actions are in the same degree influenced by the condition of the moral motives. If it is undeniable that self-love and



passion have an influence upon both, then, so far as that influence goes, for both we must be prepared to answer. Should we in common life ask a body of swindlers for an opinion upon swindling, or of gamblers for an opinion upon gambling, or of misers upon bounty? And if in matters of religion we allow pride and perverseness to raise a cloud between us and the truth, so that we see it not, the false opinion that we form is but the index of that perverseness and that pride, and both for them, and for it as their offspring, we shall be justly held responsible. Who they are upon whom this responsibility will fall it is not ours to judge. These laws are given to us, not to apply presumptuously to others, but to enforce honestly against ourselves. Next to a Christian life, my friends, you will find your best defence against reckless novelty of speculation in sobriety of temper, and in sound intellectual habits. Be slow to stir inquiries which you do not mean particularly to pursue to their proper end. Be not afraid to suspend your judgment, or to feel and admit to yourselves how narrow are the bounds of knowledge. Do not too readily assume that to us have been opened royal roads to truth, which were heretofore hidden from the whole family of man; for the opening of such roads would not be so much favour as caprice. If it is bad to yield a blind submission to authority, it is not less an error to deny to it its reasonable weight. Eschewing a servile adherence to the past, regard it with reverence and gratitude, and accept its accumulations in inward as well as outward things, as the patrimony which it is your part in life both to preserve and to improve."

The tranquillity of our Indian Empire was interrupted this year by a truly tragical incident. Lord Mayo, the Governor-General, had held that office since 1868. Well known in earlier life as a politician on the Conservative side, he had earned not only great popularity, but the approval of men of judgment and ability during his tenure of this great office. In the height of middle life, and possessed of vigorous health, he evinced great activity of body as well as mind, and was constantly on the alert visiting the portions of his viceroyalty which required or invited inspection. It was in the pursuit of this line of duty that in February this year he visited the Andaman Islands, situate on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. A penal settlement had been established there for the retention of native convicts, many of them of the worst class. Some reports of difficulty and abuse in the management of this institution had attracted attention, and Lord Mayo deemed it advisable to visit the establishment in person on the 8th of February. He was in company of several officers in attendance on his person. It seemed certainly somewhat singular that an official of such high dignity, and whose safety was of such special importance, should have permitted himself or been permitted by others, to move about almost unguarded and without any special precaution, in the dark of a tropical evening, close to the huts where the convicts were assembled, and with a mixed crowd of

natives, prisoners at large, and attendants, closely following his steps; more especially when it is remembered that, only a few months before, the Chief Justice of Bengal had been struck down in open day by an assassin, either under the impulse of fanaticism or of some offence taken by reason of judicial proceedings against him. But such was the fact; Lord Mayo was himself a man of courage, and (it is said) somewhat impatient of restraint and precautions, and the necessity for such safeguards seems to have occurred to no one else. The superintendent, General Stewart, made public a statement of the precautions which he had himself taken on the occasion. The catastrophe<sup>1</sup> itself is thus described in the *Gazette of India* (Feb. 13):—

“After several posts and stations had been inspected, it was nearly 5 p.m., and the Viceroy decided that he would visit Mount Harriet. This is a lofty hill, on the main island. There is no regular convict station on the hill; but below it is Hope Town, where there are convicts, chiefly invalids and ticket-of-leave men, with a few others required for work at the station. . . . Eight policemen accompanied him throughout.” After reaching the top the party descended the hill in order to embark. “Two ticket-of-leave men addressed his Excellency on the way down, and were informed by General Stewart that on their making formal petitions their cases would be inquired into. No other convicts were met on Mount Harriet; they were all at their huts at Hope Town below. . . . By the time the Viceroy reached the foot of the hill, it was a quarter-past seven and quite dark, and lighted torches were, by order of an officer of the settlement, sent to meet the party. The huts where the convicts, some forty or fifty in number, had been drawn up, were passed. General Stewart had stopped to give orders to an overseer, and the Viceroy had walked about one third the length of the pier, preceded by two torch-bearers, and a few paces in advance of the rest of the party, when a man jumped on him from behind, and stabbed his Excellency over the left shoulder, and a second time under the right shoulder-blade, before any one could interpose. The assassin was at once knocked down by the guard and people in attendance, and but for the interference of the officers, would probably have been killed. There is no consistent account to show how the man made his way to the Viceroy, and it is not clear whether he was lying concealed on the side of the pier, or whether he rushed in from behind. Major Burns and the Viceroy’s Jemmadar were a few paces from the Viceroy, Colonel Jervois, Mr. Hawkins (flag-lieutenant) and Mr. Allen somewhat behind, and the police and petty-officers of the station in flank and rear.” The wounded man either fell or jumped into the water at the side of the pier; he could only utter a few words, and died in a few seconds, probably before he was placed in the steam launch which carried his body away.

The assassin was interrogated then and there. He stated that “his name was Shere Ali, the son of Wullee; that he came from a

<sup>1</sup> For another account see the “Chronicle.”

village near Jumrood, at the foot of the Khyber (on the north-western frontier, that is, of the empire) ; that he had no accomplices ; that it was his fate ; and that he had committed the act by the order of God." The instrument of murder was a common knife. Shere Ali had, it seems, been convicted in 1867 by Colonel Pollock, Commissioner of Peshawur, and sentenced to transportation for life. He had been placed at Hope Town in May, 1871, "in order to perform duty as barber there." The murder in which he had been engaged was committed in prosecution of a "blood-feud" on the person of a relative ; his capital sentence had been commuted "as there was a presumption that the actual blow was struck by a comrade." He was tried at Port Blair for the murder of Lord Mayo, and the sentence passed on him confirmed by the High Court at Calcutta (Feb. 20). He was executed in that city, maintaining to the last the obstinate resolution of his character. Vague suspicion was naturally afloat as to his motives and supposed accomplices ; and much disposition was entertained to connect the crime with the prevalence of Wahabee fanaticism among the Mussulman tribes in the neighbourhood of his birth-place. But no trace of any conspiracy has been discovered ; and it remains open to conjecture whether the act was that of a revengeful convict or of a partner in an undetected plot. Lord Napier of Ettrick, the Governor of Madras, succeeded by law to the vacant Governor-Generalship as temporary administrator ; but was relieved of it by the appointment of Lord Northbrook in the course of the summer.

In the general absence during this year, of occurrences of political importance throughout the remainder of our vast Colonial empire, the progress of the diamond discoveries in South Africa may merit a brief notice, together with the administrative measures which it became necessary to adopt in consequence of them.

The Nu Gariep, or Orange River, forms throughout the greater part of its long course the boundary to the north of the Cape Colony, properly so called. Almost half-way between its source and its mouth, and also nearly half-way between the Atlantic and Indian Ocean on a line following the parallel  $28^{\circ}$  south, it receives from the north-east, the Vaal, or Yellow River, almost equal in size to itself. The extensive territory nearly encircled by these rivers is the Orange Free State, a republic of Dutch colonists, to whom independence was granted by Britain twenty years ago. Farther north-east lies a vast tract, also occupied by Dutch squatters, which assumes the title of the South African Free State. Immediately opposite the junction of the Vaal and Orange Rivers, to the north, is the region called West Griqua Land. The dominion over this was secured by Treaty under the British Government to Nicholas Waterboer, a native chief of the West Griqua tribe ; but his boundaries were contested by both the Dutch Republics.

The country traversed by these rivers in their middle course is a great undulating plateau, with scanty vegetation, a dry and not unhealthy climate, and averaging from 3000 to 5000 feet above the

sea-level. It is studded with protruding masses of basalt, "kopjes" heads—as the boers call them—"protruding through conglomerate and amygdaloidal trap." The diamonds are found most irregularly scattered amidst the superficial debris of these formations. The principal sites of discovery, as yet, have been near the Vaal River, and on both sides of it.

The probable extent of the fields is still matter of speculation. Some have estimated it as low as a thousand square miles, others at many times that number.

In 1868, a valuable diamond was accidentally found in the possession of a Dutch farmer, as the author of "The Emigrant's Guide to the Diamond Fields" informs us, "who had given it, along with a number of pretty stones, to his children for a play-thing." It was not long before the farmers and traders resident on the Orange River made it known that they were prepared to pay well for any diamonds which might be discovered; and the natives were not slow in finding that it paid them, while herding their masters' stock, to pick up any stone presenting an unusual appearance which they might fall in with. About this time Mr. Emanuel, the well-known London dealer in diamonds, despatched an agent to report upon the nature of the country from whence the diamonds were said to have been obtained; and that person reported that "the rumours which had been circulated were without foundation, but had been trumped up for the purposes of land speculators." Only a very short time after this report had reached the Cape, one of the most splendid gems in the world, the "Star of South Africa," a diamond of the first water, weighing eighty-three carats and a half, was brought into the colony by a native, and sold to Messrs. Lilienfeld and Co., of Hope Town. This diamond subsequently realized twenty-four thousand pounds.

The effect of discoveries such as these on the minds of the population, and of foreign adventurers, too, may be easily imagined, and has been abundantly described in many publications. The wealth of a particular diamondiferous tract in the district of Colesberg, called by the diggers the "New Rush," was perhaps the crowning triumph of the speculation. The first diamond there was discovered in July, 1871, and for a long time the average production was at the rate of 1000 carats a day. But the rewards of adventure have been exceedingly variable. In November, 1872, it was estimated that there were 2500 "registered claimants" on the fields, and 50,000 diggers and their servants, of whom 35,000 were Europeans. "Even now," says the author of a little work on the subject, "it does not pay one man in five to dig; very soon it will not pay one in ten—no, not, as I think, one in a hundred." And, strange to say, although the discoveries have been known and wrought on for more than three years, there appears to be still a considerable divergence of opinion as to the comparative value of the diamonds themselves.

The scene of this strange aggregation of people—English and Dutch adventurers from the colony, boers from the interior, natives

of many tribes, and coolies from India—was not only almost beyond the precincts of civilized occupation, but it lay, as has been said, on the frontier, so to speak, of four distinct communities. It need not be said that this peculiarity greatly enhanced the difficulty of keeping the motley assemblage in anything like order. The diggers, however, with a good deal of ready sense, established a kind of police of their own, and submitted to some extent to a Commissioner whom the Governor of the Cape sent among them, keeping themselves independent of the emissaries of the two Republics. Serious disturbances occurred from time to time; at one of these, known by the name of the "New Rush Riot," in July 1872, the unfortunate native diggers were treated with much cruelty, and a resolution adopted, at least for a time, to exclude them altogether from the fields. At length, in October, 1872, the Governor, Sir Henry Berkeley, annexed West Griqua Land to the Cape by proclamation, on the petition of the Chief, Nicholas Waterboer himself, of whose interests sufficient care was taken. This arrangement was accepted by the authorities of the South African Commonwealth, who became parties to it. But those of the Orange River State still delayed their assent at the end of the year. Meanwhile, in the same month, the first "Responsible Ministry" was organized at the Cape, and political power over that vast section of the African continent passed virtually from the home government to the people of the colony itself through their representatives and ministers.

# FOREIGN HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

### FRANCE.

National Assembly—Election for Paris—President and Cabinet—Budget Debate—Raw Material Speech of M. Thiers—Debate of January 19th, and Resignation Crisis—Navigation Act—Anglo-French Commercial Treaty debated and denounced—Motion for Return of Assembly to Paris negatived—Resignation of M. Casimir Perier—Comte de Chambord—Party Programmes—M. Rouher—Suppression of Imperial Journals—Law of Public Safety—Letter of M. de St. Hilaire—Law of Reserve Chamber—Case of M. Janvier de la Motte—Retirement of M. Puyyer-Quertier—Law against International Society—Easter Recess—Bills for Army Re-organization and Council of State—Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier and M. Rouher—Debate on Army Bill—Visit of the "Right" to M. Thiers—Budget Debate—"Incidents" in the Chamber—New Convention with Germany—Great Loan—"Right" and "Left"—Prorogation of Assembly—Death of the Duc de Guise.

AFTER a short Christmas recess the French National Assembly met at Versailles on the 3rd of January. The election of a new member for Paris was still outstanding, the candidates being the well-known poet and novelist M. Victor Hugo, who represented the opinions of the extreme "Left," and attracted to himself the good wishes of the Red Republicans, Communists, and friends of revolution in general; and M. Vautrain, who though of liberal antecedents, Mayor under the Government of National Defence, and now President of the Municipal Council of Paris, was yet accepted by Royalists and Moderate Republicans alike as representing the Conservative element in the politics of the moment. The voting took place on the 7th of January and resulted in an unexpected victory for M. Vautrain, the numbers polled being 121,000 against 93,000. As in all Parisian elections at this period, the proportion of electors who abstained from voting at all was very considerable. There was no excitement or disturbance of the public peace, and the only drawback to the satisfaction of the Conservative party was the anticipation that this peaceful victory might remove the only valid objection to the instalment of the Assembly in the capital itself, the natural centre of Government. To this measure it was supposed the chief of the State himself was favourable, but to the majority in the Assembly it was eminently distasteful. Legitimists, Orleanists, Imperialists, and moderate Republicans had alike the greatest repugnance to the

prospect of carrying on their deliberations within the precincts where the firebrands of the Commune had so lately ruled the hour.

The veteran chief himself had now for eleven months managed to keep his place at the head of affairs amidst difficulties, which, to one of less pertinacity and less prestige, might well have proved overwhelming. In fact, it was on the multiplicity of parties and the impracticability of their leaders for plans of concerted action that the basis of his power rested. M. Thiers knew this; and he knew that to threaten his withdrawal from the functions of Government in case of persistent opposition to his measures, was the most efficacious threat he could hold out to keep Right and Left, Centres and Extremes, in mutual balance. Within his Cabinet the distracted state of public opinion had ample representation. In commercial matters the President himself was an avowed Protectionist. His Budget was founded on the Protectionist principle, and in the general maintenance of this principle he was upheld by his Finance Minister, M. Poyer-Quertier; while M. Lefranc, Minister of Commerce, was supposed to share their sentiments. But then M. Thiers desired an augmentation of the Budget in order to provide for an increase of the army; the maintenance of the military strength of France being, in his opinion, of the very first necessity. M. Poyer-Quertier on the other hand wished to reduce the military expenditure, and to develop the agricultural and manufacturing resources of the country, which must needs be seriously impeded by heavy taxation. M. Casimir Perier, Minister of the Interior, was an eminent apostle of Free Trade; so was M. Jules Simon, the Minister of Public Instruction. Again, Perier was known to entertain Orleanist proclivities. Simon, Dufaure, and other members of the Administration were pronounced Republicans. Even Legitimist sympathies were represented within the Cabinet by M. de Larcy, Minister of Public Works. The President was opposed to secular education. M. Jules Simon was in favour of it. Thiers objected to universal compulsory service in the army and advocated conscription. His Minister of War, General de Cissey, advocated general compulsion, and objected to conscription. There were other questions besides on which the President was known to be of a different opinion from his departmental subordinates, but as to which his strength lay in the fact that those subordinates differed also from each other. It might be said that his was a system of Government by equilibrium; and not the least remarkable circumstance about it was that the master himself, who had to keep the springs in balance, was no Cavour or Bismarck in the prime of life and vigour, but an old man near his eightieth year, whose political leadership had been of a time long past, and whose habits and repute had been literary even more than political. For the historian of the Consulate and the Empire it seemed little likely when the war with Germany began that any new title to fame was in store.

When the Assembly recommenced its sittings, two pressing questions were immediately before it: the abrogation of the Com-

mercial Treaty with England, and the Budget. M. Johnston, Deputy for Bordeaux, an Englishman by birth, an Imperialist, and a Free-trader, attempted to force on the consideration of the Treaty first, but his motion was set aside, and precedence was given to the Budget. The debate on this subject was resumed on the 8th of January, the problem laid before the Chamber being in what manner to raise the ten millions sterling (250,000,000 francs) still required for the purposes of revenue during the current year, over and above the fifteen millions which the taxes voted in August were supposed to cover, so as to make up the excess of the twenty-five millions at which the expenditure since the war was estimated. The proposal of an income-tax, made by the Committee of the Budget in December, had, as we have seen, being vigorously opposed by M. Thiers and had been defeated. M. Pouyer-Quertier now suggested on the part of Government that one million out of the required ten should be raised by a simple augmentation of some charges already voted; another million by a tax on transferable securities (*valeurs mobilières*); four millions by a tax on raw materials; two millions by a tax on textile fabrics. This would leave two millions still to be provided for. The debate began with the proposed tax on transferable securities; and it was no small surprise to the Government supporters when, on an attack being made upon it by the advocates of the income-tax, M. Thiers, instead of standing to its defence, abandoned it at once, confessed it would damage the French market, and fell back, but in a doubtful tone, on the other suggestions of his Budget. A week of very curious Parliamentary tactics ensued. The President of the Republic invited the Chamber to a discussion of principles rather than to a debate on any definite motion. He himself interfered in the discussion as much and as often as if no *proposition Vitet* had ever claimed to limit his privilege of speech. On the 9th M. Raudot advanced to defend the scheme which the head of the Government himself had so readily thrown over. He urged the mischievous effect it would have upon the country to see the Government thus abandon its own financial scheme on the ground that it was unsound in principle, and regretted not merely the abandonment of this tax on transferable securities, but still more the notion that the House was to discuss indefinitely the merits of all alternative schemes for raising a revenue. M. Buffet, who had been Minister of Finance under the Empire, maintained, in reply to M. Raudot, that a tax laid upon obligations was a fatal impost, and would drive away foreign capital from the country. M. Pouyer-Quertier defended his own project. He remarked, however, that it mattered not to him how many sources of revenue were abandoned provided that those who threw them over would take the responsibility of finding others equally good. It was then agreed, on a motion of M. Thiers, to leave the matter open till all the other proposed taxes had been discussed.

The preliminary, or general, debate on the Tax on Raw Materials brought up M. Tolain, member for Paris and an adherent of the



**International Association.** One of the great objections, he said, raised to the income-tax and a tax on certain items of revenue was that either impost would be arbitrary. But the tax upon raw material with a drawback was equally arbitrary. A twenty per cent. duty would also give rise to frauds. He praised the innate love of work exhibited by the English labouring classes, and lamented its absence among the French. Work, said M. Tolain, should be regarded as the law of humanity—as the irremissible duty imposed upon man. M. Tirard, another Radical member for Paris, condemned the twenty per cent. duty, which he characterized as the most fatal of all taxes; fatal because it was indeterminate, fatal because it would necessitate dangerous negotiations with foreign countries, fatal because it would kill foreign commerce. “Ah, gentlemen,” he afterwards said, “military chauvinism has cost us dear enough to warn us against industrial chauvinism. I do not dispute the superiority of French produce, but we must not forget that we have neighbours who are superior to us in trafficking. Our cause of inferiority cannot disappear at once; but it will disappear when Frenchmen learn to speak foreign languages, and when fathers make their sons something else than lawyers, doctors, or officials.” M. Desilligny, in an eloquent speech, attacked the plan both of the Government and the Committee. He argued that France must look to manufactures for money to pay her war indemnity, and that if manufacturers were interfered with, the Treasury by levying indirect, would lose direct taxes. He made the Minister of Finance wince when he laid before the Assembly the expressed opinions of the various Chambers of Commerce, no fewer than fifty-five in number, on the Government twenty per cent. duty with drawback, or three per cent. without drawback. In conclusion, he proposed a tax of one franc per thousand on all business transactions, calculating that in this way the Government could raise 100,000,000 fr., which, with other taxes and due economy, would enable it to meet the engagements of the country.

The preliminary discussion over, M. Pouyer-Quertier on the 12th brought in the Bill containing the propositions for the new tariff on raw material, the principal items of which were an impost of sixteen per cent. on raw wool and cotton, four per cent. on dry cocoons, ten per cent. on raw silk, and fifteen per cent. on thrown silk; the duties to be repaid on the article being re-exported in a manufactured state, on the basis of a “drawback,” or by the application of the system of temporary admission. To this proposed scheme, M. de Lasteyrie, a member of the Right, declared his objections. “I am a Liberal,” he said, “and I cannot accept the twenty per cent. duty. You have before you four systems: the tax on items of income, which is just; the décime on existing taxes, which is the most unjust of all; the duty on salt, which is the most unpopular; and the duty on raw material, which is the most damaging. Take your choice.”

On the following day, Saturday, the 13th, M. Thiers made a

speech three hours long in defence of the Ministerial scheme. He appealed to his hearers even more on political than on economical grounds. Ten millions sterling had to be provided by new taxes. The continuance of the so-called Truce of Bordeaux depended on the confidence reposed in himself, and in the means he thought best for the emergency. He barred all discussion as to the question whether the sum mentioned was really needed. True he had raised the estimated expenses of the army by three millions; but he defied any one to prove that the heightened estimate was not needful for the safety and honour of France. "For the last thirty years," he said, "we have been living under delusions which I often endeavoured to dissipate. I have never ceased saying to friend and foe, 'One day you will cruelly regret the way in which the interests of the army are neglected. One day we shall have a terrible surprise.' It is some consolation to think that we are about to shake off these illusions, which allowed us to sleep on the brink of an abyss, and to believe we were strong when we were in reality weak." He demanded eight millions sterling for paying off in portion the late advances made by the Bank of France, thereby empowering it to reduce its paper circulation. As to the means for raising the money wanted, he declared the only sufficient resource to be a tax on raw material. The project of augmenting proportionately the existing taxes was hopeless: land could bear no more taxation than it did already. From an augmentation of the sugar duties, indeed, he was willing to derive some of the required money; but this could not furnish more than a quarter of the sum required. He then proceeded to justify the proposed tariff, directing his remarks, however, specially to the imposts on cotton, wool, and silk. With regard to the first article, he stated that 100,000,000 kilogrammes of cotton were annually imported into France, each kilogramme being worth 2 fr. A tax of twenty per cent., or 40 centimes per kilogramme, would yield 40,000,000 fr., from which could be deducted a "drawback" of 4,000,000 fr. on the proportion of manufactured cotton goods, leaving the revenue to be benefited to the extent of 36,000,000 fr., or nearly a million and a half sterling. As to wools, he insisted on the absolute necessity of having a duty levied on the foreign article, in order to protect the French grower. He stated that half the quantity of wool employed in French manufactures, or 100,000,000 kilogrammes, came from abroad. This, after the cleansing process, was reducible to 45,000,000 kilogrammes, at 5 fr. per kilogramme. A duty of 38 centimes per kilogramme on this quantity would produce 36,000,000 fr., or, after deducting the drawback on manufactured goods, 26,000,000 fr., while the French wool-grower would be protected by a duty of eighteen per cent. against his foreign competitor. As to silk, that was an article that stood on its own peculiar footing. A drawback equal to the duty was to be granted; and, as statistical accounts laid down that the quantity of silk exported and imported was just the same, no advantage to the revenue would at first sight appear. But

the difference was made by the dye in the manufactured silk adding greatly to its weight; and M. Thiers made out that the tax would in reality yield rather more than a million sterling, while again the silk-growers in the South of France would have the benefit of protection. Somewhat to the surprise of the Chamber, he adverted to the existing commercial treaties with England and other countries as being a "deplorable yoke" on the nation, and said that, although his own plans involved no infringement of them, he should, for his own part, be delighted to see those treaties at an end.

M. Thiers spoke with great force and animation, and, had he called for a division while the Chamber was still under the spell of his eloquence, it is probable he would have carried his point triumphantly. But the discussion was postponed, and by Monday, the 15th, heads had had time to cool, and the Ministerial battle of raw material had again to be fought against the Free-traders. Thiers' statements were challenged on all hands.

M. Johnston, the deputy for Bordeaux, maintained that the proposed duty would amount to a positive infringement of the commercial treaties. "I have shown," he said, "that, in virtue of the convention concluded with England, wools of Australian origin, coming from England, should enter free until the expiration of the Treaty of Commerce. What does the Government propose? To impose a duty of 88 centimes per kilogramme on wool. The English Government will reply, 'Very well, but by the terms of the treaty your own wool must be subjected to a similar duty.' I hardly think this is what the Government desires; for such a measure would bear heavily on French agriculture. I raise this objection as regards wool, but I might repeat it as regards silk," &c. &c.

To this Thiers made a petulant rejoinder. "Supposing," he said, "such an interpretation were admissible, it was very unpatriotic of M. Johnston to suggest it to the English authorities." (*Ce n'est pas à nous de fournir des arguments à la diplomatie étrangère.*) A somewhat angry altercation ensued. M. Johnston complained that the Assembly should be kept in ignorance of the negotiations now in progress respecting the English Treaty. Thiers objected to produce the correspondence, and spoke again in defence of his twenty per cent. duty, assuring the Chamber at the same time that he was not a Protectionist on principle, but simply a Minister in search of money for immediate State purposes. The Duc Decazes and M. Buffet followed to the attack. Thiers implored the House to come to a division, but in vain. The debate was again adjourned.

The principal speeches the next day were those of M. Montgolfier and M. Ambrose Joubert, who both criticized M. Thiers' statement of facts as to the wool and silk trade, and enlarged on the damaging effects to the French manufacturers of the proposed new imports; M. Joubert maintaining that they would be compelled to employ sixteen millions sterling more than they had hitherto

invested, in order to find capital to pay the duties. "Do not," he said, "destroy by arbitrary taxes the admirable riches with which nature has endowed us. The drawback is a hothouse *régime*, by means of which you wish to keep alive sickly manufactures, to the prejudice of those wholesome ones which only require pure air to live and prosper."

On the next day of the debate the most remarkable speech against the Government proposals was made by M. Leurent, a large manufacturer of Turcoing. And now, while the Chamber appeared as hostile as ever to the measure of M. Thiers, and testified by loud applause its sympathy with each telling speech of the Opposition, the excitement out-of-doors was becoming serious. The great manufacturing towns were in a state of strong irritation. Delegates arrived at Versailles from Lyons, Marseilles, St. Etienne, Lille, and numerous other centres, sent by the Chambers of Commerce at each place, to protest against the taxation of raw material, and urge the deputies to bring forward some counter-measure. And not only the industrial interests of the country, but the agricultural likewise, arrayed themselves against the policy of M. Thiers. The situation was becoming one of considerable excitement, especially as the President, recurring to his old strategy, had expressed in the lobbies his intention of resigning should an adverse vote be given.

When the Assembly met on the 19th, the forces on both sides were prepared for a vigorous struggle, and every bench and box in the Versailles Theatre was crammed with eager listeners. M. Casimir Perier, who had not spoken since the commencement of the discussion, explained in a few words the attitude and the aim of the Government. He implored the Chamber to vote in favour of the principle of the tax on raw material, and to name a commission of fifteen members to be entrusted with the duty of regulating its application. His speech received the applause of the Right and Right Centre. He was followed by M. Marcel Barthe, who, amidst violent interruptions, proposed an amendment to the effect that, conceding the principle of the tax, the Assembly did so on the understanding that it was not to be acted upon except as a complementary means of adjusting the equilibrium of the Budget. This amendment was accepted for the Government by M. Casimir Perier. But another amendment was proposed by M. Féray, to the effect that the question of principle should be reserved, and the tax voted only if, after inquiry by a Commission appointed for the purpose, it should be found impossible by any other means to arrange the Budget. Upon this amendment hung the issue of the contest. M. Thiers gave offence to the House by observing in a querulous tone of voice that the discussion had now lasted eighteen days, and had placed France in a *triste* position before the eyes of Europe; that it was time to leave off repeating stale arguments, and for the dignity of the country to come to an immediate solution. When M. Féray, in reply, denied that the eighteen days' debate

had lowered the character of the Chamber, a storm of applause greeted him. Then ensued a scene of noise and confusion; but M. Johnston contrived to make his voice heard. "I fear," he said, "that the Government, in asking you to vote the principle of the tax on raw material, is seeking to make you implicitly vote also the denunciation of the Treaty of Commerce." "The Treaty of Commerce is reserved," replied Thiers, "and will come on for discussion next week." His efforts for a further hearing were drowned in the increasing tumult of the Chamber. At last a vote was called for. The first question put was, Should priority be given to the proposition of M. Barthe or to that of M. Féray? It was decided to take the opinion of the House on the proposition Féray; and when a second division was called for, on the merits of that proposition itself, the votes were 377 in its favour against 307 adverse to it. M. Thiers left the Chamber loudly declaring his intention to resign. Outside the walls of the theatre, as well as within, great and general agitation prevailed.

Next morning, an eager audience attended to hear the expected announcement that M. Thiers was no longer head of the Government. Meanwhile his opponents were themselves frightened at the responsibility they had incurred. Marshal M'Mahon visited the thwarted leader and urged upon him the perplexity which his course occasioned among the officers of the army. Agitated deputies met in the Hotel des Reservoirs. The Right and Right Centre drew up a motion, declaring that the vote just passed against the economical policy of the Government did not signify any intention on the part of the majority to refuse it the general support hitherto accorded. The terms of this motion were communicated to M. Thiers; but he refused to be satisfied. Then the Left Centre suggested the substitution of the word "confidence" for the word "support." Amid various rumours, the President of the Assembly, M. Grévy, took the chair. General dismay was felt when, presently, he proceeded to read out a letter addressed to him by M. Thiers, abdicating his authority as chief of the State; and then, at the instance of the Minister of the Interior, officially announced the resignation of the Government—an announcement which was followed by a general evacuation of the Ministerial bench, the heterogenous elements assorting themselves among the different positions in the Chamber to which their sympathies inclined them. Then M. Batbie read out the motion expressive of the continued "confidence" of the Assembly in the late Government—a motion which, being put to the vote, was carried almost unanimously, with this addition: "The Assembly appeals to the patriotism of M. Thiers, and refuses to accept his resignation." A deputation immediately set out for the Prefecture, the motion was laid before M. Thiers, and finally he consented to retract his resignation. "He was worn out," he said, "and discouraged by these incessant struggles. The vivacity with which he defended his opinions should only be regarded as a proof of the

energy of his convictions. His opinions had been too long fixed to change. Conflicts similar to that which had just taken place were likely soon to recur relative to the military reorganization and compulsory instruction, and the end must come sooner or later; perhaps it would be better at once. But since the Assembly appealed to his patriotism he would resume the direction of affairs, and try to make his way yet again with the assistance of the Ministers." And so the crisis came to an end. The strain had been considerable. Had Thiers persisted in his intention of resigning, the members of the Right were prepared with an alternative, and would have voted Marshal M'Mahon to the Presidential post. Perhaps, indeed, Thiers' retraction, though they felt themselves compelled to press it, was in some sort a disappointment to these politicians, whose hopes of a pronounced reactionary Government, supported by the army and conducted by an unquestionably able and honest military chief, were thereby frustrated. So it was that by most of the monarchist fractions of the Assembly, the announcement that the affronted chief had consented to retain office, was coldly received; and it became evident—more so than it had been before—that the real friends and supporters of Thiers' rule were to be found in the Left and Left Centre, on the Republican, and even the Radical benches.

A few days afterwards a revised tariff for the taxation of raw material was submitted to the Committee, in which no less than 350 articles hitherto imported free were enumerated. M. Pouyer-Quertier said he would assist the Committee in every way in seeking taxes to replace the proposed taxation on raw material, but he feared that their efforts would be fruitless. The Government was more than ever convinced that the taxation of raw material was the least onerous and the only resource.

M. Thiers' determined reliance on Protectionist principles for the present exigencies of the Finance was again exemplified by a Navigation Act which came on for debate in the Assembly a few days later, and as to which the Government policy proved victorious by a large majority, in spite of the objections raised against it by some of the most important ports of France; and in spite of the declaration of M. Fraissinet, one of the largest shippers from Marseilles, that since 1859 the mercantile navy of France had doubled, and that the increase was almost entirely owing to the free importation of foreign ships. It was now decided that any vessel entering a French port under a foreign flag, should be liable to a duty on its cargo, varying according to the extent of its voyage, from seven to twenty francs per ton.

But the interest of this measure, however really important in its bearings on the future, was, for the moment, lost sight of in the debate which came on the last day in January, on the subject of the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce. M. Delsol, as reporter of the Committee appointed to examine into this critical question, gave in his Report on the 28th. It authorized the Government to

give notice in due time (*en temps utile*) of the termination of the Treaties of Commerce both with England and with Belgium. M. Tirard the next day demanded the adjournment of the debate, in order to enable the Chamber to study the question; but M. de Rémusat insisted on the necessity of a prompt settlement, and announced that he had just received a despatch from Lord Lyons stating that the British Government considered the Treaty as remaining in force for one year after notice of withdrawal, whatever might be the date of the notice. He asked the Assembly not to confound the question of the tariffs on raw material with the present question, but added that in the opinion of Government, foreign products ought to bear charges proportionate to those imposed on native products. Negotiations with England being still pending, M. de Rémusat declared himself unable to communicate the diplomatic documents. He put the question before the House in these terms:—"It is to be decided whether the Treaties are to be terminated, or whether you refuse to allow France to regain her fiscal liberty."

The debate commenced on the 31st of January, M. Raudot leading the way. He opposed the withdrawal from the Treaty, showed by figures the immense profits that French trade had already derived from it, and dwelt particularly on the alienation between England and France, and indeed between France and other continental countries, which the contemplated measure would produce. The following day M. Wolowski resumed the discussion, on the same side of the question. M. de Rémusat rose to advocate the policy of withdrawal, on behalf of Government, declaring it was propounded for fiscal purposes only, and not in order to establish the principle of Protection. He read a despatch from the English Foreign Office of the 28th of January, stating that if the French Government believed itself placed under the necessity of giving notice of withdrawal from the Treaty in a fiscal sense, her Majesty's Government would endeavour to obviate any weakening of the good relations subsisting between the two countries, and would be ready to modify the Treaty within the necessary fiscal limits, though objecting strongly to accept modifications in any protectionist sense. Then M. Gambetta broke the long silence he had maintained in the Assembly, and amidst the applauses of the Left delivered an animated opposition speech. He insisted that the Assembly ought not to decide on the course to be pursued until all the documents relative to the negotiations should have been communicated, and he censured the conduct of the Government in carrying on negotiations independently of the Chamber. He hinted that England might not be so ready, as was said, to accept the new tariffs which the Government proposed; and after alluding to the commercial life which free trade had awakened in the country, expressed his regret that during the debate little or nothing had been said about the consumers, that is to say the great body of the nation which had benefited largely by the measures of 1860. There was much

good sense in his remarks, but he spoke with a violence of demeanour not a little irritating to the majority.

When he sat down M. Thiers darted into the tribune. He declared that the present Government had no wish to return to Protectionism, and had only negotiated on the bases already established by the Imperial Government. It was necessary for France to possess fiscal liberty, in order to prevent her manufactures from being crushed by foreign products in her own market. The French and English Governments might not think alike on this subject, but they had not quarrelled. The English Government might say to those opposed to modifications, "If we make no concessions the treaty will be abrogated." The necessities of France required compensatory duties on foreign products. In conclusion he stated that the Government did not so much demand the denunciation of the Treaty as authority to denounce it when necessary.

On the third and last day of the debate, the Assembly rejected by a very large majority an amendment moved by M. Ganivet for an adjournment of the decision until the Councils-General should have been consulted. An amendment by M. Johnston, proposing to adjourn the notice of withdrawal from the Treaty until the Committee had examined the diplomatic documents, was also rejected; and the same fate befell a proposal of M. Duprat to insert in the preamble of the Bill, a clause stating that the withdrawal from the Treaty was simply in order to establish new tariffs more advantageous to the French Treasury, not to break with the spirit of the Treaty of 1860. The Assembly then by a very large majority approved the whole Bill as brought in by the Committee. Its wording was as follows:—"The Assembly, considering that, without returning to the economic system which existed anterior to 1860, it is necessary in the present situation of the country to revise the Customs tariffs, decrees as follows:—Article 1. That the Government be authorized to give notice of withdrawal in convenient time from the Treaties with England and Belgium. Article 2. That the present tariffs shall remain in vigour until new tariffs are voted."

And so the work of 1860, one of the most honourable achievements of the late Emperor's rule, was sentenced. The time for the actual denunciation of the Treaty was left in the President's hands. It was proclaimed six weeks later, when in virtue of the original stipulation of a year's notice on either side, it was announced in the Duc de Broglie's despatch that the abrogation decreed should take effect on March 15, 1873, "should no contrary arrangement be made in the meanwhile." This saving clause opened the door eventually to a fresh negotiation which we shall have to notice farther on.

No sooner was the financial discussion on the 2nd of February, brought to an end than another subject of importance claimed the attention of the Legislature. Already on the 10th of January the Committee on M. Duchatel's motion for the return of the Assembly



to Paris had sent in its report, praying for the rejection of the motion, but it was then decided at the suggestion of the Government that the question should stand over for discussion till after the financial measures had been dealt with. Its re-introduction now produced great excitement in the House. M. Vautrain spoke earnestly in favour of the return, and declaimed against the injustice, inexpediency, and even danger of depriving Paris of her rank as capital of France. "Had the Assembly been at its post in the capital on the 18th of March last year," he said, "the Communist insurrection would never have occurred."

"There were mayors of Paris at the head of the insurrection," cried M. de Juigné, a deputy of the Right. Forthwith the whole of the Left rose to their feet in angry uproar, and several mayors of Paris rushed to the tribune to repel the accusation. The opinion of the Cabinet was loudly demanded. M. Casimir Perier stated that the Government considered the discussion premature, and thought it preferable that a grave question of this kind should be taken into consideration and pass through the regular stages. His own sympathies, he said, in favour of Paris were well known, but he feared it was very late now to advocate a return thither.

The Assembly successively rejected, amid great excitement, proposals to adjourn the discussion for three and six months, and afterwards approved, by 377 against 338, the proposal of the Committee not to take the motion for a return to Paris into consideration.

The consequence of this vote was that M. Casimir Perier resigned office as minister; his real reason for so doing being, however, as was supposed, rather the general difficulty he experienced in getting on with the imperious head of the State, than his dissatisfaction at the decision about Paris. M. Victor Lefranc, Minister of Commerce, was appointed to replace him in the Ministry of the Interior, while the portfolio vacated by M. Lefranc was entrusted to M. de Goulard.

The Orleans Princes, who were not present in the Assembly during the discussion of M. Duchatel's motion, took occasion to announce, when it was over, that, had they been present, their votes would have been given in favour of Paris. The conduct of these Princes had hitherto been eminently cautious and reserved. They had taken no part in any of the stormy discussions which had occupied the Chamber since its reassembling. They made no attempt to assert their own claims to consideration when the crisis of the 19th of January very nearly left the country without a chief. The election of the Duc d'Aumale to a seat in the Academy at Christmas, and his appointment to act on the Committee for the consideration of Algerian questions, had been almost the only public occasions on which notice was called to his name, and the Prince de Joinville had been even less within the popular ken. In the Rue de Varennes, and at Chantilly, the brothers entertained their friends from time to time; and rumour said that their sympathies were in favour of many popular measures of the day. But for all definite

attempts at a political line of action, whether in the sense of Liberalism, or of a combination with the elder branch of their family, the wishes and speculations of their followers were the only authority.

Not so with the Comte de Chambord, the Legitimist chief himself. From his foreign retreat he still believed that his voice would find an echo among a large section of his divided fellow-countrymen. At the end of January he issued a manifesto, denying the report that his departure from Chambord, after his sudden visit there in the previous summer, implied any thought of abdicating his rights; and asserting, on the contrary, his fidelity to his "flag," and his resolve to maintain still, as he had done for forty years, "the Monarchical principle which," he said, "is the heirloom of France, the last hope of her grandeur and her liberties. Cæsarism and anarchy," continued the Prince, "still threaten us, because the salvation of the country is sought in personal questions, and not in principles. . . . Without the natural principle of hereditary Monarchy, where shall we find alliances? Who will give our army a powerful organization? Who will make our diplomacy respected, and restore to France her proper rank? Who will insure peace for the industrious classes, and to the labourer the fruit of his toil? . . . Nothing will shake my resolution nor exhaust my patience. Nobody will, under any pretext, obtain my consent to become a Legitimate King of Revolution."

This manifesto caused some dismay and perplexity in the Legitimist camp. The moderate members of the party regretted to see in it none of that spirit of compromise, without which it seemed hopeless to bring their chief into relation with the political circumstances of the time: and when, a fortnight after issuing it, the Prince himself arrived at Antwerp, and set up for a few days a kind of Court, to which his agents and adherents resorted, it became plain to the Moderates, for their own preservation in the strife of factions, that their aims and wishes must be distinctly made known. Accordingly they drew up a document, which was signed by eighty of their number, Orleanists and Fusionists, and, not without nervous misgivings, sent it by a deputy, M. Monté, to be submitted to the Comte de Chambord, at Antwerp. In it, with all deferential expressions to the Count, they declared their intention, practically, of respecting the national will, and submitting to the policy of the country as determined by its representatives in the Assembly. The Count received the deputation graciously, guarded himself from expressing approval or otherwise of the principle of action indicated, and, while reserving his own position, left the signatories freedom to take their own line, with a general assurance of his trust in their loyalty. Upon this the Moderate Royalists of different shades of opinion and of courage were emboldened to draw together and arrange themselves on something of a theoretical as well as practical basis. About two hundred agreed on a common declaration, or "programme," setting forth the right of the nation to regulate its

institutions by means of the Assembly, and their own intention to adhere to the Government of M. Thiers. This movement in the ranks of the Right and Right Centre excited the competitive ingenuity of the other fractions of the Chamber; and the sifting and self-adjusting of parties and giving forth of "programmes" became the amusement of the hour. The vagueness of the so-called Bordeaux compact gave ample room for the speculation of restless brains as to what might or might not be the next chapter in the constitutional history of the State. "Le terrain qui nous divise le moins," as Thiers had called the Provisional Republic, was, at all events, broad enough to admit of many prospective paths and fences.

Not only the Republicans and the Royalists, but the Imperialists also, had at the present moment their grounds for hope and enterprise; for, in consequence of the retirement from the Assembly of M. Conti, the late Emperor's faithful servant and private secretary, who had been seized with mortal illness, an election had been just held in Corsica, and the successful candidate for the vacancy in the fatherland of the Bonapartes was M. Rouher, the ablest and most eloquent of the politicians who had guided the later councils of the Empire—the "Vice-Emperor," as he had been popularly nicknamed. It was not so much as a proof of the numerical strength yet remaining to their party, as because of the great advantage of possessing an influential representative of their views in the Assembly, that the Imperialists rejoiced in M. Rouher's return. In the elevation of their spirits they ventured on something of a party demonstration at the funeral of M. Conti on the 16th. Three bouquets from Chiselhurst were laid upon his grave, and a few cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" were raised in front of the Church of St. Augustin.

The organs of the various parties meanwhile bandied about eager aspersions and recriminations, and treated the existing Government, where occasion offered, with a licence and vehemence of attack which roused it to a measure of self-defence. The *Gaulois* and the *Armée*, Imperialist journals, were suppressed by authority; and on the 21st the Minister of the Interior, M. Victor Lefranc, brought in a Bill empowering the Government to prosecute and punish all attacks in the newspapers upon the rights and authority of the Assembly or the Government. Whether this measure was aimed chiefly against the Monarchists or the Imperialists might be matter of doubt; at all events, it was a bold stroke of political repression. The *Bien Public*, the Orleanist journal, declared it was an indirect attempt to proclaim the Republic as the definitive form of government, and complained of its arbitrary character. Among the politicians of the Left, on the other hand—the prescriptive friends of free opinion—such were the odd inconsistencies of party exigency, the Repression Bill found encouragement and support. Gambetta himself spoke in its favour; and in the course of debate on the 26th he used these taunting words to the objecting deputies of the

Right: "You preferred peace to honour. You gave five milliards and two provinces!" The law would probably have been allowed to pass, with some unimportant modifications, had it not been for the publication at this juncture of a letter, purporting to be an answer to an address of one of the Provincial Councils-General some months before, and written by M. Barthélemy de St. Hilaire, Secretary-General of the President's Cabinet, but supposed to be inspired by the President himself. After thanking the Council-General of the Meurthe and Moselle in the name of M. Thiers for the address voted, M. de St. Hilaire adverted to the positively-expressed resolution of M. Thiers to maintain intact the Republic confided to him. "The Bill he yesterday introduced," he said, "is a fresh proof of this. We expect the best results from it. For my own part, I do not doubt that if the Republic continues to render to the country services as great and useful as it has rendered for the last year, France will accept and support a form of government which has secured her the blessings she desires—liberty, with order; economy, with honesty; power, with labour and patriotism. One of the most fortunate circumstances for the Republic is that at the present day it represents order under its every form; and I do not hesitate to say that if it remains wise and moderate it has nothing to fear, for it must now have the support of all good citizens, if they are at all alive to their true interests." M. de St. Hilaire added that the measures just proposed to Government by the Assembly would conduce to the maintenance of the Republic, and would, according to all appearance, be followed by other measures of similar tendency.

The Radical deputies rejoiced at so outspoken a profession of Republican sympathies; but the Right took alarm. The committee appointed to take M. Lefranc's Bill into consideration gave in their report, with modifications which deprived it of nearly all its sting.

These proposed amendments were highly distasteful to M. Thiers. He expressed his firm intention not to admit them, and again a Constitutional crisis and a resignation of the President seemed looming in the immediate future. But both parties were anxious to avoid a pitched fight; and, after some interviews between Thiers and delegates sent by the committee, it was agreed that the discussion of the Bill should be postponed for the present.

Meanwhile an important measure had just been passed, with an ease and tranquillity very unusual at this time in French legislations, by which provision was made against the dangers of anarchy so closely impending in the present precarious condition of the Constitution. M. Treveneuc, the author of the Bill, proposed that in the event of a *coup d'état* or violent dissolution of the Chamber, the Councils-General were to appoint each two delegates to join in any town which should be agreed upon, such members of the Chamber as might be able to escape thither, the Assembly so constituted being authorized to provide temporarily for the administra-

tion of the country, and to recover as soon as possible the rights of the Chamber. It was to dissolve, as soon as a majority of the original Chamber should have come together, or to call for new elections in case of no such majority collecting within two months. The Left opposed the Bill, but it was carried by a large majority—484 votes against 75.

Soon after this, a public scandal came on for discussion, which, affecting primarily the character of an employé of the late Emperor, eventuated in the loss to M. Thiers of one of his own most useful ministers.

M. Janvier de la Motte had occupied for sixteen years the post of Prefect of the Eure. His conduct in that responsible position was a striking exemplification of the departmental evils tolerated under the Napoleonic rule. After a career of shameless immorality he had resorted, in order to meet his liabilities, private and public, to the device of cooking accounts, or, in French technical language, of *virements* and *mandats fictifs*. His actual debt to the State does not seem to have amounted to more than 10,000*l.*, but the manner in which he had handled the money confided to him had been utterly unprincipled, whether as regarded his personal convenience, or the questionable outlays for Imperial purposes which would not bear to be dragged to the light of day. The subject was taken up on behalf of Government by M. Dufaure, Minister of Justice. In the accusations directed against M. Janvier de la Motte were implicated three subordinate officials who had acted in his interests. The trial came on for hearing before the Court at Rouen. To the general surprise, the examination of the witnesses called for the prosecution turned in favour of the accused. The acts of malversation were not indeed denied, but they were in a manner excused. They were admitted to be unbusinesslike and irregular, but not criminal or even dishonourable, and the end of the affair was that M. Janvier de la Motte was acquitted. The evidence that was said to have weighed most in bringing about this result, so disappointing to all friends of official integrity, was that of the actual Minister of Finance. Not only did M. Pouyer-Quertier defend every part of the inculpated Prefect's conduct, but he declared in his own official capacity that the accused did not owe the State the money for which he was prosecuted, and that he, the Minister of Finance, had never sanctioned, but, on the contrary, had disapproved, the claim for restitution. M. Janvier, he said, was responsible to nobody but the Council-General of his department and the Court of Accounts. Those two bodies had both gone carefully into his accounts, and both had passed them. They had thus taken all responsibility off his shoulders, and to force it again upon him was a most irregular proceeding, if not a distinct violation of the law. M. Pouyer-Quertier was said indeed, probably with some exaggeration, to have gone further than this, and to have expressed his opinion that the system of *virements*, or debits and credits arbitrarily assorted, was a lawful and inevitable part of a Prefect's administration, thus giving his

deliberate approval to the corrupt practices of the late imperial rule. At all events his evidence, proved and unproved, excited to a great degree the anger of the public and of his colleagues in the Ministry. From his point of view, what was the gain, it was asked, of having an honest instead of a dishonest man at the head of affairs? Why should not a Janvier de la Motte be as fit a manager of the country's affairs as a Pouyer-Quertier? The Finance Minister bowed before the general indignation, and on the 4th of March sent in his resignation, but not without a protest before the Assembly. He complained that he had been spitefully attacked, that his words had been incorrectly reported, and went into a history of his own administration of the Treasury, which certainly contrasted strongly with that of the unjust steward whose cause he had thought fit to defend. When he declared that he had paid all the Government contracts, those concluded honourably *and otherwise*, all eyes were directed to M. Gambetta, who, in reply, defied the Government to bring home any act of dishonesty to his administration. M. Dufaure inveighed against the iniquitous device of *mandats fictifs*, by which, as he said, an outlay might be demanded for a lunatic asylum and applied instead to a bedroom, and M. Pouyer-Quertier rose again to defend himself from the charge of having expressed his positive approval of the system.

The speech of M. Guiraud, a member of the Catholic "Right," on this occasion, was the most open assault that had yet been made upon M. Thiers from the Conservative benches. He observed that "there were two systems of Government—one in which Ministers were jointly responsible, another (inaugurated by the Empire in 1852) in which the ruler was everything, and Ministers appeared only as his instruments before the Parliament. He should like to know under which *régime* they existed. They had voted the Rivet Constitution, and since that time the Ministry had been modified grain by grain. He would ask the Government if its policy was really personified by the chief of the State? In that case what was the difference between the present *régime* and that of 1852? There was no Cabinet in existence, no Ministry, and consequently no parliamentary majority, which he held to be a great misfortune. Hence the feeling of uneasiness which existed in the country: Formerly the King reigned and the Parliament governed; to-day it was the Chamber which reigned and the Provisional King who governed. The Chamber had abdicated power in not insisting upon a homogenous and responsible Ministry, which should lean for support on its majority. For the Government this state of things was disastrous because it was obliged to have recourse to repressive measures which would do it no good. The Government might have counted upon 500 votes at Bordeaux, when it would have been strong enough to establish even a Republic. But its great mistake was to have a policy apart from that of the Assembly, and to attempt to govern by means of all parties, instead of identifying itself with the strongest. By so doing, after a year's endeavour to establish the Republic, it had made both Monarchy and Republic impossible."

M. Guiraud concluded his speech, which was loudly applauded, with the assertion that he was in favour of making the Provisional Government durable, adding, however, that if the Government did recover a majority, the majority would seize possession of the Government.

The post of Finance Minister, vacated by M. Pouyer-Quertier, was bestowed on M. de Goulard.

A Bill, establishing special penalties against the International Society, was voted on the 15th of March after some days' discussion. The debate was a remarkably good one in point of oratory; but the result was scarcely creditable to the statesmanship of its promoters. The existing laws, it would seem, might have been made available for all really desirable purposes of repression, and the wording of the Bill itself gave ample facilities for the evasion of its enactments. Among its opponents in the Assembly were M. Tolain, an avowed member of the Society, M. de Pressensé, the well-known Protestant divine, and M. Louis Blanc, who declared the measure to be both illegal and impolitic, and calculated to throw France three centuries back in civilization. On the other hand, M. Dufaure, the Minister of Justice, asserted its strict legality, and descanted with energy on the danger of the International Society to the tranquillity of Europe, and on the sinister part it had played in the late troubles of France. His speech was loudly cheered, the Government inquiry into the circumstances attending the insurrection of the Commune, which was going on at this time, having added fresh stimulus to the horror entertained by the majority of the Assembly for the very name of the famous Association.

The business of the House was now hurried on in view of the Easter recess; and when the Committee of the Budget of 1872 sent in its report, it was voted without further discussion. Government was empowered to collect the taxes and conduct the service of the Treasury until the end of the year; a lump sum of fifty-eight millions of francs being granted as a temporary convenience to be raised on the liquidation account, instead of recurring to the system of a monthly vote of *douzièmes provisoires*. The consideration of the special taxes required to balance the future estimates, and to make up for existing deficiencies, was then left over for subsequent deliberation. M. Thiers, in his speech dismissing the Assembly, gave a glowing description of the position of the country both at home and abroad.

The recess lasted three weeks, the Committee of Permanence meanwhile holding its sittings at Versailles under the auspices of M. Grévy, while the President of the Republic, still residing at the Prefecture, attended them from time to time. On three or four occasions he went to Paris and held brilliant receptions in the palace of the Elysée, thereby giving some offence to the Conservative majority of the Assembly, who viewed with jealous apprehension any attempt at drawing nearer the ties between the Government of the country and its mutinous metropolis. Rouher, enveloped in a

halo of mysterious reports as to Bonapartist conspiracies, crossed the Channel to pay his respects to his expatriated chief at Chiselhurst. The Orleans Princes pursued the quiet tenor of their way. Gambetta stumped the provinces, and made democratic harangues at Angers and at Havre, for which he was called to account when the Chamber re-assembled, by the Conservative deputy, M. Raoul Duval.

When the exciting drama of national affairs was resumed in the theatre of Versailles, the principal actor was suffering from an attack of bronchitis, which, considering his age, made the various political parties a little nervous as to the possibility of a vacancy in his office. He battled through his ailment, however, and after a few days of less copious orations than usual, returned to his wonted habits of vigorous speech and action.

The Bill for the Re-organization of the Army was the great subject that stood first for discussion. It was the subject on which Thiers' heart was known to be eagerly, even passionately, set. In his speech before the recent prorogation of the Assembly, he had declared that, resolved as he was on the strictest economy in every other branch of the public service, not a word would he listen to about retrenchment in the War-Budget. It was necessary that France should recover from her late disasters; necessary that she should resume that rank among the great Powers which had always belonged to her; and to attain that object she required a military force at least as large and as strongly organized as she had ever possessed before. The House assembled, therefore, eager for the expected debate, and it was with no small surprise that it received the announcement from the President of the Republic of his intention to defer it for three weeks, inasmuch as there existed grave political reasons for the adjournment. His reasons, though unexplained, were admitted. A rumour had gone forth that the motive of the delay was the commencement of fresh negotiations between M. Thiers and Count Arnim, the German ambassador, relative to the evacuation of the occupied departments; and it was felt that any untoward language used on so delicate a subject as an Army Bill at such a moment might lead to very undesirable complications.

Precedence was accordingly given to a debate on the construction of a new Council of State. This institution, which had been in abeyance since the resolution of the 4th of September, M. Thiers now considered it desirable to revive. The question was whether the Assembly or the Executive power should have the right of appointing its members. If the former, it was obvious that the Council of State must become an engine in the hands of any existing legislative majority, and, like the Permanent Committee appointed to sit at Versailles during vacation time, would operate as a check on the President of the Republic. Now what the President wanted was to make it the direct contrary of this, to use it as a help to the Executive in carrying out its political administration. It was a great vexation to him, accordingly, when in the sitting of



the 1st of May, the Assembly negatived, by 353 votes against 322, the proposition that the Council should be nominated by Government. In a fit of irritation he again hinted at the probability of his throwing up the cares of office. Again, by an odd contradiction, the foes to any increased concentration of power in his hands had been the Conservatives of the Right; its advocates the Democratic fractions of the Left. Gambetta, whose great wish was any how to see the Republic strengthened, was on his side. The Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville, who might naturally prefer to consider the present arrangement as transitional only, voted against him. The law, as it stood after the second reading, provided that there should be twenty-eight councillors, all named by the Chamber; twenty-four "Masters of Requests," legal functionaries, whose appointment should be in the hands of the President, and thirty auditors, eligible by competition. The President should be empowered to suspend any councillor for two months, and likewise to call in for extraordinary service in the Council, on any matter affecting departmental administration, high functionaries in each department, Cabinet ministers having also a place there *ex officio*. The Council to be renewable by thirds every three years, and its President to be elected by the members. The arrangement was far from satisfactory to Thiers, but there were hopes of effecting some modification on the third reading, and with these hopes in view he consented to be appeased.

A sensational outburst occurred in the Chamber, a few days afterwards, on a different topic. On the 4th, the Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier presented the Report of the Committee on Contracts for Arms and Ammunition concluded by the military administration from July 18th, 1870. He drew a startling picture of the utter unreadiness and disorder of the Imperial War Department, censured the want of control under the military administration of the 4th of September, and energetically stigmatized the dishonesty and shameless greed of the persons who had undertaken contracts when the war broke out. The disclosures he made excited strong indignation in the Assembly against the Government of Napoleon III. He concluded with an earnest peroration, recommending the army as the best and only school in which the young generation could have a nobler and better training than that which had produced such lamentable examples of want of patriotism and want of probity. "The army," he said, "gave an example of silent, conscientious fulfilment of duty;" then adding, "Our children must all serve in it." This allusion to compulsory military service produced, according to the reports of the time, the most genuine and unanimous outburst of enthusiasm that had yet been witnessed in the present Assembly. The whole House was carried away, and several rounds of applause greeted the orator, while leading men of all parties pressed round to shake hands with him as he descended from the tribune. The Assembly unanimously adopted the proposals of the Committee, and intrusted the inquiry into the war material to the Committee on

Contracts. It was also ordered that the Duke's speech should be printed and distributed in all the Communes of France.

The Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier became the hero of the hour. Originally an occupant of the "Right" benches in the Assembly, he had lately been moving in the direction of the "Left" in company with his brother, M. Casimir Perier; and on the present occasion he found, among his most cordial applauders, one who a short time before would have been the direst of his antagonists—the Radical chief, Gambetta. The allusion in his speech to compulsory service, and its enthusiastic reception by almost the whole Chamber, meanwhile indicated the coming struggle with the President of the Republic on the Army Re-organization Bill. M. Thiers was known to be as positive and determined in preferring the existing system of conscription to the alternative of universal liability after the Prussian pattern, as he had ever been on the question of Raw Material *versus* Income-Tax.

But not only in its hints as to the future, in the drama of the moment also, the speech of M. d'Audiffret-Pasquier led to exciting consequences. The personage whose part it was to answer him and to offer a defence for the malversations committed under the Imperial *régime*, was M. Rouher, the ex-"Vice Emperor." Accordingly, three days afterwards M. Rouher made his *début* as a member of the Opposition. That he felt nervous and discomposed was evident to all. He began by asking the Government what measures they had taken in regard to the facts brought to light by the Commission. As these facts had been reported upon in September of last year, and the officers compromised by them had been known to the Government for the last eight months, he desired to know what had happened to these officers, whether they had been punished in the manner they deserved, if the report was true, or whether, as was probably the case, the Government had continued, without much alteration, not merely the instruments, but the system itself which the Commission had stigmatized. To these remarks, General de Cissey, the Minister of War, replied. "In fifteen days," said the General, "the Government will be able to answer this question; they have documents to consult." This hesitating answer tended to reassure the late Imperialist Minister. He declared himself anxious to go into the matter, and prepared to interpellate the Government in fifteen days' time. Then a deputy called out, "Why did you not vote on Saturday?" "Because I was not here," answered M. Rouher, "but if I had been I should have voted with the Chamber for the finding of the Commission." This announcement was received with ironical laughter, for it certainly appeared that if the late Imperialist Minister would have voted now to the effect that his own former administration involved a system of abuses, he would have done better to reform them when he had the power than content himself with voting with those on whom now devolved the task of exposing them. To hurl back M. d'Audiffret-Pasquier's accusations at the moment by a counter-

charge declaring the Committee of Inquiry to have been packed would have been M. Rouher's best course, but it was a feat of moral courage to which in the face of so strongly anti-Napoleonic an Assembly he was totally unequal. On the 21st, the day which he had announced as that of his intended reply, crowds flocked to Versailles to witness the next episode in this triangular duel. M. Rouher spoke for three hours, and was only twice interrupted. The question he put to the Government was, what measure they had in contemplation to adopt in consequence of the Report of the War Contracts' Committee? He began by saying that he wished to avoid giving a political character to the debate. M. d'Audiffret-Pasquier's report had only censured certain ministerial departments which had been merely passive instruments in the hands of others. This anonymous collective responsibility was unjust and insufficient; there must be individual responsibility, on which the Assembly should pass judgment. Count Palikao, who held office latterly under the Empire, was only answerable for the contracts concluded from August 28th to September 4th, and for these contracts, the total amount of which was only 800,000 francs, he was ready to give account. The responsibility for the other contracts rested higher than with mere officials. He called upon the Government of the 4th of September to stand to their share of it. M. Gambetta, he was sure, would not shrink from the duty of rendering an account of the contracts concluded during his administration. "*He* gave orders, *he* exacted signatures, *he* made contracts; *he* will defend them in this tribune; *he* will do for them what I am doing at this instant for the contracts made previously to the 4th of September." M. Rouher contested the statement in M. d'Audiffret-Pasquier's report that the arsenal did not contain the material detailed on paper, and he appealed to the Minister of War himself to corroborate this assertion. In conclusion, he strongly supported M. d'Audiffret-Pasquier's recommendation in favour of universal and obligatory military service, the application of which would, he said, pave the way to the redemption of the country. He added that the work of the Assembly could not be terminated with a vote on the Army Bill, and alluding to the recent declaration of M. Gambetta that a dissolution of the Assembly was preferable to the dissolution of the country, he said this speculation was destined only to serve the audacity of a few, and that, on the contrary, the dissolution of the Assembly *was* the dissolution of the country.

At the conclusion of M. Rouher's speech, M. d'Audiffret-Pasquier and M. Gambetta simultaneously ascended the tribune. Gambetta said that this was not the first time he had observed the Imperial advocate following his usual tactics of dividing the Assembly. He had been personally aimed at by "that lawyer of the Empire at bay," but he would not be tempted to answer on the spur of the moment. The House decided that the debate should be adjourned till the morrow's sitting.

The next day M. d'Audiffret-Pasquier rose to reply. He re-

marked that M. Rouher, contrary to all parliamentary usage, had been permitted to reopen a debate closed a fortnight before. He praised the Chamber for this piece of generosity, and then defended the course the Committee had taken in not fixing blame on any particular Ministers, which, he said, would have been a political act beyond its competence. "Of a truth," he added, addressing M. Rouher, "this is the first time in your life that you plead the cause of ministerial responsibility." In spite of the denials of M. Rouher, the Duke adhered to the accuracy of certain damaging facts as to war material stated in his report, and added fresh instances of corruption. The great question at issue was to know whether or not the country was ready for war when war was declared. He considered that the numerous contracts hastily concluded afforded a sufficient answer to that question, but in addition he proceeded to read a number of telegraphic despatches from Metz, Belfort, Verdun, Mézières, and other places, complaining that when the war broke out these fortresses were in want of all manner of resources. Vinoy had no cartridges to defend himself, and could find no provisions even at Laon; Bazaine had to fall back on Metz for want of ammunition; with Ladmirault and Canrobert it was the same cry. Alluding afterwards to the excuses offered by M. Rouher, the Duke indignantly said, "I tell you that, no matter what the *sangfroid* of all you light-hearted gentry, no matter how pleasant the shades of Chiselhurst, there was an hour when you must have heard a voice which cried, '*Vare, legiones redde!* Restore us our legions, restore us the glory of our fathers and our provinces.'" We give this somewhat famous passage as he spoke it: "Mais dans votre exil vous ne vous êtes donc pas fait dire ce que nous ressentions quand le sol tremblait sous nos pas, et qu'il était envahi par la Prusse. Vous retirez-vous dans les secret desseins de la Providence comme pour le Mexique? Non, je vous le dis ce n'est pas assez. Vous ne vous êtes pas dit tout ce que nous souffrions, vous autres gens aux cœurs légers. N'avons-nous pas le droit de vous crier ce mot antique? Vare, Vare, redde Legiones. Rendez-nous nos légions; rendez-nous la gloire de nos pères; rendez-nous nos provinces."

Unbounded was the applause which greeted this burst of rhetoric, and the shouts were repeated when, in a further period of his discourse, the Duke said, "For me the lesson is this: that when a country abdicates its liberty; when it abdicates control; when it cannot accustom itself to liberal measures which make the business of all the business of every one; when the citizen goes home and considers it matter of self-praise that he has not occupied himself with politics—he does not know that politics mean our blood, our money, our honour; when a country abdicates its liberties, and knows not how to defend them; when it places itself under the protection of a providential man, the result is what you have seen, decomposition and demoralization." Having spoken of the various abuses prevailing under the Empire, the orator concluded with these words: "May God protect France from ever falling again into hands

by which she has been so ill-governed !” When the Duke came to the end of his eloquent speech he was enthusiastically applauded for several minutes, and M. Rouher, who replaced him in the tribune, had to wait for some time before the cheers died away.

The whole temper of the House was against the Bonapartist champion now, and he felt it. He seemed fatigued when he began ; his voice was less powerful than it had been the day before, and the Assembly ceased to listen to him in silence. When he attacked the administration of Gambetta the interruptions increased. M. Kerdrel called out, “That proves that you are at the head of a party.” M. Rouher protested that he was acting the part of a patriot. He was not replying to the attacks of which the Empire had been the object. He did not defend the Emperor, and declared that he was himself far removed from public affairs when the war broke out. But he would expose the frauds and delinquencies of which the Government that succeeded that of the Emperor had been guilty. His voice was choked with sobs, as at the end of his address he declared that the day would come when his words would have free course, and should be heard. He left the tribune amid silence.

M. Gambetta then rose and attacked the deputy for Corsica with great vehemence. After denying several accusations brought by M. Rouher against contracts concluded after the fall of the Empire, he said, “If you had arms, why those hasty contracts? If you had arms, why those forty-eight contracts in four days, concluded under such hard conditions? If you had not arms, there is but one word—you were traitors and thieves! . . . I will prove to you, papers in hand, that you betrayed the destinies of the country. Listen! This,” showing a letter written by M. Janvier de la Motte, full of warning for the Government, “was written on the 31st of August, three days before Sedan ; three days before that flight which you call an exile, but which was in fact a cowardly desertion. Among the senators there was one who did his duty during the siege, who rushed to the ramparts, and died a martyr, basely assassinated. M. le Senator Bonjean showed you your duty ; but you, you ran behind the equipages of your master even to Germany.”

After energetically blaming the Empire for having declared war and having refused to listen to M. Thiers, the ex-dictator thus brought his discourse to a close :—“The greatest idea of the last reign was that which caused all our disasters, and which makes us now bear that imperial shame on our brow. Yes, it was Mexico, undertaken to enrich the men of the 2nd of December—it was the *coup d'état* and the swindling affairs which resulted from it, which form our humiliation and our shame. Listen well, for you shall not escape from your responsibility by impudence and declamation. Mexico clings to you, Mexico pursues you, Mexico has already executed justice on all those who compromised the honour and grandeur of the country in that detestable adventure. Yes ; justice has commenced. It has seized in turn Morny, Jecker, Maximilian, and Napoleon III. ! It clutches Bazaine ; it awaits you !”

The whole of the members of the Government were present at this memorable sitting, but abstained from interfering in the debate. M. Thiers, seated beneath the tribune, had simply to listen to the praises of his genius and administrative ability, which it suited all the wrangling orators in turn to express.

The words of the resolution, which was finally adopted unanimously (no fewer than 692 deputies voting), were these:—"The Assembly, confiding in the exertions of the Committee, and maintaining its resolution to prosecute all persons responsible, whether before or after the 4th of September, passes to the order of the day."

The general debate on the Army Re-organization Bill took place on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of May. General Chanzy, who in the party organizations of the moment occupied the post of President of the Left Centre, and had likewise presided over the Committee on the Army Bill, began by asking the Assembly not to discuss the Bill in the face of Europe, but to pass the measure, which had been carefully studied by his colleagues and himself. He assured the House that politics had not entered into the deliberations which had taken place, and that the Committee and the Government were perfectly agreed with regard to the Bill. It was supposed that General Chanzy was incited to make this proposal by M. Thiers; and the Chamber, indignant at the suspicion, refused to listen to his advice.

The speech of M. Brunet, a deputy of the Left, famous for several eccentric propositions in the Assembly, was curious as exemplifying the views of the sentimentally religious Radical, one of the combinations, though a rare one, in the contemporary political life of France. He spoke in advocacy of compulsory service for three years, and made a passionate appeal in behalf of a religious education for the nation. The following words were loudly cheered by the Right:—"The duties of the army are terrible, and if at the hour of sacrifice the soldier has no moral and religious sentiments to give him stability, you will find a man more or less degraded and open to evil instincts. You should remember this, that when you order a column of troops to carry a formidable rampart where terrific batteries vomit grape and sweep away three-quarters of the combatants, the soldier in falling should not look upon himself as a morsel of flesh going to rot on the battle-field. That man must be able to raise his eyes to heaven and to say, as he expires, 'Receive me, my God! I have defended my country well; console my mother!'"

But the chief speech of this first day's debate was that of General Trochu. He argued that the principal causes of the French reverses were not so much insufficient preparations as Governmental selfishness and military infatuation. The army, he said, had been ruined also by arrogant reliance upon a glorious tradition; so had it been the case with the old Monarchy at Rosbach, and with Prussia at Jena. He held the First Empire responsible for the destruction of the spirit of heroism and abnegation which had animated the forces of the Republic and the Directory. He proved

the want of discipline of the imperial armies, and regretted that Napoleon I. had not been actuated by the unselfish patriotism of Washington. Napoleon III., he said, had completed the demoralization of the army by corruption previous to the *coup d'état* and by the law relative to substitutes. He pointed out the impossibility of basing a good military re-organization on the popularity of the chiefs, advocated a short term of service and a thorough system of military decentralization, and insisted upon the necessity of France following the example of Prussia and regenerating herself by educational reform. "Let us," he said, "confess our mistakes and our faults, and recognize the present impossibility of retrieving them. Let us prepare a future for our successors by educational and military reform. The great revenge must be upon ourselves; the other revenge will come when we merit it." General Trochu spoke with great effect, and received applause both from the Right and Left.

In the second day's debate Colonel Denfert, the defender of Belfort, spoke in opposition to the plan of military organization proposed by the Committee, and maintained that the principle of passive obedience had transformed the army into an instrument of despotism and oppression. Amidst loud uproar, during which General Changarnier in vain attempted to obtain a hearing, the Duc d'Aumale ascended the tribune. It was the maiden speech of the cautious and reticent Prince, whose voice, save in some short answer of debate, had not been heard in the Assembly before. He delivered his address with good taste and impressiveness, and was listened to with attention. He reminded the Chamber that the question under the consideration of the Assembly was not the instruction but the recruitment of the army; the present measure he considered as absolutely necessary after the late reverses of the country. He gave his entire approval to the principle of compulsory service. He then passed in review the various military organizations which he had seen at work, dwelling on their good and bad points. He was convinced that no dependence could be placed upon improvised troops; of this the late war had furnished a bitter proof. In allusion to the well-known military work of his old comrade, General Trochu, he said that if the reforms that officer recommended had been carried out they might have saved the country. Unfortunately, only one recommendation had been adopted by the Imperial Government, and that he considered ill-advised, i.e. the suppression of grenadier and light companies. With the exception of a few unimportant details, the Duc d'Aumale said he was quite satisfied with the Bill before the House. He objected, however, to the suggestion that soldiers unable to read and write should be required to serve an additional year; and this partly because it was unjust to visit what generally arose from a parent's negligence on a child, and partly because it was undesirable to attach any notion of penalty to what was in truth so great an honour as that of serving under the flag. "What flag?" a deputy asked. It was a

critical question : white, red, or tricolor ? Would the Orleans Prince commit himself ? The Duke was equal to the occasion. " Under that beloved flag," he exclaimed, " round which Frenchmen of all opinions and origin rallied during the war, round which all good citizens gathered when a shred of it was torn away to become the sinister emblem of civil war ; that flag which was so long the symbol of victory, and which has remained in our misfortunes the emblem of concord and union." This declaration in favour of the tricolor, the flag of the Orleans Monarchy, of the Republic, and of the Empire alike—not as a badge of party, but of national union—was received with great applause by the Right, the Centre, and even by some portion of the Left, the Extreme Right and Left alone refraining from expressing approval. Towards the end of his speech the Duke, again alluding to the question of the flag, exclaimed, " We found that on a question of patriotism the spirit of devotion to the country dispels all differences, however strongly marked they may be which in other cases divide us." He terminated his speech with these words : " When you are called on to deal with the purely military part of the Bill, when the laws of organization are presented, and when the Executive takes those measures which will be the consequence of the law you are discussing to-day, you will beforehand have so well and precisely stamped its character that no one in France or in Europe will be able to misunderstand your intentions." This enigmatical winding up created a good deal of agitation, and the sitting was suspended for several minutes.

Of the last day's general debate, the salient feature was the speech of M. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans. He said, " I feel some hesitation in appearing in this place, and am tempted to repeat what Fénélon said to Marshal Villars, ' Moi, poltron, aborder une question de guerre ! ' I understand with what circumspection I should take part in this debate. I do not come here to speak against compulsory service. No ! It is a grand sight to see all the strong and brilliant youth of the country always ready to rise in the defence of that which bears the dear and sacred name of country : for its hearths and altars, for honour and civilization, for women and children, and for all the affections of nature and of faith—memories of the past and hopes of the future. . . . No, I do not desire to speak against compulsory service ; it is a question decided, decided on enlightened conviction. But Prussia, though she has her compulsory instruction and compulsory service, will not by them be made the first nation in the world. No ! I have seen the Germans near ; I have witnessed their cruelty in war. Prussia may possess the best artillery for the moment : she may be the best barrack, but she is not the first nation in the world. There are other things besides military prowess : for my own part, I cannot leave out of consideration mind, heart, character, kindness, delicacy, generosity, and disinterestedness. . . . But Germany has been turned into a great camp or arsenal, and, such being the case, we must, it seems, do



likewise. It is not a spectacle for admiration. I can understand admiration for a Condé or a Bonaparte, when with a few thousand men in the space of a moment they changed the face of the world; but I cannot admire the spectacle of one nation rushing on another. Voltaire, that flatterer of Russia and Prussia, said that light came from the North. I never shared his opinion. I shared it less than ever when I saw those masses flinging themselves upon us, when I saw the barbarous manner in which they carried on war, their exactions and bombardments. I dare not say too much, but on witnessing these things and the suffering around me I remembered the words which M. Thiers pronounced in 1848, 'That age when every one shall be a soldier will be a barbarous age.'" The Bishop then called on the Chamber to see that the intellectual and religious necessities of France were not overlooked. "There is something yet more sacred than intelligence," he added: "that something is the soul, the conscience, of the French youth. We must escape from the domination of men without soul; not only of those who glory in having none, but of those who live as if they had none. To avoid this misfortune, I demand that every man on joining his regiment be permitted to follow the religion dictated by his conscience. I demand that it may be possible for a Frenchman to be a Christian; that, after fulfilling his military duties, a young man may say to his parents, 'Fear nothing, I am worthy of you, Christians; a Christian I left you, I return the same.' . . . I have heard M. Thiers say, 'If I had my hands full of faith, I would spread it over the whole face of the land.'"

After the general discussion was closed, the House proceeded to vote upon the several articles of the Bill. And herein consisted the main work of the Assembly from the end of May to the 22nd of June, when the last articles were voted, and the Bill stood over for its third reading. That reading took place at the end of July. There were two leading principles of the new measure on which M. Thiers stood in confessed antagonism to the prevalent opinion of the day: the principle of universally obligatory service, and that of the length of time for which men were to serve. As to the first, Thiers held that the existing system of conscription, by which a portion of the population only would be withdrawn from industrial employment, was more conducive to the nation's true interests than universal liability. As to the last, he desired a period of six, or even eight years' service, instead of a shorter term. Before the Bill was brought before the Assembly, however, he had come to an understanding with the committee on these points, the compromise being that, while the principle of universal liability should be affirmed, certain exemptions and postponements might be practically admissible, and that the period of active service, instead of being as short as the advocates of literally general liability proposed, should be not less than five years.

The most noteworthy debates during the special discussion were those on the first four articles, and on the 19th, the 23rd, the 37th, and the 42nd. The first four articles were passed on the 31st of May:

they enacted the principle of universal liability, the abolition of premiums on enlistment, and the abrogation of the system of substitutes. The 23rd article was passed in accordance with an amendment proposed by M. Brunet and opposed by Gambetta: it provided that a two years' delay should be accorded in certain cases, where good cause could be shown, to a proportion of the young men called up to form the annual contingent. The subject of the 37th article was the length of service, fixed by the committee at five years for one part of the yearly contingent, and at a period varying from six months to a year for the remainder. The question was ably debated by General Trochu on one side, and by the President of the Republic on the other. General Trochu argued that the first thing to be done was to make military service really universal; that in the warlike operations of modern days quantity is of more importance than quality; that while, of course, there is a certain minimum of knowledge and practice, without which a man cannot be a soldier at all, when this is secured a large number of fairly-trained troops is better than a small number of veterans. It follows, so he maintained, as a practical conclusion from this reasoning that the whole of the yearly contingent should serve at the same time, that time being made as short as the purposes of necessary military instruction required—three years when the system should first be started, reducible to two years when it should have come thoroughly into play. M. Thiers set out with the contrary dictum, that the first thing needful is to make an army thoroughly effective. Quality, he held, is of still more importance than quantity. A few really good soldiers are better than a much larger number of ordinary troops. From these premises his conclusion was, that the term of service ought to be at least eight years; but, in deference to the committee which had charge of the Bill, he had consented to reduce this term to five years. Now it was admitted on all hands that to make the whole population serve for five years would be impossible. Therefore it became necessary to divide the contingent into two parts—a force actually serving with the colours, and a reserve force, out of which the other could be recruited at short notice. If the force under arms were to serve five years, and the reserve be called out for a term varying from six months to a year, these conditions would be fairly fulfilled. On a division being called for, General Trochu was defeated by a majority of 134. This was on the 9th of June. The next day the conflict was renewed on an amendment of General Chareton's, proposing to substitute a four years' service for the whole contingent, instead of the five years and six months' for two divisions of it respectively. Rather to the surprise of all parties, M. Thiers, who, after the success of his arguments against Trochu, had no reason to fear an adverse vote of the Assembly, now took this minor occasion to lose his temper and recur to his old threat of resignation should things go against him. There was nothing for it but to soothe the impatient old statesman, whom no party could as yet conveniently dispense with. "No, no! M. le President!" cried General Guille-

ment: "France has need of you." And M. Chareton's amendment was negatived by 477 votes to 56.

The 19th article caused a warm debate on the 12th. It proposed to exempt from military service professors, teachers, and pupils in several Governmental schools; members and novices of religious associations recognized by the law and engaged in teaching; also the directors, masters, and pupil-teachers of schools recognized by the law and founded or maintained by members of the laity. M. Gambetta strongly opposed the exemption of any ecclesiastic or lay person engaged in teaching unless salaried by the State, as an unjust privilege, and destructive of the equality which should distinguish the Bill; and, on a division, it was decided to refer the article back to the Committee.

The 42nd article, which proposed the penalty of an additional year's service for soldiers who could not read or write, gave occasion to an animated onslaught on the President of the Republic by M. Lorgetil, a deputy of the Right. After holding forth in extravagant language about France being "aggressive and *fanfaronne*," about "a costly army imposed by a temporary Government," about "the sacrifice of Curtius and Decius," and other irrelevant matters, M. Lorgetil asked what was the advantage of instruction? "Let us suppose," he said, "a soldier desiring to instruct himself by reading the debates of our Parliamentary Assemblies. He falls upon the portrait of the Revolution traced by the hand of M. Thiers with so circumspect a hand that a vapoury gauze, hardly transparent——" Here the President of the Assembly made several vain efforts to stop M. Lorgetil, who insisted on adding that if a soldier were to read a certain speech of M. Thiers' he would become the partisan of the Revolution. M. Thiers, he said, had taught "perverse doctrines." Again he was reprimanded by M. de Grévy for using unparliamentary language. M. de Lorgetil explained that what he meant was that the President of the Republic, being in favour of the Radical revolution, was also in favour of Radical insubordination. The Chamber became excited, and M. Thiers exclaimed, "It is a falsehood; I never said that I was a partisan of the Radical Republic." An amendment proposed by M. Dupanloup, to secure for all men employed in military or naval service opportunity for the free exercise of religious duties, was adopted in the last special discussion, the Bishop being supported by General de Cissey, the War Minister, who declared that since he had joined the service forty-two years ago religious observances had become much more respected by the soldiers.

A noteworthy occurrence in connexion with the debate on the 37th article was the visit paid to the President of the Republic by delegates of the Conservative majority in the afternoon of the 20th of June. Among the delegates were General Changarnier, the Duc d'Audiffret Pasquier, and the Duc de Broglie. There were various circumstances at this time in the position of political affairs which made the "Right" and "Right Centre" combine in desiring an

explanation of M. Thiers's views and intentions. His impatience of the constitutional restraints laid upon him, his determination to choose his own ministers and not be guided by the existing majority in the Chamber, his readiness to confound his office as President of the Republic with that of Prime Minister, and to threaten instant resignation if thwarted in his policy, all tended to show that the power of the majority as a majority was slipping away, and that with the support of the Left more and more accorded to him Thiers was likely to convert the provisional state of things contemplated by the *Pacte de Bordeaux* into a fixed Republic. Added to these grounds of disquiet was the result of three recent elections to the Chamber, when candidates of radical proclivities had been chosen for Amiens and for the departments of the Nord and the Yonne. The discontent of the Right at these elections had been expressed a few days before by M. d'Haussonville, in a letter to the *Journal des Débats*. "There is a cry," wrote M. d'Haussonville, "which escapes unanimously from all lips and which includes everything—*nous ne nous sentons pas gouvernés.*"

The Right and Right Centre, having agreed on a common basis of action, opened negotiations with the Left Centre, of which General Chanzy was leader. But as Chanzy, though Conservative, was also Republican, and required as a *sine quâ non* that the Republic should be frankly accepted, the negotiations fell through. Meanwhile the existing ministers with one consent placed their resignations in the President's hands, stating that in view of the impending conference, they wished to leave him entirely free to adopt whatever resolution he might deem necessary.

The interview between Thiers and the delegates of the Right lasted two hours. The burden of the complaint made by the delegates was that the country was becoming Radical, that public opinion was all tending in that direction, that it was the business of the President to take means to prevent it, and that in order to do this he was bound to obey the majority in the Chamber. They ignored the fact that their "majority" was really no majority in any working sense; that on any question of practical policy the Right and Right Centre and their subordinate fractions were sure to be arrayed against each other, and that the head of the State, if he trusted to them, would have only a broken reed to rely upon. M. Thiers took this ground in his answer, and avowed his determination to do his best for the definite establishment of the Republic; and the deputation went away ill satisfied. Then the President called together his Ministers; and at his request they all, with one exception, consented to resume office. The exception was that of M. de Larcy, the Minister of Public Works, the only actual Legitimist in the Cabinet. In consonance with the wishes of the baffled "majority," he now withdrew from any share in the Government, and was, as a compensation, promoted to the Presidentship of the Club which represented the main body of the Right, and which went by the name of the *Réunion des Réservoirs*.

In M. d'Haussonville's letter before alluded to expression had been given to an impatient wish which was taking possession of all parties now for some Chief of really dictatorial power to place himself at the head of affairs. "France," he said, "numbers among her children more than one dauntless man, with an honest heart and an unselfish soul, to whom, if she cannot help herself, she may confidently entrust the burden of her fortunes." Of course each party filled up the abstract idea in its own way. At this time the Extreme Right saw the coming man in the Comte de Chambord, the Centre Right in the Duc d'Aumale, the Left Centre in Thiers, the Moderate Left in M. de Grévy, the Radical Left in Gambetta, the Socialist Left in Félix Pyat, or Victor Hugo, or in some product of even lower depths of Communism. A few Bonapartists still centred their vision on Chiselhurst. But the "Right" had now taken a step which they felt must have something more definite for its result than a return to the former phantom hopes. In the late interview with the President the ground had so far been cleared that he had avowed his interpretation of the existing Republic to be permanent, not provisional. The Right, on the contrary, held it to be distinctly provisional, and, though entertaining no wish for the present to upset it, were resolved to have the policy of the majority, a distinctly Conservative policy, maintained in the Assembly.

If M. Thiers should refuse to shape his course accordingly—should still court the favour of the Republican and Radical sections—then, by a united onslaught, the Right were determined to displace him, and find a successor. But the successor must be ready to their hand, and where could they find an abler, more actually powerful, or more honest, representative of their wishes and purposes on the whole than the chief of the military force, Marshal McMahon? After sundry scruples and objections, the Marshal at last definitely consented, in the event of the President sending in his resignation if met by a hostile vote, to take his place at the head of affairs. To this choice not only the Legitimists and Orleanists but the Bonapartists likewise gave in their adhesion.

The subject of Finance occupied the House for the remainder of the Session, and once more the belligerent forces found themselves ranged on the battle-ground of Protection and Free Trade.

When, by its vote of January 19th, the Assembly had refused to accept the Government proposal of a tax on Raw Material, it had been left to devise, through its Committees, other means for dealing with the deficit which it stood pledged to cover. After anxious deliberation, the Budget Committee for 1872 suggested three new imposts—a tax on securities other than Rentes, a tax on mortgages, and a tax on business transactions. It will be remembered, that the Committee had not only to meet the claims formerly advanced, but also to replace the provisional advance of fifty-eight million francs on the liquidation account for current expenses. The whole sum now demanded was 100 million francs, or four million pounds sterling.

Meanwhile the Budget for 1873 had also passed through Committee, and had presented a deficit of 120 million francs, to which Government added a demand of eighty million francs more, on account of interest due to Germany, expenses of army re-organization, and some deficiency in the yield of indirect taxes; thus making the estimated deficit for 1873, 200 million francs, or eight million pounds sterling. This was explained by M. de Goulard, on the 24th of June, when he made his financial statement. After reviewing the proposals of the 1872 Committee, and objecting to each of the three taxes it had suggested, he brought forward as an alternative the former favourite scheme of Government. He was fain to confess, that as long as France was still hampered by Treaties of Commerce with other nations this resource would prove quite insufficient to meet the required amount: that, in fact, instead of four millions sterling, not more than two, or two and a half would be procurable by taxing Raw Material while those Treaties were in operation. For the Budget of 1873, therefore, he proposed an augmentation duty of fifteen centimes on the four direct taxes, and of ten centimes on salt, which would provide another four millions of revenue, leaving some two millions of deficit still outstanding should the Raw Material tax yield no more than he had anticipated. Now the two surcharge taxes were known to be highly unpopular: and the watchers of M. Thiers' Parliamentary game believed them to have been suggested by him purposely to get them rejected, and to reduce the Assembly by the elimination of one proposed impost after another, to fall back, as the sole alternative, on his Raw Material heresy. It was said also that he contrived somehow to mix up the deficits of the two Budgets, that for 1872 and that for 1873, putting the larger figure forward when it suited the purposes of argument, and so performing a process something like that which the Prefects of the Second Empire allowed themselves, under the name of *virements*. The battle once resumed, a series of animated debates followed; and it was not till the 20th of July, with the Parliamentary vacation immediately in view, and the loan for the payment of Germany impending, that the Opposition laid down its arms, and by a majority of 98, finally accepted the principle of a tax on Raw Material to supply the financial exigencies.

Thiers was indefatigable in the fight. In one week he made twenty-seven speeches, some of them more than two hours in length, with the thermometer at ninety. The principle once accepted, the several clauses, 247 in number, were voted without difficulty in the course of a week. During the progress of the debate many *piquantes* scenes were enacted—"incidents," according to French political phraseology, exhibiting in more or less glaring colours the petulance and want of control of which the National Assembly had from its origin given such proofs—which, unfortunately, were too characteristic of French politicians in general at this period of the country's history. There was the "*incident Rouher*" on the 1st of July. The House had reason that

day for meeting in a state of suppressed agitation, for it was known that M. de Rémusat was about to read out the text of the new Treaty which had been concluded with Germany for the evacuation of the occupied French territory. But the order of the day was the discussion of the tax on business transactions, which had been proposed by the Budget Committee, and against which M. Thiers took on himself to argue. He maintained that in spite of the existing Treaties of Commerce, which prevented the Raw Material tax from being fully applied, forty-two millions could be immediately raised on articles not included in the Treaties, and eighteen more millions would be disposable immediately on the expiration of the Treaties of Commerce with England and Belgium, both of which had been already "denounced." The thirty-three millions remaining to make up the ninety-three millions required for the entire Budget might, he said, be realized gradually as the other Treaties expired. So far all went on smoothly enough; there was an evident doubt in the minds of many as to the accuracy of M. Thiers' figures, but no one was in a position to deny them with authority. It was a question upon which some man really well versed in the financial condition of France could alone enlighten the Chamber; and probably the only man capable of doing so, from knowledge of the facts, was M. Rouher, who now ascended the tribune.

No sooner did the Bonapartist deputy appear than an indescribable tumult broke forth. The whole Left seemed inspired with irrepressible fury. "You are a murderer, a traitor, a man who should disappear from society!" "You are without shame!" were the cries that arose, mingled with absolute howls of vituperation. With great difficulty M. Rouher managed to say that under the existing Treaties of Commerce M. Thiers would find it impossible to raise the sixty millions which he promised the Chamber, and to demand the production of documents stating the articles upon which Government proposed to levy the tax, so that a judgment might be formed of the accuracy of M. Thiers' figures. He owned that if he should succeed in preventing the taxation of Raw Materials he should consider that he had rendered an important service to his country.

M. Thiers then resumed. He said, "Countries have always had the right to tax themselves. For a long period cotton and wool were taxed, and it was not then believed that any injury was done to the rights of other nations." A voice called out, "You are ruining the country." "It is not I who have ruined it," cried Thiers. "There are others here who have done so, with them rests the responsibility. I have attempted to save it." This was received with applause, and M. Thiers continued, "Yes, every country has a right to tax within its frontiers non-manufactured materials. It is not the case that the Treaties of 1860 prohibit us absolutely from imposing a tariff on certain articles. These Treaties still leave us much liberty. In this respect M. Rouher has not done the country all the harm he imagines."

After the uproar which followed this onslaught had subsided, M. Rouher, nothing daunted, returned to the tribune, took the responsibility of the Treaties on himself, and said he hoped still to be able "to render service to his country." This was adding insult to injury; the Left became positively frantic; and it was in the middle of the wildest confusion that M. de Rémusat ascended the tribune with the new liberation Convention just concluded with the German Government in his hand. No sooner had he read the first line, communicating a Treaty signed between the President of the French Republic and the Emperor of Germany, than M. Laurent Pichat shouted out, "Écoutez, Monsieur Rouher," and when the Minister of Foreign Affairs went on to say, "for the purpose of accomplishing the evacuation of the territory," M. Abbattucci called out, "Écoutez, Monsieur Jules Favre!" After this, the clauses of the Treaty, as successively read out, chilled the fevered passions of the Assembly.

There was the "incident" connected with the *Chiffre des Ventes*, or proposed tax on Business operations, on the 12th, when M. Pouyer-Quertier's speech in favour of Raw Material as an alternative, gave rise to an animated fight between Right and Left, dexterously embroiled by the President, who then seized a favourable moment for a bold and startling digression on the general aims of his government. "You entrusted to us a form of government called a Republic," he said. Here the whole Right vociferated "No!" the Left cheered vigorously. Colonel Langlois and M. de Lorgeril flung their arms wildly in the air from the Left and Right benches respectively, while the much-trying M. de Grévy endeavoured to stop the uproar, remarking, "L'émotion a été trop long et trop vive." M. Thiers, addressing the Right, said, "I respect your faith, but speak of actual facts." The Right again passionately protested. M. Thiers resumed, "We have sought a form of government composed of moderate men of all parties. To the best of my ability I shall maintain a Conservative Republic." The whole Right again vociferously interrupted the speaker, several rounds of applause meanwhile proceeding from the Left. The President went on to say that he wished to remove any misunderstanding between himself and any part of the Assembly; but that the present moment was not opportune for giving a calm and just interpretation of the Pact of Bordeaux. His words and ideas, he said, were all meant in the sense of a Conservative policy, and he promised to give a frank statement of the views of Government before the vacation commenced. Meanwhile he besought the Assembly not to mix up political matters with the present urgent financial questions.

Another stormy scene was enacted on the 17th, when M. Bouillier, Reporter of the Committee on the Budget of 1872, lamenting that the expenditure for 1873 proposed in the Estimates would greatly exceed that of the present year, in the name of the Committee demanded economy. He argued—as M. Magne, one of the



greatest of French financial authorities, had done four days previously—that the fresh income really required was only 135 millions, and not 200 millions, and urged that the imposition of additional taxation should be delayed until it had been ascertained what savings could be made on the Budget. "It would be an honour," he said, "for the Government to take the initiative in a policy of economy." This called up M. Thiers, who saw every principle of his policy, every doctrine of his official school, threatened by the insidious orator. The word "economy" at such a moment meant the abandonment of the system which he had advocated from the first day of his accession to power. It meant nothing less than the reduction of the army, and the loss of the political influence which France had so lately exercised in Europe, and which she might expect shortly to regain. He indicated in detail the savings which had been accomplished, making in all a total of 150 million francs. He then mentioned the increased credits demanded, of which sixty-five millions were for the Ministry of War, and ten millions for carrying out the Military Bill. Were France, he said, in a more favourable position than she is, he would not hesitate to propose a further increase of this item. It was not for his pleasure that the Government exhausted all its efforts in asking for the fresh resources of which it stood in need. No one had an idea of the bitter life he was made to lead. The increase of the military estimate was perfectly justified by circumstances. Eighty-seven millions of fresh taxes had been voted; it was, therefore, still necessary to vote 113 millions, which could only be imposed upon raw materials. He hoped that this discussion would not suffer a fresh adjournment.

The Vicomte de Meaux from the Right benches protested against the increased amount which M. Thiers desired to raise by taxation; deprecated a policy which endangered the alliance of foreign nations; opposed the taxation on raw materials; insisted upon the necessity of economy; and finally asked for an adjournment of the debate on the new taxes.

Hereupon M. Thiers again ascended the tribune, and charged M. de Meaux with asking for reductions which would bring about disorganization in the army. He admitted that the expenditure of the army had been increased; but why? Because the Government wished to make France strong. "Let a man who is in earnest come into this tribune," he added tauntingly. Noisy protests arose from the Right, and a voice on that side of the House demanded that the President of the Republic should be called to order. M. Thiers retorted, "Obtain this call to order, or else ask for an order of the day expressing your opinion." He declared that, for himself, he would never seek an easy popularity, which consisted in deceiving the country by dissembling its real wants. That was a better patriotism which dared to tell the truth. Let the Assembly give its opinion. If any one had reproaches to make, let them be made from that tribune. He would never draw back before a question

of confidence, and was ready to reply to all the grievances of an opposition which he considered arose from political more than from financial motives. He had made every possible concession, and had done so from a conviction that a change of Government would be fatal to the country. He could not appeal to European credit for the forthcoming loan without possessing the confidence of the Assembly, which he should believe himself to retain till the contrary verdict should have been pronounced.

Great relief was felt when the debate at last came to an end and the Government majority of 99 was announced. The vote itself afforded a significant proof of the instability of political opinion in the Chamber. On the 19th of January last 99 members of that Chamber, all belonging to the Republican party, had sided against the Government proposal to burden the productive industry of the country by taxing its Raw Materials. Representing the interests of the working classes, and alive to the disastrous consequences of such a tax upon their material comfort and well-being, they had then voted in accordance with their political and economical convictions, and their newspaper organs at the time clearly, and in some instances ably, defended their action in thus, where the most important financial interests of the country were at stake, not hesitating to provoke a Ministerial crisis. Nothing had happened to change the economical aspect of this question since, and yet within six months the whole of these 99 members were found voting to a man in favour of the tax they then repudiated, while 28 members of the same party who voted against the tax then abstained from voting on the present occasion. Political necessity was the plea readily enough adduced for this inconsistency on the part of the Republican deputies. The preponderating circumstance which led to it was the impending Loan now about to be raised for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the new Treaty with Germany.

We have said that on the 1st of July, while the House was engaged in one of its noisiest *mêlées* of debate, M. de Rémusat, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, produced a sudden stillness by coming forward to read the text of the new Convention which had been drawn up between M. Thiers and Count von Arnim, the German Minister at Paris, for hastening the payment of the War Indemnity and the evacuation of the occupied departments. The terms were that one-half-milliard of the outstanding debt should be paid within two months after the ratification of the Treaty; that in fifteen days after such payment, the departments of the Marne and the Haute Marne should be evacuated. A second half-milliard to be paid on March 1, 1873, but not to be attended by any further evacuation. One milliard to be paid on March 1, 1874; such payment to be followed by the evacuation of the departments of the Ardennes and the Vosges. The third milliard and the accrued interest to be paid on March 1, 1875, followed by the evacuation of the departments of the Meurthe and Meuse; and of the fortress of Belfort. Germany to have the right of retaining in the non-liberated departments the whole of the

present occupying force, and the charge for the maintenance of that force not to be diminished unless Germany should reduce its strength before the 1st of March, 1875. France not to keep in the liberated departments and the fortresses situated therein a greater military force than necessary for the maintenance of order. Until the same period France not to construct, repair, or enlarge existing fortifications in the departments which have been or may be liberated. After the payment of the first two milliards, France to be allowed, by agreement with Germany, to substitute other financial guarantees for the territorial guarantees, but such guarantees must in that case form the subject of a fresh treaty. "The question now, therefore," said M. de Rémusat, in his speech, "is wholly a question of finance or credit. Although the payment of the last milliard is postponed until the 1st of March, 1875, the French Government do not expect that they will require to take advantage of this delay. . . . We have two modes of payment possible. The resources of a loan by the favour of some banking combination would allow us to pay the whole amount between 1873 and 1874, or, as the possibility of substituting a financial guarantee for a territorial guarantee expressly applies to this last payment, we shall thus obtain, and at least for the same date, the total evacuation of French territory. All depends on the facility of anticipating the payments, on the power of our credit, on the good order of our finances, and, finally, on your wisdom. . . . The peace prevailing in Europe, the moderate policy of all foreign Cabinets, the complete re-establishment of order and tranquillity in France, the renewed activity in trade and manufactures, the return of public prosperity, have proved the solidity of our credit and the confidence entertained towards our Government both at home and abroad. All convinces us that a formidable loan is necessary, and it will be made under the most favourable circumstances. In the readiness of France to make painful sacrifices, the world will see a certain proof of her pacific spirit—a spirit of which, we are bound to say, Germany has also given us evidence in these negotiations. Peace was the first object of the work of reparation confided to you by France. By adopting the treaty, the Assembly will consolidate peace and secure our independence."

The Treaty was referred to a Committee, and the Duc de Broglie presented on the 6th the report of that body accepting it. It was then passed by the Assembly with only four dissentient voices.

The next step consequent on the Treaty was the negotiation of a Loan sufficient to liquidate the debt within the shortened term specified by the new arrangements. No difficulties stopped the way in Committee, and when M. Vitet presented its report on the 15th the law for raising the Loan was voted almost without discussion. It gave Government power to issue a sufficiency of rentes at 5 per cent. to produce not less than three and a half milliards of francs, i.e. adding expenses connected with the transaction, about 140,000,000*l.* sterling. Security was promised to the investing public by the annual sinking fund of 200 million francs lately voted by the

Assembly. The Committee added a clause authorizing Government to raise the circulation of the bank to 3200 million francs. The rate of issue of the Loan was to be  $84\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and the days fixed for the transaction were Sunday 28th, and Monday, 29th of July.

When the appointed day came the excitement in Paris was intense. Not only the Bourse, the Petite Bourse, the Boulevards were crowded, but at each Mairie and office, between two and three hundred in number, applicants, whether gentry, small traders, or workmen in blouses, pressed forward to invest their savings. Nor, even in the Communist quarter of Belleville, did the populace seem less eager than elsewhere to testify their faith in the promises of Government. On the 30th, M. de Goulard was able to announce to the Assembly that the subscriptions had amounted not to three milliards and a half of francs, the anticipated sum, but to forty-one milliards and a half, or nearly twelve times as much, while returns had still to come in from various places. The amount finally given in was forty-three milliards, or 1,720,000,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ %, while the greatest part of this enormous subscription was furnished by the French themselves, whose hoards, it was observed, came forth more readily on this occasion than even when invited by the imperial loans of Napoleon III. A vast amount was proffered by both England and Germany. The German subscription alone would have sufficed to cover M. Thiers' original demand.

M. de Goulard's announcement was received with enthusiastic applause. He thus improved the occasion on behalf of religion and of the existing government. "A nation like ours," he said, "showing the faith she has in herself, is justified in counting on the future. She has a right to consider the severe lesson she has received as an expiation of her faults and a surprise of fortune, but, thank Heaven, France is not condemned to see in it a sign of decadence." He added that he felt it necessary to thank God for the protection accorded to France. (Here applause was raised from many parts of the Assembly.) God had given the country an abundant harvest, and had given French patriotism the possibility of extending its generosity towards making the sacrifice which had already been accepted. He concluded, "Let us not forget that it is to France, pacific, laborious, and just—to France, firmly devoted to ideas of order and wise liberty (loud applause on the Right); that it is to a Conservative Republic (repeated applause on the Left)—yes, to a Conservative Republic, faithful to the principles which are the eternal basis of civilized society, that our fellow citizens and foreigners have given testimony of their absolute confidence. Despite our errors and misfortunes, the world has not ceased to believe in us, and does not doubt the destiny which is reserved for us by Providence. Let us not doubt it ourselves, but merit it by union, wisdom, and patience." (Here applause was redoubled on the Left and Left Centre, the Right and Right Centre remaining silent.)

The result of the loan was indeed a brilliant success for M. Thiers

on the eve of the Assembly's prorogation. It hushed the voice of discontent, and blunted for a while the hostile weapons both of Right and Left Extremes.

But already the high-reaching aims of the deputies of the Right in connexion with Marshal McMahon and the future Presidency, as expressed in their party councils of the middle of June, had submitted to abatement in face of the actual political situation; and towards the close of the Session they were fain to content themselves with what vent they could find for their feelings in an attack on M. Gambetta, relatively to certain alleged fraudulent contracts for "Parrott Guns," made during the war by an *employé* of his government. Dr. Naquet, a distinguished chemist, was the person chiefly implicated. Being put upon his defence, Naquet declared that, in the disproportionate payment he had made for these guns, he had been misled indeed, but had acted himself with perfect integrity. Then one of the riotous episodes so common at this time ensued. The Duc d'Audiffret Pasquier thundered against Dr. Naquet with a violence as uncalled-for as it was undignified. Gambetta's speech, defending the honesty, but admitting the indiscretion, of his subordinate, was moderate as compared with that of the orator of the Right.

The deputies of the Left had their own manifestation, at the close of the Session, in an extra-parliamentary way. On the afternoon of the 2nd of August they met in the Tennis Court at Versailles, and voted a proclamation to the country justifying the conduct of their party during the Session just closing. They adverted to the state of the country on the eve of the elections in June, 1871, when the Monarchical parties were divided among themselves, but united against the Republic. Now, the last six Departments were about to be liberated, the Loan had been twelve times covered, industrial activity had been restored, and political factions had been rendered powerless. This state of things fully justified the conduct of the Left and its support of M. Thiers. The policy of the Republicans had been a policy of conservation and reparation. It was not they who had retarded the peaceful settlement of the country by insisting on the provisional nature of the Republic. They had always sought unity, and had opened their ranks to all accepting the Republic in good faith. They had voted the Taxation on Raw Materials because the majority would not accept the Income Tax, and it was necessary to furnish the Treasury with resources demanded particularly for the interest of the Loan.

The future dissolution of the Assembly was touched upon. "When the Budget of 1873 has been voted," it was said, "when the legislation concerning the re-organization of the Army had been completed, it was to be hoped the Assembly would appreciate the immense change in ideas and things which had taken place since its election, and would acknowledge its mission to be terminated, and the moment to have arrived when the Republic should be placed in

the hands of a new Assembly, whose task should be to develop and strengthen the work of national redemption and regeneration, and rally around the great citizen, who would have in history the proud honour of associating his name with the definitive foundation of the French Republic."

The Assembly was prorogued on the 4th of August; and the day afterwards M. Thiers went to seek repose and the refreshment of sea-breezes at Trouville. Everywhere on his route he was received with loud acclamations. And indeed, however uncertain the prospects of the future might be, his reflections at this moment could scarcely fail to be those of self-gratulation and complacency. But in his hour of triumph the veteran statesman could spare sympathy for one of the competing political leaders around him, over whom a heavy cloud had just fallen: one of the house whose trusted follower he had himself been in days gone by. The Duc d'Aumale was bereaved, on the 25th of July, of his only surviving son, François, Duc de Guise, a promising youth of eighteen, who died, after a short attack of scarlet fever, at Paris, his father having left him for the baths of Aix, in Savoy, only a few days previously. This much-lamented scion of the House of Orleans was consigned to the tomb at Dreux, in presence of various members of his family, and of the Duc d'Aumale himself, now, at the age of fifty, a childless widower. Great commiseration was felt on all sides for the sorrowing prince. To a deputation which visited him with a message of condolence, he replied that all ambition was over for him henceforward, but that he would never be deaf to the voice of his country as long as she should see fit to demand his services.

## CHAPTER II.

### FRANCE.

Inquiry into the Insurrection of March 18, 1871—Council of Capitulation—Trochu's Libel Case—Trials of Blanqui and other Communists—Executions at Satory—*République de M. Thiers*—Gambetta—Republican banquets—Gambetta at Grenoble—Alarm of the Conservatives—Pilgrimages in the South of France—Permanent Committee on 10th of October—Expulsion of Prince Napoleon—M. Thiers at Trouville—His visit to M. Guizot—Political Manifestoes—Elections of 20th October—Royalist banquet at Bordeaux—Meeting of the Assembly—Thiers' Message—General Changarnier's Interpellation—Thiers' threatened Resignation—Kerdrel Commission—M. de Batbie's Report—Speech of M. Thiers—Dufaure Commission—Resignation of M. Lefranc—Official Appointments—Debate on Petitions for Dissolution—Minor Measures—Committee of Pardons.

MEANWHILE public opinion had continued to occupy itself with the events of the past two years. A commission appointed to inquire

into the circumstances of the Communist Insurrection of March 18th, 1871, published its Report before the Easter recess, in three bulky quarto volumes, The strongly Conservative and alarmist tone of the Report may be sufficiently indicated by the following somewhat magniloquent passage:—

“We are in presence of a new invasion of barbarians. They are not at our gates, but in the midst of us, in our cities, seated at our hearths. They do not come, like their forerunners of the fourth and fifth centuries, to bring to a worn-out world regenerating blood. It is with murder and fire that they advance, and it is not so much the stone fabric as the moral fabric that they seek to destroy. Denying the truths which hitherto have been the honour of the human race, they attack not only property, the family, those secular bases of all society; they arraign the existence of God, the immortality of the soul. Rejecting the distinction between good and evil, the freedom and the moral value of human actions, they parade in full day the corruptions, the basenesses, the savage appetites which till now remained unavowed in the lowest depths of society. . . . The ideas in the name of which the insurrection of the 18th of March was made are not new. They have arisen in all the great crises of humanity, in the East as in the West. They are to be found in Egypt in the third and fourth centuries. . . . That which is new is the organized and truly formidable army which is put at their service by the Internationale.”

Such were the sentiments of the majority in the Commission, representing accurately the reactionary element of the Versailles Assembly; but a minority of five entered their protest against the strength of the language employed, and also against the severe strictures which the Report contained against the Government of the 4th September.

The disasters of the late war also were passed under official review. A Council of Inquiry, with Marshal Baraguay d’Hilliers at its head, had been appointed to investigate the circumstances of those successive capitulations which had delivered so many French fortresses and battalions into the hands of the enemy. Its decisions were given in early in May. In consequence of them some of the commanding officers were dismissed the service; some were severely censured, some were reserved for trial by court-martial. Of the catastrophe of Sedan it was decided that the whole blame rested with the exile of Chislehurst, a culprit beyond reach of the national vengeance. The ex-Emperor himself accepted the responsibility and defended the issue in the following letter addressed to the generals who had served under him on the fatal 2nd of September:—

“General,—I am responsible to the country, and I can accept no other judgment but that of the nation regularly consulted. Nor is it for me to pass an opinion on the report of the commission on the capitulation of Sedan. I shall only remind the principal witnesses of that catastrophe of the critical position in which we found ourselves. The army commanded by the Duke of Magenta nobly

did its duty, and fought heroically against an enemy of twice its numbers. When driven back to the walls of the town and into the town itself, 14,000 dead and wounded covered the field of battle, and I saw that any longer to contest the position was an act of desperation. The honour of the army having been saved by the bravery which had been displayed, I then exercised my sovereign right, and gave orders to unfurl a flag of truce. I claim the entire responsibility of that act. The immolation of 60,000 men could not have saved France, and the sublime devotion of her chiefs and soldiers would have been uselessly sacrificed. We obeyed a cruel but inexorable necessity. My heart was broken, but my conscience was tranquil.

"Camden Place, May 12, 1872.

NAPOLEON."

With regard to the surrender of Paris the Council of Inquiry declined to pronounce any judgment, alleging evasively that being a military commission, it was incompetent to pass sentence on the acts of a civil government. The Report on the capitulation of Strasburg, on the other hand, was a melancholy commentary on the transitory nature of popular fame. All the sentimental admiration that had once been lavished on the fortress and its defender when the statue on the Place de la Concorde was decked with immortelles and Urich's name was paraded on a leading thoroughfare, was now treated as mythical delusion. Bad discipline, corruption, want of foresight, of spirit, and of integrity were considered as established by the evidence. General Urich, stung to the quick, requested to be tried by a Council of War.

But the chief interest of the inquiry was concentrated on the story of the capitulation of Metz. The public feeling against the Imperialist Marshal who put his hand to that deed of military shame was very strong. It was the favourite theory, cherished the more because it provided a balm for national self-love, that treason was at the bottom of his conduct; and no favourable issue to his trial was expected. It was surmised, indeed, that if the finding of the Council should be what appearances made probable, nothing short of a capital sentence would be held sufficient retribution. But Bazaine, instead of waiting to be inculpated or exculpated by the committee of inquiry, chose to offer himself as an accused man for trial by court martial. He first published, early in May, his own narrative of the transactions in which he had been concerned as commander of the Army of the Rhine, and then constituted himself a prisoner at Versailles, where a small house was assigned to him near the prison of St. Pierre. His trial was postponed from time to time, while legal investigations continued to be made; and it was still out-standing when the year came to an end.

General Trochu fought his own battle against popular imputations of treason and mismanagement by prosecuting for libel Messrs. Villemessant and Vitu, the one the Editor of the *Figaro*, and the other a writer in that journal. The cause came on in March, in the Assize Court of the Seine. The jury, though fining



the defendants for wantonly abusive language, acquitted them on the main charge, thus disappointing the gallant general, who had set his heart on having his honour made as clear to the public eye as—making due abatement for his tendency to chivalrous fan-faronnade—it undoubtedly was to all who knew the sterling merits of his character.

The Communist trials proceeded, and the “slow vengeance of Satory” did not cease throughout the year to demand fresh batches of victims on that fatal plain. In the middle of February the arch-conspirator Blanqui was had up for trial before the fourth Council of War at Versailles;—Louis Auguste Blanqui, the Mephistopheles, as he has been called, to whom the ill-fated Gustave Flourens had played the part of Faust; who had already been five times condemned to death in the course of his turbulent career, who had nevertheless found time to suffer incarceration once for the space of twenty-eight years, and then made his escape from what was to have been a perpetual durance. His last capture had been fortunately for him on the day preceding the Communist insurrection; consequently he was not answerable for its special crimes: and the charge now against him only involved the share he had taken in the three different movements against the Government of National Defence, and principally that of October 31st, 1870. Hoary, decrepid, and in failing health, this venerable plotter who had been guarded with more than usual vigilance by the authorities, was brought before a court filled with eager spectators. He rested his defence as to the principal charge, on the promise made to his party by certain members of the Government then in existence, that no reprisals should be taken for the doings of that day; a promise in consequence of which the Hôtel de Ville was given up by the insurgents, and the captive members of Government released. But besides this promise, which the Government advocates at Blanqui’s trial made a feeble effort to deny, it was clear that Blanqui, far from being a conspirator on the occasion, really did not know of the movement till late in the day, when it had already assumed such proportions that, as he said, he might fairly have considered it a more *bond fide* revolution than that of the 4th of September which had raised the then rulers of the State to power. It was remarked, indeed, as a proof of the anomalous standard of State right, even at this moment of his trial, that the Judge-Advocate himself, who conducted the prosecution and was known to have strong Legitimist predilections, spoke of that 4th of September Government as a Government *de fait* and not *de droit*, one whose title and legality all honest men knew to be defective: But whatever might be the technical strength of Blanqui’s defence, it was felt that he was too dangerous a person to be let loose on society again; and the Court Martial found him guilty, sentencing him to imprisonment in some fortified place for the rest of his life. The sentence was annulled on a point of law by the Council of Revision a few weeks later; but on a subsequent trial before the sixth Court

Martial, it was re-affirmed, and Blanqui's doom was finally fixed on the 29th of April.

Besides the trial of Blanqui, the chief Communist prosecutions which occupied the Courts at Versailles during the three first months of the year, were successively those connected with the murder of the Archbishop and other hostages at La Roquette, with the massacre of the Dominicans at Arceuil, and with that of the forty-seven hostages in the Rue Haxo, Belleville. The capital sentences were numerous; some of them were afterwards annulled or commuted by the Council of Revision; but in the course of the year many a victim was dragged forth to receive his bullet at the fatal Butts, after his very existence had been forgotten, and when the length of time between the punishment and the crime had certainly quenched the public desire for retribution. The agonies the victims themselves in many cases went through in the long prospect of death after sentence was pronounced, was itself no small enhancement of their punishment. They met their fates in different moods. Preau de Wedel, convicted of the murder of Gustave Chaudey, the first victim of the Commune, met his death with extraordinary nerve on the 19th of March, confessing himself to his priest, but denying his crimes, and declaring himself a good Christian *in articulo mortis*. Genton, shot on the 30th of April, tossed his hat into the air as a dozen chassepôts were levelled at his head, and shouted "Vive la Commune!" Rouillac and Baudoin, who suffered on the 6th of July, resisted and swore at the gendarmes who approached to bind them and insulted the chaplain who offered them religious consolation. The last execution of Communist malefactors for the year was that of Lolive, Denivelle, and Deschamps, on September the 18th. A week previously the Government promised that no more arrests should be made in connexion with the Paris Commune, except in the cases of the leaders of the insurrection, or of persons guilty of crimes against the common law. Many, however, still lay in prison awaiting their trial, or awaiting the execution of their sentence.

The narrative of Parliamentary events up to the summer recess, has shown us that while the several fractions of the Right viewed with growing distrust and anxiety the President's disposition to act with the other wing of the Assembly, and his at last declared intention to make the Republican form of government, as far as in him lay, definitive instead of provisional only, the Left, on their part, were constantly on the watch lest the *République de M. Thiers* should wear too Conservative a colour, and should cease to connect itself with the theories and traditions of the Revolution. Gambetta, the leader of the Radical party considered as a whole—he whom indeed they looked to as the future chief of the State—found himself in an ambiguous position. He was statesman enough to perceive that while on the one hand it would be fatal in the present temper of the public towards the Commune and its works to precipitate any ultra-democratic movement, yet that, on the other, to keep the

democratic party alive was essential, if the always threatening reaction, with monarchy or military despotism in its train, was to be fenced off, and his own chance of being Thiers's successor maintained. His forbearance in the Assembly, and his disposition rather to uphold than to thwart the measures of Government, was a surprise to many who had calculated on his assuming a very formidable part in opposition. But when beyond the walls of the Versailles Theatre, the ex-Dictator was careful to keep up his credit with the extreme members of his party by means of daring harangues such as that already mentioned at Havre in April, which drew from Thiers the angry comment that the orator was a *fou furieux*, who had had the chief share in the calamities of his country. Other opportunities occurred as the summer advanced.

The 14th of July, with its memories of the fall of the Bastille, eighty-three years before, seemed to the Radicals a specially fitting occasion for kindling afresh the embers of revolutionary reminiscence and aspiration. It was announced that banquets should be held in Paris and in many of the provincial towns; those in Paris to be under the presidency of M. Louis Blanc. Government, however, dreaded the possible results of such demonstrations, and orders were issued in prohibition of them by General L'Admirault, commandant of Paris, and by the Prefects of many of the large cities. At Bordeaux the prohibition was disregarded. There a large popular gathering took place, and Gambetta's name was received with acclamations. At La Ferté sous Jouarre also there was a meeting; there Gambetta himself was president, and delivered an animated speech. Paris, he said, being still in the thralls of the state of siege, was debarred from celebrating this memorable anniversary; but those round him at La Ferté had opposed wisdom, patriotism, and calmness to the bitter but impotent intrigues of reaction, to the indefatigable manœuvres of the shameful party drowned for ever in the mud of Sedan, and to the persistent provocation of the Monarchists, who would deny the Republic as blind men denied the sun. However such men might struggle and fight against the Republic, nevertheless their hour was at hand; the Monarchists in the Assembly could only succeed in raising such a tempest of anger that they must perforce be swamped beneath the billows of the revolutionary tide. The Republic was henceforth a measure of public safety. Moreover, added the orator, astutely implicating Thiers in his profession, the illustrious old man who presided over the destinies of the country, deriving from the experience of his years that wisdom and exalted reason which imparted to him additional strength, had solemnly declared that he did not consider his task would be over until he had, by founding the Republic, given satisfaction to the national will.

The 4th of September was another critical occasion, with its memories of the recent fall of the Empire, and the inauguration of the Third Republic. Again a banquet was announced to take place in Paris. Again Government stepped forward with its veto; perhaps

injudiciously arbitrary, and certainly affording scope for invidious constructions. Not merely was everything in the shape of a public meeting or banquet forbidden; but the Minister of the Interior went out of his way to enjoin on the Prefects the duty of interfering even with those meetings which affected a private character. The Radical party protested. They obeyed the injunction nevertheless, and the 4th of September passed off without any popular demonstrations. Possibly the national reminiscences connected with Sedan may have sobered even the zealots of party. But the 22nd of September, the day when the first Republic had its birth, at least brought no such sinister associations with it; and to that day the Radicals finally looked for their jubilee. It was again thought by many calm observers a very injudicious step when the Minister of the Interior followed up his late decree by directing the Prefects to consider his previous instructions as applicable to this occasion as to the last. Many of the baffled rejoicers then proposed to celebrate the day on Belgian soil; but, in answer to their suggestion, M. Louis Blanc wrote a temperate and earnest dissuader. He blamed indeed the conduct of the Government; but he advised acquiescence. Gambetta, meanwhile, had been invited to Chambéry to take part in a banquet on that same day, ostensibly for the commemoration not of the Republic of 1793, but of the annexation of Nice and Savoy to France. The evasion was patent; and on his arrival the democratic agitator found the town placarded with orders from the Prefect forbidding the meeting. Gambetta was content to wait his time. A few days afterwards, when the anniversaries were over, he met a large concourse of the Radical party at Grenoble (September the 27th), and there delivered a speech which caused no small sensation at the moment, and became the source of serious political complications during the ensuing months. The speech was in substance as follows:—

“I feel, that I am in a country where Republican principles have long flourished, even before 1789. Your applause, I hope, addresses itself to the Republic and not to me. Men are imperfect; all you can ask is that they should be entirely devoted to their country. Allusion has been made to the war, and to the efforts of the Government of National Defence to save at least the honour of France. It can never be sufficiently repeated that the Republicans carried on for honour's sake a business they had not begun.” Gambetta then spoke of his visit to that noble Savoy, so Republican and so French in its sympathies. He complained of the difficulties thrown in the way of political meetings, and of the vexations to which he had been subjected at Chambéry. Comparing the Republican party with the so-called Party of Order he declared that the Republicans always showed readiness to obey the law, whether it was a wise or unwise one, whereas the self-styled Party of Order only created disorder, and promoted riot and defamation. “After all,” he continued, “have those who govern us carefully reflected what Democracy really means? With all

their apparatus of laws against public meetings, how can they expect the country to benefit by Republican institutions? Electors and elected should have full liberty to communicate with each other, to exchange ideas, and the elected to give an account of their conduct to their constituents. This is practised by English public men, by Lords as by the most democratic members of the House of Commons. This is the case, too, in Switzerland. When will it be understood in France that a new order of ideas must be adopted in politics? Look, for instance, at all this legislation about the right of meeting. In reality there can be no good legislation about the right of public meeting; legislation means usurpation of the people's rights. But be sure of this, that those who govern by force are self-condemned. In the France of to-day it has become needful that the Government should be carried on by men of different social rank (*couche sociale*) from those now in power. Better things indeed may fairly be expected: for at every election either of councillors-general or deputies, good Republicans are now returned. Let us get rid of that foolish timidity which has done so much harm to France. This timidity it is to which we owe the Second Empire, and which now more than anything else hinders the acceptance of a real Republic. Above all, let us Republicans be prudent; and success is certain. The country is with us, and very soon we shall have the reality, as we have now the name of a Republic. How comes it, I wonder, that those fiery representatives of Divine Right do not meet their electors? Are they afraid of the reception they would meet with? All they have done is to discover that the Republic must inevitably be established. Ah! believe me if the Assembly of Versailles did not know it was dying, it would never make this marriage *in extremis* with the Republic. Let us beware of these Republicans of the eleventh hour. Let us have nothing to do with chiefs who only now come over to us. Let us have no renegades in our ranks." Then followed a violent attack on the Bonapartists, which was received with acclamation. "As to the present Assembly," continued Gambetta, "you can do nothing with those people at Versailles. (Great applause.) We must have a new Assembly and new men, and return to Paris, the head and heart of Republican France."

"A new Assembly and new men:" Government based on a lower *couche sociale*: it was this demand, and not anything violent or excessive in the special items of his political programme which justified the alarm Gambetta's speech occasioned in the ranks of all upholders of the *status quo*. Even Republican institutions, thought the Monarchists, could be tolerated as long as there existed an anti-democratic majority in the Assembly to watch over them and seize the first opportunity to substitute something better in their place. But a general election would result in a very different marshalling of forces from the present: of that there could be no doubt: the aspect assumed by the *Conseils Généraux* had proved it. Those assemblies when convened for their half-

yearly sessions after the prorogation of the Chamber at Versailles, had, much to the disappointment of the re-actionists, shown every disposition to accept the Republic as definitive. The addresses which in many cases they sent up to the President, assuming the fixity of the present constitution, were indeed complained of by the adverse party as trenching on the limits of the law which had forbidden them to concern themselves with politics. The disappointment to the Conservatives who had reckoned on a line of support in these rural bodies had been great, and it did not tend to diminish their alarm at the probable effects of Gambetta's oration at Grenoble, which, said the *Bien Public*, the semi-official organ of M. Thiers, had done the Republic more harm in a few days than its declared enemies had been able to do.

The general disquiet was indicated by a sudden fall on the Bourse. At the next Cabinet Council the Ministers without exception censured the action of Gambetta. And presently rumours became rife of a representation made in private to the President of the Republic by M. Timascheff, the Russian Minister, to the effect that great dissatisfaction was felt by his Government at the recent aggressive attitude of French Radicalism, and that the Continental Powers which sympathized with France under existing circumstances, would have to take a different line if she were again to become the centre of European agitation. A humiliating remonstrance for the Head of an independent State to receive! But the Three Emperors had recently met in friendly conclave at Berlin; and their word had power. The prosecution, by orders of General de Cissey, of five officers who attended the Grenoble banquet, was a concession to the alarm of the Conservatives.

While at Grenoble and elsewhere the Radicals were pushing their propaganda with demonstrations and speeches, while Gambetta's progress had been a sort of triumph, and popular ovations had greeted him at every turn, the South of France was being agitated also by a Legitimist demonstration of curiously contrasted sentiment. Democracy had its rival in Superstition. Truly it was a marvel to make philosophers stare, the multiplied procession of religious pilgrimages to the shrines of asserted miracles, in a country so advanced ordinarily speaking, in the ways of freethinking, as the land of Voltaire and Comte, the France of the nineteenth century. For the time, however, religious pilgrimages were the *mode* in the ranks of the Reaction. Those who honestly believed in Legitimist doctrine, or who saw, all things considered, the best hope of salvation for France in the return of the old Monarchy as the only tenable standing ground short of Communism, seemed to find it part if not of their faith, at all events of their convenience, to accept the whole bundle of Romish figments and fancies. If not true, they might at least be *bien trouvés*, and useful as a means of animating the ignorant masses to something of old-fashioned faith and loyalty. And in the battledore and shuttlecock of motives there were other influences at work. While the clergy of Ultramontane proclivities

had their special reasons for desiring a return of the people to the blindest belief in Papal pretensions, many secular politicians saw the best hope for the attainment of the national *revanche* in combination with the party most uncompromisingly hostile to Bismarck and German Unity. This opinion had its weight with Thiers; who, always an advocate for the Pope's temporal power, would have given the Church party more decided support this year, but for the relations which he was forced to keep up with the advanced Liberals.

And so it came to pass that the pilgrimages and processions to La Delivrande in the month of August, to La Salette in September, and to Lourdes from May to October, were attended by such throngs as had seldom or never congregated on similar occasions before. What made it more remarkable was that the two last-named shrines had been raised to commemorate miracles of purely modern date. At La Salette, a village among the Alps of Dauphiné, on September 19, 1846, the Virgin, it was averred, had appeared to a shepherd boy and girl. The evidence was tried at the time in a court of law; and a pious fraud detected. Nevertheless the priests kept up the spark of popular superstition that had been kindled; and in a few years' time an enormous temple was raised beside the Holy Well which was said to have sprung from the Virgin's tears. The miracle of Lourdes in the Pyrenees was twelve years later in date. On the 11th of February, 1858, a young girl deposed to having met the Holy Virgin on the banks of the River Gave, and held conversations with her then and afterwards. The Bishop of Tarbes appointed a commission to inquire into the story, and pronounced it true. A modest chapel soon rose on the site, and Lourdes became one of the most popular of shrines.

The account of the departure of the great caravan from Paris on the 4th of October, given by the English *Times* correspondent, is worth quoting as a record of the epoch. "At nine o'clock yesterday morning the church of Notre Dame des Victoires, well known to most of your readers as the chief receptacle in Paris of '*ex voto*' offerings, was crowded with a congregation of pilgrims who attended under the superintendence of the Abbé de Lagni Bougère, organizer of the pilgrimage, to receive their parting benediction. Here they listened to a sermon from Père Gironnet, who told them that one object of their pilgrimage was to obtain the deliverance of the Pope, and another to secure internal peace and power to France. After this service was over the pilgrims proceeded in great crowds to the Orleans Railway Station, where they were not obliged to take tickets as they were provided with certificates of pilgrimage, the railway officials having been previously furnished by the Committee of Organization with the exact statement of their numbers. Up to two o'clock the scene at the station was curious and interesting. A strong force of *Gardiens de Paix* had been provided in case of disturbance, and although nothing occurred, it was evidently a wise precaution, as

numerous ill-favoured roughs and Communistic-looking characters were prowling about, regarding with a contemptuous air the whole performance. The entire staff of officials connected with the railway were on the spot, and everything was conducted with the most perfect order. The total number of pilgrims from Paris alone amounted to about 1300. Of these about half seemed to be priests, who carried packets of tracts, pamphlets, and hymns, in praise of Notre Dame de Lourdes, which were intended for distribution on the way. The remainder were for the most part old women of the middle or poorer class. The men were in a small minority, nearly all of them old. . . . There was only one first-class carriage, containing twenty-four passengers, from which some idea may be gathered of the proportion of the upper to the middle and lower class who believe in the healing virtues of Our Lady of Lourdes.

"Forty thousand pilgrims have assembled here, says a telegram dated from Lourdes the following day (October 5), and were present at a mass celebrated in the open air by the Bishop of Carcassonne. After the ceremony a politico-religious speech was made by the Bishop of Tarbes. The pilgrims received it with cries of 'Vive la France!' 'Vive le Pape!' At two o'clock there was a procession bearing 200 banners representing all countries, which were deposited at the church. Among them was that of Alsace-Lorraine. All the banners were covered with crape as a sign of mourning." During the procession, in which nineteen deputies and five bishops took part, the people shouted "Vive la France!" "Vive le Pape!" After the consecration of the banners, the Archbishop of Auch delivered a speech, strongly urging his hearers to preserve silence and to make no sort of demonstration. M. Lasserre published a proclamation, in which he recommended the pilgrims to remain calm in presence of the agents of the Revolution who were striving to provoke a disturbance. M. Lasserre was a literary gentleman, who some years before, being threatened with loss of eyesight, had washed his eyes in the spring of Lourdes and been cured, and had afterwards written a book extolling its miraculous virtues.

It was inevitable that with the popular current setting in two such very opposite directions—the democratic throngs flocking to hail Gambetta on the one hand, and the priest-led throngs pressing to do honour to "Our Lady" on the other—collisions should occur. It was said that many of the La Salette pilgrims wore white cockades and shouted for "Henri Cinq;" and that the *gamins* of Grenoble hinted how the priests ought to be treated like the Paris hostages. A more positive disturbance arose at Nantes, one day in September, when some of the Breton pilgrims, on their return from Lourdes, attempted to walk in procession through the city. A crowd collected in the streets, made parodies on their hymns, and shouted the *Marseillaise* in the ears of the baffled *Lourdauds* (blockheads).

The subject of the rival demonstrations gave more than usual



interest to the next sitting of the Permanent Committee at Versailles on the 10th of October. M. Thiers and M. Victor Lefranc both attended, to give such answers as might be required by the Conservative majority. In the matter of the riot at Nantes, M. Thiers declared that the Government had done all it could do to prevent a collision between the rival parties, but how was it possible that mutual ill-will should not break out? M. d'Aboville insisted that the Government had shown partiality: that the democrats had been too much tolerated: at least the Mayor of Grenoble ought to have been dismissed, for allowing insults to the pilgrims of La Salette. Insults, said Thiers, consisting in shouts and jeers, could not be suppressed: philosophers indeed might look on and tolerate manifestations of contrasted opinion before their eyes; but this was too much to expect of the crowd. But the Conservatives still pressed their disapproval. M. de la Rochefoucauld said he was sorry to be obliged to hold M. Thiers responsible for what had happened. Thiers declared his readiness to accept the responsibility. M. de la Rochefoucauld spoke sneeringly of the "Conservative Republic" under which for the time affairs were carried on. "The Republic is the only Government henceforth possible in France," cried Thiers, "and I cannot allow the term *soi-disant conservatrice* to pass. I have given sufficient proofs of my devotion and firmness to uphold it." After a brief but animated discussion on this point, M. de la Rochefoucauld went on to abuse M. Gambetta, and to remind M. Thiers that he had treated him as a dangerous lunatic, who had cost France, Alsace and Lorraine and two milliards. Then came on the topic of M. Gambetta's recent campaign in Dauphiny and Savoy. M. Thiers retraced all the efforts of the Government to re-establish tranquillity and raise France to its former condition. He expressed his disapprobation of the discourse of M. Gambetta, and in reference to the ex-dictator's expression about a new *couche sociale*, declared there were no classes in France, but only the nation. He did not attack the person of the orator, for it would be indecent on the part of the chief of the Government, a colleague and a deputy, to attack an individual; but he objected to his theories. France had need of repose, and the speech of M. Gambetta had troubled France.

Before the sitting ended, another subject of excitement was broached. M. Thiers announced that, considering himself entitled by the votes passed by the Assembly against the late Empire, to adopt on occasion measures of exclusion against the Princes of the Imperial Family, he had just given orders for the departure of Prince Napoleon Jérôme, who was visiting France without having requested previous leave. According to the Bonapartist journals the Prince and his wife had entered the country provided with a regular passport, and with the simple object of choosing a *Lycée* at Paris for their children's education. They visited at Millemont M. Maurice Richard, late deputy and minister under the Empire, and there met M. Rouher, who came purposely to pay his respects to them, and also

M. Abattucci, another old friend of the Bonapartes. Early on the morning of Saturday the 12th October, a Commissary of Police made his appearance; and the Prince, after recording that force had been employed against him, entered the carriage which was in waiting for him, with his wife and M. Richard, and recrossed the frontier into Switzerland. Three days afterwards M. Richard wrote a protest to Thiers, and it became known that Prince Napoleon was bent on legal measures of redress.

The act of the expulsion was commented upon by many of Thiers's general upholders as impolitic, even if not indefensible on constitutional grounds. But to the President himself the "Bonapartist Conspiracy" was still more of a bugbear than any other possibility. Probably he had a statesman's instinct that *that* party which had recently held the reins of government, and was used to habits of discipline and business organization, was so far, whatever its apparent numbers might be, really more formidable than the vociferous but ill-combined Royalists of the Orleans and Chambord types, whose ideals had so long been out of practice.

Meanwhile, the difficult game of balance which his peculiar position made a necessity to him, was continually exposing the brave old Nestor of French politics to distrust and blame. For the last few months his leanings had been decidedly towards the Left, and the blame he had cast on Gambetta's speech, before the Permanent Committee, had not been sufficient to dispel the jealousy of the other side, nor the anxious solicitude with which they watched every indication of his intention. On his return from Trouville, where he had passed the first six weeks of the vacation, he had taken up his residence at the Elysée. This, in itself, was a step far from acceptable to the Conservatives. They had not approved of the receptions he held there, by day only, at Easter. Now, from the 19th of September to the 19th of October, he located himself, his family, and his ministers, within the walls of the disgraced city of Paris,—Paris, still under the ban of the Assembly, still in a "state of siege." How could they look on with complacency?

M. Thiers's stay at Trouville, in the pleasant domicile of the Châlet Cordier, had afforded a refreshing interlude to his cares. While there, he had paid visits to Honfleur and to Havre, and at both places, the latter especially, his reception had been triumphant. It was remarked that the health of the aged President was the solicitude that seemed uppermost with the masses. "Give him an umbrella!" "Shelter him from the sun!" "Keep your hat on, M. le President!" were the cries that greeted him as his white hair glistened beneath the summer sun. On the Norman seashore he devoted much of his time to the examination of a series of experiments in artillery practice; and rumour said the active brain of the old statesman was occupied at off-hours with a work of far-reaching philosophical inquiry, which he had long worked at, and still hoped to bring to a completion before his death. But of all his experiences during his sojourn at Trouville, none has a greater interest for the lover of the dramatic element in history, than the

visit of friendship he paid on the 11th of September to his political rival of past days, M. Guizot, at Val Richer. M. Guizot, nearly ten years older than Thiers himself, a Protestant in faith, and always of a more solemn and meditative cast of mind than the brilliant historian of the Consulate and Empire, had long concentrated his keenest interests rather on the world-wide cause of Christianity than on the passing politics of his country. Quite lately he had been taking a prominent part in the Protestant Synod which had had its sittings in Paris, and had there helped to carry a resolution in favour of the maintenance of a Creed, dogmatic though simple, against the efforts of the extreme Rationalists led by M. Athanase Coquerel, who aimed at eliminating every barrier short of a declaration against Roman Catholicism on the one hand, and Atheism on the other. In his speech on this occasion, Guizot had emphatically asserted the necessity of the supernatural in religion. It was that, he said, which made religion durable; without it human science and power were not all-sufficient. Supernatural forces were indispensable for the power and dignity of human society. Having thus lifted up his voice for the last time in defence of principles such as the old Huguenots would have died for, he resigned his membership. These were his parting words:—

“The fatigue which I feel does not permit me any longer to take part in the sittings and general discussions of the General Synod. It is not at eighty-four years of age that after the labour of each day a little rest in the evening is sufficient. I return thanks to God for having permitted me, so near the close of my life, to be called to testify my firm attachment to the Christian faith, and my confidence in the General Synod and the Reformed Church of France. I thank my colleagues, members of this august assembly, for the kindness with which they have received my free language. I respect their liberty as much as my own, even when their belief differs from mine, and I pray to God to pour His light on all their thoughts and resolutions in the work of Christian charity with which they are charged, and which inspires in all Christendom, in despite of the disputes which divide it, so great and legitimate an interest.”

In the shortening space of time before the meeting of the Assembly, the rival parties were busy in mustering their strength and preparing their statements. Among them we may notice as significant of the times, the Royalist manifesto issued by a Legitimist deputy, M. de Carayon La Tour, from his Château of Virelade in the Gironde; a shallow and presumptuous onslaught on Thiers and the Republic, and not a little startling in its assertion (probably quite gratuitous), that the two Princes (Duc d'Aumale and Prince de Joinville) had “privately told the writer himself, the Duke Rochefoucauld Bisaccia, and M. Lucien Brun, that they have become Legitimists, and adhere to the Comte de Chambord, but they do not yet say so publicly, because their conscience forces them to respect the neutrality of the Bordeaux Pact, which M. Thiers is reproached with forgetting.”

A few days before, M. Casimir Perier had conveyed his political sentiments to the *Débats* after a visit paid him by the Comte de Paris. He had once been a Constitutional Monarchist, he said, in the days when a "fusion" between the two branches of the House of Bourbon, sanctioned by the nation, seemed a possible basis. But that was over, and he gave his adhesion loyally to the Republic as now administered. M. Dampierre wrote an able analysis of the present position of things from the Monarchist point of view. M. Laboulaye, a staunch Republican, pressed for the speedy and definitive consolidation of the Republic. All writers seemed to agree in one point, that the Government of the President in the existing state of things, was too personal in its character. The Comte de Chambord again lifted up his voice: and in a letter addressed to M. de la Rochette, deputy for the Loire Inférieure, told his friends to take no part in the "baleful enterprise" of establishing a Republic. "I have not one word to retract," he said, "not an act to regret, for they have all been inspired by love of my country; and I insist upon my share of responsibility in the advice which I give to my friends. The day of triumph is still one of God's secrets, but have confidence in the mission of France. Europe has need of it, the Papacy has need of it, and therefore the old Christian nation cannot perish."

"HENRI."

The Government programme was indicated in a little pamphlet generally attributed to the pen of M. Barthélemy de St. Hilaire, and entitled "Twenty Months of the Presidency." It was epitomized in the four following articles:—

"Article 1.—The Republic, the Government *de facto* since the 4th of September, 1870, is proclaimed and recognized as the definitive Government of France.

"2. M. Thiers is named President of the French Republic for four years; he exercises under this title the powers and prerogatives defined in the 5th chapter of the Constitution of 1848.

"3. The Assembly is permanent. It will be renewed annually to the extent of one-third of its members. The first partial renewal will be on the first Sunday in February, 1873.

"4. Immediately after the verification of the powers of the Deputies elected in February, 1873, a Commission of 45 members shall be appointed to propose complementary organic laws, and especially to pronounce upon the creation of a Second Chamber; and, in the case of an affirmative, its mode of election and its functions."

The parliamentary elections of the 20th of October, in seven departments, helped by their result to alarm the re-actionists and to give colour to the Republican boast that the political tide was setting steadily in their favour. Six candidates of decidedly Republican type were returned. In the Morbihan alone the Conservatives prevailed. Those well acquainted with the situation of

the country however asserted that the test was fallacious as to an increase of Radical opinion in the country: that it was rather the abstention, from indifference or other causes, of the rural Monarchists, than their paucity, which gave the other side the victory: that a now latent and slumbering majority might still on occasion be forthcoming to support the bygone traditions of the country.

More than ever resolved on resolute and combined action, the Monarchist fractions of the Assembly held a banquet at Bordeaux, on the 30th of October. The banquet was given to the Conservative members for the department of the Gironde. The speakers made no attempt to conceal their monarchical sentiments. After a speech pronounced by the President M. Lamazueil, MM. Decazes, Princeteau, and Carayon La Tour addressed their friends, expressing the wish that they might soon see the day when they could drink the health of the King and the Princes of the House of France.

But this was more especially a Bourbonist demonstration. On the whole, the advocates of Monarchical rule ultimately, as against a definitive Republic, found it the best policy to consolidate their ranks and forget for a while the special aims of Imperialists, Legitimists, and Orleanists. Those accounts might be settled hereafter when the bugbear of Democracy had been expelled.

The day before the opening of the Assembly, the opposing parties held preliminary conferences. Ninety deputies of the Left met at the Grand Hotel at Paris on the 10th of November. The line decided upon was to postpone the question of Constitutional Reform for the present, and to direct the attention of the legislature to the subjects of the Budget and Military re-organization.

The same day the Right, under the presidency of M. de Larcy, assembled in the Hôtel des Réservoirs at Versailles. There it was resolved unanimously to reject the definitive Republic and insist on maintaining the Bordeaux Pact in its provisional character. After a declaration to that effect, Constitutional reforms, it was decided, should be postponed to the orders of the day as adopted by the Assembly before its last prorogation.

The programme of the extreme Left was considered as indicated by an article in the *République Française*, Gambetta's organ. It resolutely opposed any Constituent Act whatever on the part of the present Assembly, and demanded its dissolution.

The Assembly met on the 12th. M. Grévy read a letter from the Bishop of Versailles announcing that public prayers would be offered up on the following Sunday to invoke the blessing of Heaven upon its labours. He announced, also, amid the applause of the Right and the ironical laughter of the Left, that General Changarnier proposed to interpellate the Government on the subject of M. Gambetta's speeches at Annecy and Grenoble. On the part of the Government, M. Dufaure desired that the question should be fixed for Monday, the 13th. On the day following the opening of the Assembly, M. Thiers delivered his Message. He

began with a detailed financial statement. And after speaking of the successful Loan, of the favourable position of the Bank of France, and of the flourishing condition of French trade, he observed that the public deficit was now estimated at about 132,000,000 francs; that a financial equilibrium would be fully attained at the end of 1873, and that Government reckoned confidently on a large surplus in 1874. Then he gave details relative to the New Treaty of Commerce with England, the negotiations of which had been one of the occupations of Government during the recess; and which now awaited the sanction of the Assembly to give it the force of law. "We have promised England," he said, "and she has promised us, to treat each other on the footing of the most favoured nation. The same principle will in the future regulate our relations with Great Britain. We shall do what we consider advisable for the protection of our industry, but we shall not treat English products differently from the products of other nations. England will act in the same manner towards us. But as we were bound towards several countries by numerous engagements, which it was impossible to break without a previous agreement, we have postponed the complete application of the principle we have adopted until the 31st of December, 1876, the period when our engagements, and especially those by which we are bound towards Austria, will expire. Until then, if our fiscal taxes or our Treaties should cause temporarily a differential system towards England, England would await on the 31st of December, 1876, the system of equality which we have promised to concede to her. Thus the conditions stipulated with Great Britain are, for the present, the immediate collection of our fiscal taxes, and the provisional maintenance of the existing system as regards French products in England and English products in France—for the future reciprocal treatment on the basis of the most favoured nation on the day when this equal system shall become possible." As the details of this Treaty have been given in the English portion of our history, we need not further dwell upon it here. Then he touched upon the dangerous ground: upon the topics which he described as the *questions brulantes du jour*. The frequent interjections of his auditors indicated their excitement as he proceeded. He commenced with a defence of Order, "without which," he said, "the Republic would cease to exist." "You, above all," he said, addressing the Republican party, "should passionately wish for Order, for if the Republic, already twice tried without success, can succeed this time, it will be to order that you will owe the fact. Make this, therefore, your task—your every day solicitude. If the exercise of certain rights which belong to a free people might render the country uneasy, learn to renounce them for the moment. Make for public security a sacrifice which will especially redound to the profit of the Republic. Events have given us the Republic; and to go back to its causes in order to discuss and judge them would be to-day an enterprise as dangerous as it would be useless. The Republic exists. It is the legal Government of the country. To wish for anything different would

be to wish for a fresh revolution, and one more formidable than all." Insisting upon the necessity for every Government to be Conservative, he said, "The Republic must be Conservative or it cannot exist. France cannot live in continuous alarms. She has absolute need of repose, and will not long endure any Government which does not afford her this repose. The Republic of a party would only be a thing of a day. The mass might live upon agitation for a few days, but after inspiring fear in others it becomes afraid of itself, and throws itself into the arms of an adventurer; thus paying for a few days of disastrous licence with twenty years of slavery; and this it has frequently done, as you know. Do not believe that it is not capable of doing it again. It will recommence a hundred times this sad and humiliating journey from anarchy to despotism, and despotism to anarchy—a path strewn with shame and calamity."

In conclusion, he said, "We draw near, gentlemen, to a decisive moment. The form of this Republic has been only an incidental form, given by events and reposing upon your wisdom and your union with the power which you have temporarily chosen. But the public mind is awaiting your action. All are asking what day and what form you will select in order to secure to the Republic that conservative strength with which she cannot dispense. It is for you to choose both the day and the form. The country, in delegating to you its powers, has evidently laid upon you the task of saving it, by procuring for it, first, Peace, after Peace Order, and with Order the restoration of its power; and lastly, a regular Government. You proclaimed this, and thenceforth it was for you to fix the succession and the hour of these divers portions of the work of salvation which is confided to you. God preserve us from setting ourselves in your place; but at such time as you may determine, and when you have chosen some from among you to consider the matter, if you desire our opinion we will give it frankly and resolutely. This Session which opens before you is a grand and decisive one. Neither deference nor co-operation, neither devotion nor resolution shall be wanting on our part to ensure the success of your task. May God bless it, and render it complete and especially durable; a consummation which has not yet been granted since the commencement of the century." M. Thiers then left the tribune, amidst noisy applause from the Left, and from a part of the Left Centre, followed by prolonged agitation.

M. de Kerdrel, the leader of the Right, proposed to name a Commission to consider the Message. M. Thiers replied that he would accept the proposal, and that if he had made a mistake he would recognize it: but he believed that he had apprehended the spirit of the Assembly and of the country, to whose judgment he was willing to submit. M. Grévy objected that the proposal of M. de Kerdrel was not in conformity with Parliamentary principles. M. de Kerdrel then brought forward a new proposal to appoint a Committee to prepare a reply to the Message. After a period of doubt, and in the

midst of the liveliest opposition from the Left and the Left Centre, this proposal was adopted and "urgency" declared. The words that had fallen from M. Thiers were not the least important he had uttered. They conjured up the vision of a dissolution of the Assembly and a *plébiscite*, before the frightened benches of the Right. For six days they brooded over the situation. Then, on the 18th, General Changarnier's promised motion brought the storm to a head.

The Chamber was crammed with eager listeners: a stirring fight was expected. Would not Gambetta himself rush to the lists in his own defence? Gambetta, however, had resolved this day to keep a silent course, and await the issue of the announced interpellation. General Changarnier rose to speak. He said he had no intention of attacking the head of the Government, "whom I have so much loved—whom I still love." He then recalled the words used at Grenoble which had outraged the Assembly and had caused uneasiness in the country. "In the provisional condition in which we are placed," he said emphatically, "France must be re-assured." The word "provisional" excited the applause of the Right. He called upon the Government to separate itself from those who profess doctrines "of which M. Gambetta is the expression;" and indulged in some strong terms respecting that individual, for which M. de Grévy had to call him to order. On the other hand, he complimented General de Cissey, the War Minister, for prosecuting the officers who had been present at the Grenoble banquet, a measure for which he had incurred much obloquy from the Liberals.

On descending from the tribune, General Changarnier was warmly cheered by the Right. During his speech the Left had generally remained calm, with the exception of occasional laughter, as when the General, comparing the Grenoble banquet with that of Bordeaux, said that at the latter demonstration a language was spoken which the Left were incapable of understanding.

M. Lefranc, the Minister of the Interior, repudiated energetically the assertion that the Government was provisional only. Were this the case, he said, he would not remain in it five minutes. He declared that neither he, nor any of his colleagues, nor the President, could be accused of favouring the doctrines put forth in the speeches at Grenoble, and quoted the words uttered by M. Thiers before the Commission de Permanence, disapproving them. M. Lefranc emphatically reminded the Assembly that upon that occasion the Duc de Broglie had warmly approved M. Thiers' observations, and concluded by repeating that the Government was neither provisional nor undecided, in a somewhat awkward and blundering speech.

The Duc de Broglie then ascended the tribune, and the real interest of the sitting began. He entreated the President of the Republic to repeat before the country the energetic declarations which he had made before the Commission de Permanence. Here the Right Centre applauded vigorously, for their hope was that M. Thiers would ascend the tribune, and there make the Conservative declarations which he was called upon to give, so furnishing them with a reason for



not supporting M. de Kerdrel's motion. And this, indeed, was the principal object of M. de Broglie's speech, in which he condemned very strongly the new doctrine of the *Couche Sociale*, a doctrine broached, he said, under the Commune, and whose name had been inscribed in letters of blood and fire upon the walls of the capital. He once more urged the President to rise and to repeat before the country the declarations he had made before the Permanent Committee.

M. Thiers came forward amid the deepest silence. "A feeling," he said, "which many of you will appreciate—I wish that all could do so—induces me to enter this tribune. I shall say but few words, but I have felt that, seeing the point which matters have now reached, it is necessary to say a few words—decisive words. I admit that I am grievously afflicted to find myself here after two years' absolute and complete self-devotion, treated—allow me to say the word, and do not interrupt me—as a man whom you have a right to doubt, and who is called here to repeat the statement of those sentiments which he has expressed for forty years of his life, sentiments which for the last two years he has been putting into practice, I will venture to say, with the greatest energy. After my entire life, and specially after the last two years of it, which have been passed under your eyes, I think I have a right to some consideration and respect. Let me not, then, be questioned upon the doctrines of my whole life. And to those of my questioners whose friendship I value, allow me to say that they have no right to drag me to this tribune in order to compel me to answer them. I am treated as a man of indecision, who has given cause for his character to be doubted, either by his principles or his conduct. Was I undecided under the walls of Paris? I showed no indecision when, some months ago, when Strikes were beginning in the north and assuming a threatening character for public tranquillity and the freedom of labour, I instantly repressed them with a force of which preceding Governments have not given us an example. The words which it is sought to make me repeat, however much they may be in accordance with my convictions, I will not say them. If you wish it, I accept the judgment of the country. I do not refuse it. I demand it. I shall always be ready to appear before the country, both in my capacity as a deputy of the Assembly and as Head of the Government, for the short time I have been so. I, therefore, have no fear of the judgment of the country, neither do I fear yours. But allow me to make one observation. When you wish that a Government should be strong, it must be worthily treated, and it ought not to be summoned here, as suspected or guilty, to make a profession of faith. Now, I believe—for let us speak frankly and sincerely—the real question here is not what happened at Grenoble; it is something different. I believe that within a few days we shall have a proper opportunity of discussing the great question which disturbs so many minds, which it is easy to perceive, which I understand, and which I must say I should wish to be discussed in a calmer and more temperate tone than that which has distinguished the present sit-

ting. I desire to reserve myself for that discussion. I had wished to discuss the Bordeaux Pact. You have given me the right to call for a proof of confidence. I demand it at once. When you call for a decided Government you should be decided yourselves. Well, be so in respect to us. You complain of a Provisional Government. Form, then, a Definitive Government. If you have a Definitive and not a Provisional Government, produce it. If you know of more resolute acts that could have been done than we have done under existing circumstances—if you can tell us what more you would have done in respect of the Grenoble banquet, and all the events which have happened during the last two years—pray tell us. I yield willingly, but with anxiety on behalf of my country. I would give place willingly to those who might be able to act with more decision and adopt more efficient measures than we have done for the benefit of the country; who might be able to form a Government fairly to be called Definitive, and one which France would accept.”

The whole Assembly was agitated. The Government had changed the ground of discussion, and had covered Gambetta by placing itself in the front of attack. M. Thiers’ declarations offered one or other of three courses to be decided on; either a vote of confidence, or the retirement of the Government, or an appeal to the people.

After comparative calmness had been restored, General Changarnier spoke again. He complained of the turn the President had given to the debate. “For himself,” he said, “he entertained no ‘senile love of power.’ He regretted that the President should prefer to his old associates, younger and more compromising friends.” He attacked Gambetta, as prodigal of abuse when at a distance, as niggard of reply when in presence of the Assembly; and concluded by demanding a vote of censure on the speeches of a man who would be the bane of France should he ever return to power. Adverting again to the speech of M. Thiers, he declared he could not understand how he, the most illustrious representative of parliamentary principles, could have chosen to reply in the manner he had done to the interpellation.

Then M. Thiers came forward again. “Are interpellations,” he asked, “a proof of confidence in the Government? I know perfectly well that you cannot question M. Gambetta, for the rules of the Assembly will not permit it. You cannot question him, but in questioning us, because the rules will not allow you to question him, do you intend thereby to offer us any proof of your confidence? Is it not rather to blame us?” (“No” from the Right and Centre.) “You protest now, when you see the gravity of what you have done. But I ask you whether, in the position in which the first duty of Government was to display energy and also moderation, both of which requirements we have endeavoured to fulfil, to come forward and tell us that we have shown indecision and weakness—is that to give us strength? I am not angry, but I am hurt, and I have a right to feel so. After what I have done during the last two years,

even to doubt me is, I venture to say, an act of ingratitude. Let me now refer to the Parliamentary question. M. Gambetta is not the real object of this interpellation, which is aimed at us." (The Marquis de Vogué interrupted, saying, "No! we only wish to be told that he is not one of your friends.") "If there has been no mistrust." ("No," from the Right.) "Well, if there be no distrust, the simplest course will be to renew the expression of your confidence in us. I do not solicit it, for I have no 'senile ambition.' I did not go to Bordeaux to solicit power. Let him who can, rise here and say that I sought for power. I did not solicit the burden which I have borne, and which I was the less desirous to accept, as there were lamentable terms of peace to be signed. After that melancholy duty had been performed there was an insurrection—the most formidable ever known—to suppress. No one was ambitious then, and no one can say that I solicited the power which I had to exercise. Shall I tell you what is unparliamentary? It is to seek to retain power against the will of the country. Do you know what is parliamentary? It is to obtain continued proofs of the confidence of the country, and we are justified in asking for these when we have to contend with adversaries whom I do not desire to describe—men whose affection I do not repudiate, although I have not had much evidence of it to day in this tribune. There are certain points dealt with in the Message, upon which I simply conveyed to the Assembly my own opinion, and, if I had the opportunity of explanation, you would see that it was with most Conservative intentions, for I have always deemed it desirable that any articles of organic laws which were found to be necessary should be framed by a known rather than by an unknown Assembly. That was my intention. This has been my reward. Doubtless the responsibility of an appeal to the country will be great. The country was quiet a fortnight ago. There are factions,—formidable factions—which I am closely watching. But there is also a valiant army, faithful to the law. I am certain of its devotion. I will maintain—as I have told our colleagues without distinction of political views—I will maintain order. I have maintained it. If the country has ground of complaint against any one for the disturbance of moral order, I am convinced, and I declare before Heaven, before the nation and Europe, that it is not I who am liable to the charge."

Several resolutions were then proposed and put to the vote. The Right and Right Centre, represented by the Duc de Broglie and M. Benoist d'Azy, proposed a motion censuring M. Gambetta's speech, "and concurring in M. Thiers' condemnation thereof." The Government refused to accept this, and it was rejected by 372 to 281. The Left proposed to "renew its expressions of confidence in the President of the Republic," without any allusion to the Grenoble speech, but the House rejected this motion by 452 to 188. The motion finally passed, which the Government declared was the only one they would accept, expressed confidence in the Government, and

censured M. Gambetta. It was proposed by M. Mettetal, and was thus worded:—"That the Assembly, confiding in the energy of the Government, and censuring the doctrines contained in the speech at Grenoble, passes to the order of the day." The voting on this was 267 for and 117 against; nearly half the members did not vote. The Extreme Right and the Extreme Left both voted against it. M. Gambetta was frequently taunted with his silence in the Chamber, which his adversaries contrasted with his loquacity out of doors but he only shrugged his shoulders and persistently refused to speak.

The Government had gained a majority; but the circumstances were not encouraging; and when the Council of Ministers assembled after the sitting, M. Thiers declared that, feeling it impossible to work the affairs of the country with a majority of only 150 votes in presence of more than 300 abstentions, he should retire. The only terms that would retain his services would be an explicit vote of confidence. Three of his ministers, MM. Dufaure and Lefranc and General de Cissey, tendered their resignations, but M. Thiers refused to accept them. Meanwhile the Right were rather frightened at what they had done. To get rid of Thiers, the Indispensable, at a blow, was by no means their object. Once remove the hand that kept the antagonistic parties in some sort of control, who could answer for the consequences? A collision, a revolution, a civil war: the experience had too often been made in French History. And not less than the French themselves, did the other nations of Europe anticipate with dismay the consequences that might ensue on the attitude taken up by the Right. Submitting to the counsels of prudence, the three fractions of the party met and resolved to dismiss any monarchical combinations for the present.

The Left sent a deputation to Thiers himself to dissuade him from resigning; and after a lengthy conference he consented to await the result of the De Kerdrel proposition before taking any definitive resolution. Tuesday passed over calmly. On Wednesday M. d'Audiffret Pasquier was elected President of the Committee appointed to vote on M. de Kerdrel's motion; and the Committee then began its deliberations. On the 22nd, by his own desire, M. Thiers attended the Committee. His hope was, he said, to find some *modus vivendi* or means of coming to terms with the Chamber through its action. Great courtesy was maintained on both sides, the Duc d'Audiffret conducting the conversation on the part of the Committee, and Thiers delivering his sentiments with conciliatory frankness. But the stumbling-blocks remained. Thiers insisted on the necessity of consolidating the Republic as it stood; and for that purpose required the prolongation of the powers conferred upon the President of the Republic, the appointment of a vice-President, the partial renewal of the National Assembly, the establishment of a second Chamber, and the settlement of the relations between the Legislature and the Executive. On such terms only would he agree to the demand of the Right for a system of ministerial responsibility.

The majority of the Committee echoed the sentiment of the Duc d'Audiffret Pasquier:—"We recognize that the Republic is the Government *de fait*, and that it will, perhaps, become the Government *de droit*. More cannot be asked of us without suggesting a betrayal of our trust." The only so-called "equivalent" it was willing to make the President in return for its demand of ministerial responsibility was a *veto suspensif*, or power of negating for a limited period the decisions of the Assembly.

On the 25th, M. de Batbie read the Report of the Commission. It began by admitting that no complaint could be made of the President's Message, that all uncertainty had been dissipated, and that no reply was to be made to it; consequently that the so-called "Kerdrel proposition" was rejected. It called attention, however, to the applause with which the Message had been received by the Left, which had filled the Conservatives with alarm. It claimed for the Assembly the right to frame a Constitution should it think proper, expressed regret that M. Thiers had not more distinctly separated himself from the Radicals, and in a long passage denounced the doctrines of the Socialists and demagogues. One passage in the Report originated an expression which was long remembered as a watchword. The majority of the Committee, it was said, had represented to M. Thiers that, in order to arrest the Radical invasion, it appeared indispensable to confront it by a Government prepared to do battle (*Gouvernement de Combat*), and which would concentrate all the Conservative strength in order to enlighten the people with regard to the designs of its enemies. Afterwards it discussed the programme of the Constitutional reforms desired by the Government. "The most essential point," it said, "is an agreement between the Legislature and the Executive. The Committee attribute the misunderstanding between them to the personal interference of the chief of the Executive Power in the debates of the Assembly. The President of the Republic, though not justified by his title in exceeding the rights of a delegate, occupies in fact an eminent position, and the confidence which he enjoys throughout the country gives him an authority which none can fail to perceive. It is by reason of this personal and exceptional position that in his presence we do not morally possess complete liberty, the chief of the Executive Power being able at any moment to cover with his authority the Ministers who may be called to account, and transform a ministerial question into a question of Government. Freedom of deliberation, concord between the Assembly and the Executive, and the dignity of the President of the Republic—all these things are motives for organizing ministerial responsibility, and for doing so without delay."

The Report concluded with a resolution to the effect that a Committee of fifteen members should be named in the Bureau, in order to introduce with the shortest possible debate a Bill relative to ministerial responsibility.

The Report received the adhesion of the majority of the Com-

mission, the members being nine to six. The Report also conveyed the somewhat different views entertained by the minority, who, professing a course more in harmony with Thiers' own predictions, resolved, with Thiers' approval, to propose to the National Assembly the nomination of a Committee of thirty members to present to the Assembly, with the least possible delay, a Bill establishing ministerial responsibility and the Constitutional reforms necessary to secure the regular working of a Republican Government.

The next step in the political contest was the debate of the 28th, when the single proposition of the majority in the Kerdrel Commission was read from the chair by M. Grévy. As soon as it was read, M. Dufaure ascended the tribune on behalf of Government, and offered the counter-proposal of the minority. The effect of this counter-proposal was to alter a Bill upon ministerial responsibility into a Bill to settle the functions of public authorities, and to lay down the conditions of ministerial responsibility. What might be meant by "settling the functions of public authorities," or, as it was otherwise expressed, "regulating the functions of the public powers in the State" gave scope for speculation. It might be assumed that a definitive prolongation of the power of M. Thiers was one of the things referred to; and the creation of a second House and the renewing of the Assembly by thirds might also be included. It was evident, however, that the majority of the Kerdrel Commission—and, as it must be concluded, the Right, which nominated them—had quite made up their minds as to their course. No sooner had M. Dufaure quitted the tribune than M. Batbie ascended it, and moved that the proposition of the Government should be referred at once to the Committee, who would report upon it within an hour, to prevent any unnecessary prolongation of the anxiety of the country. This was done; and though the sitting of the Committee lasted more than an hour, chiefly because they received two visits from M. Thiers in the interval, yet at 6:40 they sent back their Report, rejecting altogether the propositions suggested by M. Dufaure, and demanding an immediate debate. It was then the turn of M. Thiers to ascend the tribune. The Minister of Justice had been tried and had failed, and the President felt it necessary he should himself intervene. He was content, however, for the moment to beg an extension of time. He had hoped to have a discussion on the various points of his own Message, and he desired to have it put on record before the country that he had invited discussion; but he would not insist upon it. A day's delay might at least be granted. Even this much M. Batbie seemed for a time unwilling to concede, but it was too moderate a request to be pertinaciously rejected, and the fate of the crisis was postponed till the next day.

On that day, the 29th, after an exciting debate, in which M. Thiers in two long and energetic appeals claimed the confidence of the Assembly, and MM. Ernoul and Lucien Brun alone spoke in

co opposition, a vote was taken, and the proposition moved by M.  
Dufaure, the Minister of Justice, was carried by 370 votes against  
334. The resolution was thus worded:—"A Committee of thirty  
members shall be named in the Bureau in order to lay before the  
National Assembly a Bill to regulate the conferring of public  
powers, and the conditions of ministerial responsibility."

M. Thiers' *apologia* was a remarkable one. He put forward his  
claims to the confidence of the Conservatives, dwelling on his resis-  
tance to the Socialists and his support of the Pope. "There are  
people," he said, "who deny the existence of a God. For twenty-  
five years have I occupied myself with these grave questions, and I  
protest against all these atheistic ideas. I make here no parade of  
religious sentiments which I would not have declared at any other  
period. I have struggled for the rights of the Holy See. Do not  
then attack the conscience of Catholics. For my part I will lift up  
my voice in favour of those rights. I have always continued to  
affirm those doctrines by my voice, my writings, and my acts. I  
ought not to be suspected, but I would not refuse to reply if a fresh  
affirmation was required from me." Subsequently he said,—

"Gentlemen, remember Bordeaux. You offered me the power,  
giving me an imperious command to accept it. You had not  
the right to impose it upon me. I accepted it from motives of  
devotion. You did not dictate my selection; circumstances led  
to it. Did you impose any conditions upon me? None. When  
that cruel war came to an end, when the taxes came in slowly,  
when 400,000 of our fellow-countrymen were suffering exile, no  
one talked to me then of Monarchy or of Republic. No one  
thought of such a thing. It was only desired that the faith of all  
alike should be respected. What was my desire in accepting the  
Pact of Bordeaux. It was to prevent civil war. I was unanimously  
named as 'President of the Republic.' I do not personally like  
that form of government; but to accept the title was the only way of  
wresting power from the hands of those who had seized upon it.  
I added, however, these words:—'The Republic will profit by the  
success, if we govern well.' Would it have been right that we  
should have governed ill in order to prejudice the Republic? At the  
same time it was well understood that the definitive form was  
reserved. That is the true meaning of the Bordeaux Pact. I  
will betray no one. I have been of no party. I am of none to-  
day. I still govern in the name of the Pact. In my Message I  
never meant to go farther than to give a consecration to that  
Government *de facto*, as being the system I oppose to the view  
which recognizes a *Gouvernement de Combat*. At Bordeaux my  
only desire was to wrest the Government from those who were  
urging a struggle *à outrance*. That policy which enabled us to  
raise the taxes and to restore order has not ceased. And with  
regard to the Commune, what was our conduct? There were  
in Paris 3000 cannons and 400,000 muskets. In seven weeks  
we wrested these arms from the misguided men who had taken

possession of them. We collected an army of 140,000 men with great difficulty; for the enemy was watching with jealousy any concentration of troops. Deputations came to me from all the towns of France, asking, 'Are you working for the Republic or the Monarchy?' I replied that I was labouring only for the Government *de facto*. Did any one at that period reproach me for that reply? No, Gentlemen, I swear it before God. You are not pledged, but I am. Drawing closely as I am to the Eternal truths, I should consider it a wicked act to urge my country into one path or another. For two years I have said that my engagement to govern was no binding contract on the part of the country. When it was thought right I could be put aside as a useless instrument. If ever a Monarchy can be established, or if it is expected that such a form of government would obtain a majority in the country, I would at once retire. It is only I who am pledged, and I should rejoice even this very evening to give up power. If you believe that a Monarchy is possible, try it. I am only a Republican because I do not believe in a Monarchy. There is to-day but one Government possible. I only wish for repose. Is there still any ambiguity? For my part I have removed it. It is for you to do so on your part."

He declared that it was not for the sake of a vain pleasure in speaking that he considered it his duty to retain the right of addressing the Assembly.

"Under the Republic this is a parliamentary system," he said; "the chief of the Republic is a representative who ought to quit power whenever he ceases to give satisfaction. Under another kind of Republic the chief appointed for four years would remain in power under all circumstances. At present there is an advantage with you. I may be sent away at once. In what events might we separate? I will show you by an instance. If I had been defeated upon the Army question I should immediately have sent in my resignation. I am not a man for *coups d'état*, and were I to ask our noble army to perpetrate such an act, it would reply to me with disdain and contempt. Do you want to have in this place a clerk, an *employé*, one who will merely execute your orders? Then I am not your man; you must look about for another. There is no lack of fitting instruments. When you selected me you pretended that you had chosen a man of character and intelligence. Permit me, then, to resist you when it appears necessary that I should do so. If you will not allow of such resistance, then form some organization all the principles of which will act harmoniously."

Check by check, thus the political warfare proceeded. The Message had been a false move on the part of the President: he had miscalculated the relative strength of Left and Right, and had not anticipated the resolution evinced by the latter party. The appointment of the "Kerdrel Commission" undeceived him. His counter-move was then the threat of resignation. The Bathie



Report was the reply. Then the President moved again, and the Dufaure Commission of Thirty was proposed and carried. One thing was evident, and to the world in general it was consolatory, namely, that neither Right nor President intended to quarrel outright at this crisis. How they would compromise their respective obstinacies remained to be seen: the Right were certainly not disposed to be as yielding as they had been on previous occasions. The vote of confidence which Thiers had said should be the only condition of his remaining in office was not by any means forthcoming; and if, after the Government success on the Dufaure Commission, any on-lookers thought the crisis might really be over, they were speedily undeceived. The very next day, November the 30th, the Government sustained a Parliamentary defeat by 305 votes against 299. The occasion was one which did not immediately arise out of the late discussions, but it had too close reference to the President's policy to be otherwise than important in its bearings on his position at the present moment, while in its immediate consequences it gave rise to a subtle game of Parliamentary intrigue and manœuvring. The occasion was this. In accordance with a notice already given, M. Prax Paris, from the benches of the Right, brought forward a motion asserting that the Municipal Councils and *Conseils Généraux* which had recently transmitted addresses of confidence to the President, had violated the law which limited their functions to matters out of the sphere of politics; and, following up the attack, M. Raoul Duval proposed an Order of the Day, declaring that these provincial bodies had thus violated the law, that the Minister of the Interior ought to have repressed them, and that the Assembly recalled the Minister to the observance of his duty. Nothing could be plainer or more direct; and when the Assembly approved M. Duval's Order of the Day, M. Victor Lefranc, the Minister of the Interior, at once acknowledged the effect of the censure that had been passed upon him by tendering his resignation to M. Thiers. Not only did M. Lefranc tender his resignation, but the rest of the Ministers did the same. Thiers refused to accept any resignation but that of M. Lefranc; but that acceptance the Right might well look upon as a triumph gained for their doctrine of Ministerial responsibility. A more decisive victory attended the Conservative party on the 5th of December, when the election of the members of the Dufaure Commission came on in the Bureau. Out of the Thirty members to be chosen, nineteen were taken from the Right and eleven only from the Left of the Assembly. It thus appeared that the Constitutional propositions of M. Thiers would in all likelihood fall stillborn, while the Right would have it all their own way in defining as strictly as they pleased the principle of ministerial responsibility, in exiling M. Thiers from the tribune, and in narrowing to the utmost that privilege of issuing a *veto suspensif* which they had voluntarily offered to the President in mitigation of the votes depriving him of all real power. A day or two afterwards, on a vacancy occurring in the number,

the Duc de Broglie was added on the Conservative side, thus making it a proportion of 20 to 10.

The victorious Right, however, saw with some discontent that M. Thiers delayed filling up the vacant Ministry of the Interior. It was a department possessing command of unbounded influence through the provincial Prefects, sub-Prefects and Mayors, and would be a great vantage-ground gained to the *Gouvernement de Combat*, which, according to M. Batbie's late report, the Conservative party desired to see inaugurated. When at last, after a long interview with the Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, on the night of Friday the 6th, M. Thiers did appoint M. de Goulard, to whom the Right were favourably disposed, transferring him from the department of Finance to that of the Interior, he at the same time made M. Léon Say Finance Minister, and appointed to M. Say's recent post of Prefect of the Seine M. Calmon, a politician of Radical sympathies, but therefore perhaps better as a guarantee for keeping the peace of the capital. M. de Fourton was made Minister of Public Works. Directly or indirectly, all these appointments tended to strengthen the position of the Right. Even the appointment of M. de Larcy as President of the Dufaure Commission of Thirty, though M. Thiers was fain to accept it as a compliment paid to his Government, of which De Larcy had once been a member, was no concession to the Liberal side of his requirements. The *Concordat* so far was in favour of the Right. What *was* indeed a concession to some extent, on their part, was the resolve to leave unmolested for the present, in his office of Minister of Education, M. Jules Simon, on whom an attack had been meditated by the Bishop of Orleans.

The politicians of the Left were of course extremely disquieted by the turn things had taken, and on the 10th of December they issued a manifesto addressed to the country at large, and urging the sending up petitions for a dissolution of the Assembly, and for new elections, as the only means of ascertaining the real strength of parties, and putting an end to the confusion and uncertainty throughout the country which the constantly-recurring crises were occasioning. "A Dissolution obtained by legal means—such is our object, and such is the will of the nation. We distinctly reject all means of violent pressure. We repudiate force, from whatever quarter it may come, for we are enemies of disorder. Of this during the last two years we have given numerous proofs, for we have always united to support the Government of M. Thiers whenever it was menaced. We demand that the country should continue our work, and that by new elections, which will constitute a powerful majority capable of affording the Government of the Republic efficient support, and secure the pacific triumph of the national will and the stability of Republican institutions."

To this manifesto were appended the names among others, both of the extreme and moderate Left, of MM. Louis Blanc and

Gambetta. On the following day M. Lambert St. Croix, a member of the Right, suddenly requested that the discussion of Petitions recommending a dissolution of the Assembly should be placed among the Orders of the Day for the Saturday ensuing. There was considerable agitation in the Assembly at this unexpected proposal, but, being put to the vote, it was carried, after Gambetta had made a speech accepting the issue—a false move on his part, as his party discovered and acknowledged. M. St. Croix's motion was in fact a reply beforehand to the manifestos and petitions which the Left were getting up in favour of dissolution; and to the same purport was a proposition made by M. Gaslonde, which was handed over for the consideration of the Commission of Thirty, to the effect that the Assembly should declare it would not dissolve until the liberation of the French territory had been completely carried out.

The debate of Saturday the 11th drew crowds together at Versailles even greater than on the occasion of Changarnier's interpellation. Gambetta spoke; but, though eloquent in parts, his speech terminated abruptly, and he gave evident signs of fatigue. He quoted the opinion of the English *Times* newspaper in favour of a dissolution, endeavoured to prove that the present Assembly had fulfilled its mission, and declared his definition of a Radical to be one who wished for the establishment of the Republic on the basis of universal suffrage. He denied the right of the Chamber to call itself constituent, quoting extracts from the *Gazette de France* to prove that on the eve of the elections of February, 1871, the Legitimist party itself only attributed to the forthcoming Assembly the right of making peace with Prussia; and called attention to the significant fact that if the Royalists were in a majority in the Legislative body, the Republicans had a much larger one in the subsequently elected *Conseils Généraux*. "A far greater Assembly than the present," said he, "that of 1848, which also counted an important Monarchical majority among its members, dissolved itself upon receiving petitions from less than 150,000 electors; while to-day a million of electors, or more than six times that number, demand the dissolution of the present Legislative body." He concluded by exhorting the deputies to manifest their patriotism by voting in favour of dissolution, and affirmed that the country would unsparingly distinguish between those who by their vote that day retarded the formation of the Republic and those who desired its triumph.

The Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier was the first of the Monarchical deputies to answer M. Gambetta. Instead of taking the question of the dissolution by the horns, as Gambetta had done, the Duke diverged into a violent attack upon the Radical party in general, and the ex-Dictator and his friend M. Naquet in particular. The abusive epithets which he showered upon the heads of the Republican deputies of the Assembly were enthusiastically applauded by the members of the Right; and when he left the tribune, Legiti-

mists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists alike crowded round him to offer their felicitations.

M. Louis Blanc followed the Duke, and then M. Raoul Duval mounted the tribune; but, the hour being far advanced, the Assembly decided to adjourn, and to resume the sitting at nine o'clock the same evening. M. Duval's lengthy oration was the most striking speech delivered on behalf of the Monarchists. "The same men who sympathized with the Commune," said he, "are now promoting petitions for our dissolution"—unguarded words which raised a storm of fury among the Left, one of whom (M. Mestreau) shouted in reply, "You have lied!" A scene of great confusion ensued; but eventually, the offender having been called to order, a comparative calm was restored, and M. Duval was permitted to conclude his speech, which he did amidst the applause of his party. The next orator was M. Le Royer on behalf of the dissolutionists. He was followed by M. Dufaure, the Minister of Justice, who, after having explained away all the objectionable portions of M. Thiers' Message, repudiated the petitions for the dissolution in the name of the Government, and insinuated that the latter was ready to throw itself into the arms of the Royalists so that they might "save society" together. Overjoyed at this unexpected declaration, the Monarchists were unbounded in the applause they lavished on the Minister of Justice; and they even consented to abandon the order of the day *motive*, which they had prepared, in favour of the order of the day *pur et simple* as proposed by the Government, and which was carried by 483 ayes against 196 noes.

But if the Monarchists thought that now, at all events, they had the President thoroughly with them, they were doomed to disappointment. On Monday the 16th, attended by M. Dufaure, M. Thiers came according to agreement to the Commission of Thirty to discuss the state of affairs, and showed at once that he was not prepared to abandon any of his Constitutional projects. He made a long argumentative speech, in which he reviewed anew his reasons for insisting upon a complete solution of all the Constitutional questions involved in a re-settlement of the government of the country, enlarged upon the points he had simply glanced at in his Message and in his speech from the tribune on the occasion of the debate on the Kerdrel Report, expressing his astonishment that any one could ask for Ministerial responsibility as the great need of the hour; while, as for the proposition to debar him access to the tribune, he declared that the effect of this would be to make crises perpetually recurrent, as he should always be resigning when the Assembly acted as he disapproved. He urged the advantages of a Second Chamber. This new Senate, this revived *Chambre des Pairs*, would be a Conservative institution endowed with a power of dissolving the Democratic Second Chamber; and by playing one of these authorities against the other a President might maintain his position. Without such means at his command he would be powerless. He was especially scornful at

the suggestion of a *veto suspensif*, declaring that it would be perfectly useless, and adding that, if a President were to retain any authority in the face of a single Chamber, it would be necessary to endow him with a plenitude of powers the extent of which had never been realized.

M. Thiers, having thus done something more than re-affirm his old position, told the members of the Commission that he would leave them to consider the arguments he had laid before them, and if they wished a conference with him at any future time, in relation to any of his arguments, he should be happy to meet them again. If, on the other hand, a second interview was to be a mere matter of politeness, he would be unable to accept it, and both parties would have to present themselves anew before the Chamber. Another meeting did take place between the President and the Commission two days later, when both sides adhered to their respective opinions. Truly the dead-lock seemed interminable.

Under existing circumstances it was a relief to all parties when on the 21st of December the Assembly adjourned for the Christmas vacation. And, together with the tide of political agitation, the waters of the Seine, which, under the influence of the extraordinarily wet season, had risen to a height almost unexampled, submerging large districts of suburban Paris, gave no less welcome tokens of subsidence as the year drew to its close.

In pursuing the narrative of the leading political issues during this protracted crisis of Parliamentary history, we have left unnoticed the intervening measures and discussions which had varied the drama carried on within the Versailles Theatre. Some of these may now be glanced at. During the first week of the Session the House had before it a Jury Bill, which, after occasional debates, was passed on the 21st of November by 461 votes against 178. Its object was to restore the restrictive principle of the Imperial legislation on this subject, which the Government of National Defence had relaxed. Instead of every elector of thirty years old being competent to serve on a jury, it was ordered that lists of jurymen should be drawn up by the *Juges du Paix* and Presidents of the different courts of justice, subject to revision by the public prosecutors.

On the 21st of November also, M. Pascal Duprat brought in a Bill for the restitution of the Orleans property to the Princes representing that House. The Bill enacted the abrogation of the Confiscation Decree in 1852, and provided that members of the Orleans family might bring an action for the recovery of their property before the ordinary tribunals. It further proposed that all documents and papers delivered to the Duc de Nemours by a Royal Ordinance should be restored to the public archives as State property.

The Bill passed its second reading on the 22nd.

Then there was the memorial presented by Prince Napoleon Jérôme to a Commission of the Assembly in the middle of December, recounting the circumstances of his expulsion, and

a disposition to move in the direction of Constitutional liberty, he alone remained stubbornly stationary. As liberal principles gained force among the people, his system of action became more and more hated; and when the great work of the unification of Germany brought the King himself and his great minister in connexion with the liberal movement, it became obvious that the position of the reactionary superintendent of the religious and educational interests of Protestant Prussia became no longer tenable, Von Mühler resigned in the middle of January, and Dr. Falk, one of the ablest members of the Ministry of Justice, and a moderate Liberal, was appointed as his successor.

On the 30th of January, Bismarck electrified the Prussian House of Deputies by a bold declaration of war against the Ultramontanes. It was on occasion of a debate on the Government subsidies towards the maintenance of the Catholic clergy; when Dr. Windthorst, the Hanoverian ex-minister and leader of the *Centrum* party, complained of the late measures with regard to the Cultus department, of the diminished advantages open to Catholics in the State and in education, and evinced altogether a disposition little in harmony with the working of the United Germany movement.

Bismarck had entered the Chamber for a passing visit only, after transacting some official business with the Emperor. Some venomous remarks in Windthorst's speech provoked him, and he delivered one of those vigorous harangues which, making his admirers alternate at the moment between applause and laughter, caused noticeable results in the political evolutions of the morrow. The breach in the ranks of the Conservative party, the protests of the *Kreuz-zeitung*, the prospective fusion of all retrogradist parties, the threatened opposition of the Upper House, the Court intrigues subtly directed against himself, were fruits not long withheld. Bismarck began with observing that the desire for peace, expressed by the last speaker, must needs fail of its accomplishment, seeing that his own language had displayed so total an absence of Christian gentleness. It was simply the tone and tendencies of the present party of the Centre, he declared, which made it impossible to allow of a Catholic representative in the Ministerial Council. He turned with withering sarcasm on Windthorst. He beheld, he said, as head of the adverse party, a member who, from the very beginning, had joined the Prussian body politic with repugnance and ill-will, a member who, up to the present time, had never shown by speech or action that he had overcome this repugnance, and as to whom he felt doubtful, even now, whether the new formation of the German Empire was pleasing or distasteful to him. To gain their ends, this leader and his partisans had shown themselves ready to make common cause for the time with Particularists and with Protestants alike. But, declared the Prince, a denominational faction within the region of State politics was altogether to be eschewed. "I adhere," he said, "to the principle that each religion should be allowed perfect freedom, without therefore considering it

necessary that it should be represented in the Government departments in the same ratio as in the population. Every other religious body has as much right to claim this as the Catholics—the Lutherans as well as the Jews. When I returned from France to devote myself to home affairs, the Centre (clerical) party, which had just been formed, seemed to me a party whose policy was directed against the predominance and unity of the State. I will not conceal from you that the Government had hoped to rely upon the assistance of the orthodox element in the people, and thought it had a right to expect that they, above all, would render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. Instead of this we find ourselves systematically withstood in the south, and most virulently attacked in papers and in speeches destined for the instruction of the lower classes. This conduct is the more extraordinary, inasmuch as the Pope and the Prussian Bishops of the Catholic Church have repeatedly acknowledged the perfect liberty their co-religionists enjoy under our institutions. In their downright hostility, therefore, the Ultramontane party cannot be actuated by dissatisfaction at the position the Catholic Church holds, and indeed has long held among us. Unfortunately, we are at no loss to account for their motives. When we find this party leaguings with Radicals of every shade of persuasion—when we find them acting in concert with men whose extreme politics make them avowed enemies of the Prussian Constitutional Monarchy and of the German Imperial Commonwealth—we need not wonder at their drifting into persistent opposition, and placing us in the painful position in which we now stand with regard to them."

A few days afterwards the School Inspection Bill was brought forward in the House of Deputies. The Bill was announced as a result of the twenty-third article of the new Constitution. It provided that the supervision of all educational institutions, public and private, should be entrusted to the State; that all officers appointed as inspectors should be servants of the State, and in no way responsible to the different religious denominations. It was obvious, as soon as the forces on both sides ranged themselves in order for debate, that Bismarck's late speech had cleared the way to a certain readjustment of parties. The Catholics—those of Silesia especially—presented a monster petition against the measure. It found opponents in the "Clericals" generally; the stiff-orthodox Protestants acting in conjunction with the Ultramontanes. The Poles were hostile to it on national grounds, holding it as a step in the process of Germanizing the Polish provinces. On the other hand, the Liberal party, of all sorts and shades, combined to uphold it. At Court, Bismarck's policy on this question met with very faint sympathy. The Queen was known to be an advocate of denominationalism, and the King's inclinations were in the same direction. With the exception of the Crown Prince, the Minister had no thorough-going supporter in the highest circle of all; and, meanwhile, the leader of the antagonistic party, the astute Dr. Windthorst, was

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reported to be growing into a degree of personal favour, for which Bismarck's uncourtly temperament never at any time specially qualified him.

When the Bill was brought in, the Minister of Education, Dr. Falk, defended it in a long speech. He said that the Ministry had paid special attention to the question of School Inspection by the State, being well aware that a strong opposition had been manifested against the measure; but it had come to the conclusion that the bill would be supported by the country generally. There was no desire, as had been insinuated by Dr. Windthorst, to exclude religion from the schools or to establish a godless State. The aim of the bill was not to prevent clergymen from taking part in education, but to make it clear that if a clergyman was employed on school inspection he was in that capacity the servant of the State, not of the Church; and also to provide that the State should not be hampered in its selection of inspectors by the ecclesiastical authorities. There was no intention on the part of the Government to remove any of the present inspectors merely because they were clergymen. "But the experience of many years," said Dr. Falk, "has shown that clergymen, who are excellent preachers and admirably fulfil their other religious duties, are not efficient school inspectors; and the religious movement which is now taking place in Prussia as well as in the rest of Europe renders it imperative, in order to avoid internal conflicts, that all the schools should be under the direct control of the State. . . . This alone will enable us to carry out the principles of the Constitution, which does not favour one religion more than another, but must in justice give equal rights to all." Prince Bismarck next addressed the House. He said that it was above all the wish of the Government to bring about peace in religious matters, and to give full satisfaction to so numerous a class as the Prussian Catholics, and it had sincerely endeavoured to arrive at this result by means which neither endangered the security of the State nor religious liberty in its largest sense. But the Catholic Church in Prussia had connected itself with elements which were entirely foreign to a Church's pacific mission. "Before the establishment of the Clerical (centre) party," said the Chancellor, "there was a party in the House which consisted of one member only, Dr. Windthorst, a great general without an army. Since then he has succeeded, like Wallenstein, in raising an army from the ground by stamping his foot. Are the interests of the army and those of its leaders the same? or does the army, trusting in the skill of its leader, fight for ends which are not its own? Dr. Windthorst," continued the Prince, "was first known to me as a faithful supporter of King George of Hanover, and I have not heard that since then he has abandoned the cause of that monarch. His political action is not necessarily opposed to the view which many people may be disposed to adopt, that his heart is still attached to his former Sovereign. . . . He has insinuated that one may be a royalist for years, and then suddenly

desert to parliamentarianism. I might reply that it frequently happens, that the most bitter enemy of a particular monarchy may strive, under the disguise of sympathy for that monarchy, to obtrude advice upon its king which is highly dangerous to its very existence." He recommended the clericals to withdraw from this "Guelphic leadership" with which they had nothing in common, and which only aimed at subverting the established order of things. Another extraneous ally whom the clericals had secured, the Prince said, was the party of the Polish nobility, who wished to separate from the Germans in the Prussian monarchy, and to restore old Poland with its former frontiers. It was notorious that the clergy—even those of the German nationality—who acted as school inspectors in Polish and half-Polish districts, sympathized with the attempts of the Poles to make the language of the schools Polish rather than German. "We have villages in West Prussia which were formerly German, and where the rising generation now understands nothing but Polish; this is a clear proof of the effectiveness of the Polish agitation during the last hundred years. That agitation has hitherto been tolerated by the State, but we are not disposed to let it continue. And if any more complaints come before us in favour of the Polish language, we will simply answer them by a bill in favour of the German language." In another speech the following day, which concluded the debate, Prince Bismarck observed that Germany was the only country where the clergy did not pursue national objects. "The Polish clergy shares the national aspirations of Poland, the Italian clergy those of Italy, and the French clergy those of France. . . . In Germany, on the other hand, the clergy have a sort of international character; they are more attached to the Catholic Church, even when it is opposed to the development of Germany, than to their country." Here Dr. Windthorst exclaimed, "Proofs!" Prince Bismarck replied, "Ah, gentlemen, look into your own hearts!" Laughter rose from the Assembly. "The previous speaker," continued the Prince, "has reminded me of speeches I made twenty-three years ago—in the year 1849. I could simply dispose of this charge with the remark that in a space of twenty-three years—especially as they were the best years of a man's life—I have learned something, and that in any case I, at least, am not Infallible! But I will go farther. Whatever professions I have made in regard to my Christian faith I now openly reiterate, and I will never hesitate to do so either at home or in public; but it is this very Christian faith which makes it my duty to the country where I was born, and where a high function has been entrusted to me, to protect it against all attacks. When the foundations of the State were attacked by barricades and the Republican party, I considered it my duty to stand at the breach; and if it should be attacked by other parties, whose duty it was and is, rather to strengthen the State than to overthrow it, you will see me there at the breach also. Such is the conduct which Christianity and faith prescribe to me." He

ended amidst loud cheers. The House then divided, and the Bill passed by a majority of 197 to 171.

The measure was brought before the Upper House on the 6th of March. Its probable fate there was matter of much anxiety to the Government leaders. They had against them the Feudalists, Bismarck's old allies, in conjunction with the representatives of Ultramontane opinions; and both classes had done their very utmost to represent the issue of the debate as vital to the religious life of the country, and as involving the most serious spiritual results to each voter. But, on the other hand, the old Conservatives were not a little thrown out of their reckoning by the turn German politics had lately taken. To have Bismarck against them, and the extreme Catholics for their supporters, involved a state of things in which they could hardly work at ease. Moreover, certain circumstances had just occurred which tended to strengthen the position of ministers.

A youth named Westerwell, of Polish descent, was arrested at Berlin on the charge of plotting and conspiring against the life of the Chancellor. The facts proved against him were so trifling—amounting to nothing more than some silly speeches—and the youth himself was so obviously weak-minded and innocuous, that the government prosecution against him dropped; but his examination revealed one important circumstance. He had resided lately, when at Posen, in the house of Canon de Kozmian, a Jesuit, and an ardent champion of the Polish Home Rule and Nationality doctrine. A domiciliary visit to the house of Canon Kozmian was ordained; sundry papers in his possession were seized, and the clerical Hotspur was relegated to temporary seclusion within the walls of a convent.

The debate on the School Inspection Bill lasted two days. The Chancellor stood in the front of battle, wielding the forces of argument with his usual incisive power. The other speakers did little more than reiterate the pleadings already advanced in the Lower House on either side of the question. Bismarck observed that once on a time Prussia had lived in a state of religious peace envied by all Europe: even with that Religious Confession (the Romanist), which it was more difficult than any other to hold in reconciliation with the lawful position and claims of an "Evangelical" dynasty. With the larger development of Prussia and of the Evangelical dynasty consequent first on the events of 1866, the position of things had altered. What the aims and objects of the Roman Catholic party as a whole now were, how utterly incompatible with the interests and policy of the new Empire, he proceeded to show, first by reading a despatch from one of his diplomatic representatives abroad, who had written to him thus:—"The revenge for which people are panting in France is being prepared for by getting up religious troubles in Germany. It is intended to cripple German unity by denominational discord, for which purpose the whole of the clergy are to be utilized under immediate orders from Rome. In connexion with the overthrow of German power, the Pope hopes

to be able to re-establish his secular position in Italy. It is obvious, indeed, that as far as France is concerned the Pope cannot expect assistance from her, unless he consents to direct her clergy to co-operate in the great national cause of revenge on Germany. Only by thus combining the national and ecclesiastical interests can an agreement be effected between them in France; or, more correctly, can the nation be duped by the priests. The restoration of the European supremacy of France will, therefore, be the *mot d'ordre* of her Church, whatever form of Government the country may happen to live under. Thus fresh elements of strength are being formed in France, while Germany, by the labours of her own Catholic clergy and the dictates it receives from Rome, Paris, and Brussels, is to be thrown into disorder." And in another passage of the same despatch:—"I should be indulging in illusions were I to conceal from myself that the preparations making for *révanche* are meant to serve against Germany as well as against Italy. The plan seems to be to begin with paralyzing Germany by means of domestic discord, and then to come down with a crushing blow upon Italy, whose clergy are only waiting for the signal."

In a subsequent part of the debate, Bismarck found occasion to avail himself of the discoveries that had lately been made in connexion with the affair of Westerwell. Count Brinski, a Polish gentleman from Posen, had spoken in opposition to the contemplated measure. The Chancellor was able to turn upon him with the declaration that in Posen, of all countries, the Ultramontane agitation found a lever of special force in the disaffection of the inhabitants to German rule. Were proofs of this disaffection wanting, he had them at hand. And here the Chancellor caused no small sensation in the Assembly by proceeding to read out various passages from the papers that had lately been seized on occasion of the domiciliary visit to the residence of Canon de Kozmian. One of the documents in question was a letter from the Opposition leader, Dr. Windthorst, to that clerical agitator. "Do not," said the writer, "send us any more addresses to the German Parliament. Rather send them to the various German Sovereigns direct, where they are sure to produce an impression, if continued systematically, and at regular intervals. Even though we may have little to hope for at the hands of the German potentates themselves, yet if these petitions show their Catholic subjects to be stirring, they will not dare to interfere with the move which the Catholic Powers, sooner or later, are sure to make in behalf of his Holiness the Pope." Then, from the same packet of confiscated documents, Bismarck read out a letter to Kozmian from the busy Ultramontane politician Ketteler, Bishop of Mayence, urging arguments to the same effect.

"This," said the Prince, "looks very much like an attempt on the part of the writer to befriend foreign Powers, although it is taken for granted that their political and even their military interests in a coming war may be different from those of Germany. Were this course persevered in, and were the Government more suspicious and

sensitive than it is, gentlemen guilty of such conduct might fix themselves within the precincts of a criminal court before they were aware of it."

Then, turning to the Conservative Opposition, who had declared they would not deprive the clergy of their right to supervise elementary schools, even though some priests had misconducted themselves, the Prince made a strong appeal, from which a few sentences may be extracted:—

"Gentlemen," he said, "who, in a matter of this magnitude, deem it incumbent upon them to resist the action of Government, ought to do all in their power to turn out and replace the existing Cabinet. But to sit quietly at home, to derive all one's political information from the papers, and then come here to oppose the Government on a question respecting the real issues of which we must needs be better informed than our eloquent critics—this, gentlemen, is a sort of conduct which I confess I neither approve nor understand. I do not pretend to be cleverer than the Opposition are, but I assert that I know more than they can know, and that if they mistrust my judgment they should consider it their bounden duty to get me dismissed as soon as possible. Instead of an earnest and downright attack such as this, I find myself in a sort of frivolous banter charged with subverting the religious character of the schools and unchristianizing the State, merely because I am taking defensive measures which I assure you I cannot do without. I will not lightly deprive any priest or clergyman of the right he has hitherto possessed to watch over elementary instruction, but I must be empowered to remove him from his scholastic functions, should the imperative interests of the State require it. The small sum I demand for secular superintendents of schools (3000*l.*) sufficiently guarantees the moderation of my views. The exaggerations of the Opposition are as unjust as they are unwise. They arouse an unnecessary excitement in the country; and, creating a bitter feeling without adequate reason or cause, must be regarded as incompatible with the character of a Conservative Opposition. Nowhere has a Government less interfered with the management of ecclesiastical concerns than in Prussia; nowhere have the two Christian denominations so long lived in such perfect concord. But we are now to be deprived of this invaluable boon, and must guard against our adversaries carrying out their charitable intention. One of our weapons of defence is the School Inspection Bill. Need I point out who our enemies are? While two Catholic Powers existed on our border each supposed to be stronger than Prussia, and more or less at the disposal of the Catholic Church, we were allowed to live in peace and quiet. Things changed after our victory of 1866 and the consequent ascendancy of the Protestant dynasty of Hohenzollern. And now that another Catholic Power has gone the same way, and we have acquired a might which, with God's help, we mean to keep, our opponents are more embittered than ever, and make us the butt of their constant attacks."

When Bismarck concluded his masterly speech, the success of Government was assured. The division numbered 125 votes for, and 76 against the measure. The victory was a brilliant one. Congratulatory addresses poured in upon the Chancellor. At the same time the Ultramontane influences gathered themselves together for more resolute opposition. Warfare, open or covert, was carried on everywhere. One instance of it that attracted attention about this time was the conduct of Bishop Krementz, of Ermeland (a diocese of Polish Prussia). This prelate, a hot-headed supporter of the Vatican faith, ventured on excommunicating by his own authority two Professors, Wollmann and Michelis, for denying the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. A Government inquiry was addressed to the prelate: he was reminded that the step he had taken was legally inadmissible without the previous consent of the Cabinet. The Bishop answered that where Civil Law and Canon Law came in contact he considered it his duty to be guided by the last. On this a Ministerial decree was issued. The Bishop was assured of the utter inadmissibility of his principle that obedience to the laws of the country was dependent upon the views entertained on that point by his clerical superiors; he was told that the Catholic Church was subject to the authority of the laws of the country; that he was bound by the oath of allegiance to the King he had already taken; that a sentence of excommunication which injured the civil honour of the subject was altogether illegal. The decree demanded from the Bishop the retraction of this attack upon the civil honour of the denounced professors by an official proclamation, and also an explicit declaration of entire obedience to the Government of the State. Should this demand not be complied with, the breach with the State, it was said, would be regarded as complete, and measures in accordance therewith would be taken.

The Bishop paid no attention to the decree, and tendered neither apology nor retraction; and for the present the affair was allowed to slumber.

Almost as severe a conflict between the power of the Church and the power of the State broke out at Cologne. In that capital of Rhineland, the Government, to promote opposition to the Pope, had placed the garrison church at the disposal of the Old Catholic congregation. Upon this Propst Namszanovski, the Catholic Army Bishop, cautioned the military chaplains at Cologne not to perform Divine service any more in a building desecrated by the unholy meetings of heretics. The chaplains were on the point of obeying the hint, when the commandant of the Cologne garrison gave them to understand that having accepted office in the army, they were under his orders, and would be punished for want of discipline if they obeyed the Propst. In this strait the chaplains appealed to the Bishop of Cologne, who lost no time in coming to the rescue, and laid the church under an interdict. But the chaplains, or, at least, one of them, sided with the Government; and, notwithstanding the solemn prohibition of the Bishop, mass continued to be read within the desecrated walls.

Meanwhile the Prussian Diet continued its very important legislative work this spring by passing through the Lower House a measure for remodelling the County or Districts' Administration for the Six Provinces of East Prussia. The Bill was supported by all the Liberal fraction of the Chamber, and by many of the Conservatives; but after passing the Lower House, it was rejected towards the end of the Session by the Upper House, and was then withdrawn, to be presented anew to the Chambers at the next Session, not quite in its original form, but with some modifications calculated, as it was hoped, to give it greater favour in the eyes of the Lords. We will here give a view of the scope and intentions of this Bill, which later in the year became so memorable a battlefield between the Government and the Feudal party.

The new County Organization Bill was intended to do away with the last remnant of Feudal government surviving in the Prussian kingdom. Hitherto, in the counties to which the Bill referred, the magistrates and County Assemblies, in whose functions it lay to make the roads, relieve the poor, and look after other matters of local interest, had been exclusively composed of the proprietors of landed estates, who also had the privilege of nominating to all the petty magistracies of their districts.

It was now proposed to admit a large number of townspeople and villagers to the County Assemblies, where these classes had formerly been scarcely seen: to create honorary officials, to be elected by these assemblies to perform the functions of the police on the larger estates, as well as in the villages: to bestow upon the villages the right of choosing their municipal officers, and of combining with neighbouring villages for the better management of local matters: and, as the principal change contemplated, to empower the Government officer at the head of the county, though he should remain a nominee of the Crown and retain the right of interfering with the proceedings of the new election officers and authorities, to officiate conjointly with a Board chosen by the County Assembly from the gentlemen of the district. The immense importance of the new law will be sufficiently seen from this brief account. Practically, it would accord self-government to the villages, make the peasant, who is a well-to-do and independent man in many parts of the country, the administrator of his more immediate interests, and by reducing the power of the Civil Service, without entirely abolishing it, effect a happy compromise between the ancient bureaucratic form of government and the requirements of a liberal and self-asserting age.

This County Bill (*Kreis Ordnung*) was intended only for the six Eastern Provinces, Prussia, Pomerania, Posen, Silesia, Brandenburg, and (Prussian) Saxony, in all which the nature of the social fabric is very much the same. In these eastern regions the great mass of the population live in villages or small towns, a peculiarity which is only now undergoing modification in consequence of the influx of the country people into the provincial capitals. The other Provinces having social arrangements of a different sort, the local



government of some of these would require to be ordered by special laws; while others more developed than the rest of the kingdom already enjoy a portion of the privileges intended to be conferred by the enactments above stated.

From an article in the *Times* we give a few more details respecting the actual condition of the proprietorships in the Six Provinces, and the bearing of the new law on the local conditions. "As regards those six Eastern Provinces, the larger proprietors own half the soil, not, indeed, of all of them, but of some. Taking these Provinces as a whole, there exist in them 12,000 owners of knights' fees, with a total of 27,500,000 German acres (*morgen*), against 605,200 smaller proprietors—peasants and citizens—with 82,000,000 *morgen*. A comparison of their respective incomes is, however, more favourable to the privileged class than might be expected from these figures, the knights deriving something like 33,000,000 thalers a year from their land, while the others have only 47,000,000. Many of the knightly estates have considerably more than a thousand *morgen*, although there is no lack of smaller ones; whereas the peasant and citizen proprietors vary in their lots from one *morgen* to many hundreds. The distinction between a knight's fee and a peasant's or citizen's estate is merely nominal, any one being free to buy a knight's fee if he has the money to do so; and the *tiers état* have largely availed themselves of this privilege in the last sixty years. The greater part of the knightly estates, however, continue in the hands of noble families to this day. Hitherto every one of the 11,721 knights has been a member of the County Assembly in his own right, the 605,200 other proprietors sending such a scanty number of deputies to these bodies as to render all independent action impossible. In future an equal number of deputies is to be allotted to knights, citizens, and peasants, each class electing about one-third of the *Kreis Abgeordnete*. The business of the County Assemblies (*Kreistage*) is most comprehensive under the new law. It embraces important decisions in the administration of the Poor Laws; extends to the making of roads, to irrigation and drainage; affects the construction of such factories as may become a public nuisance and the licensing of publicans; and has a good deal to do with the municipal affairs of the villages, and the decision of municipal disputes between the different parishes. The County Assembly, likewise, looks after the execution of the sanitary laws, takes part in administering the finances of the rural schools, and draws up the lists of the jurymen. It assesses the income-tax, appoints some of the members of the Boards assessing the ground-rent and house-tax, levies horses when the Army is mobilized, and provides the corn and other grain to be contributed by the individual districts in time of war. All these functions are either exercised by the Assembly itself or by special committees, the greater part falling to the lot of a standing committee (*Kreis Ausschuss*), which officiates under the direction and conjointly with the rural Prefect (*Landrath*). In point of fact, the greater part of the administrative business, mere routine

work excepted, is intrusted to these several committees; and although their decisions can in many cases be overruled by the higher powers, it is yet evident from the whole of the law, as well as from the practice hitherto observed by the superior authorities, that if once set going the business of the County Assemblies will be as rarely interfered with as is now-a-days that of the Town Councils. There remains another point to be mentioned. The police rights exercised by the larger proprietors on their estates and in the villages connected with them seem to be greatly overrated in England. The knight, it is true, is the representative of the executive, and has to arrest and institute a preliminary inquiry wherever the ends of justice seem to demand it; but he may pass no sentence entailing more than a single day of imprisonment or an adequate fine, and even this requires to be confirmed by the proper Court should the offender appeal. In all matters not belonging to his jurisdiction, if he effects an arrest he has to deliver up his prisoner at once to the nearest Court. His judicial prerogative, then, is more calculated to add to his personal dignity than to enable him to play the autocrat."

The Diet of the German Empire was opened on the 8th of April. Prince Bismarck read the speech from the throne. The measures recommended for consideration during the ensuing session were not very important or exciting. A reform in the mode of levying the Beer Tax, a readjustment of the code of military criminal law, a regulation of the position of public functionaries, were the chief topics suggested for legislation. A flourishing account was given of the revenue, and it was announced, that though the expenditure was to be increased, there was no need for the imposition of new taxes. That Portugal had bound herself to Germany by a new commercial Treaty, that France had ratified a new postal convention with her, that the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine were being satisfactorily consolidated, that Strasburg University was to be opened on the 1st of May, that a new statistical office was to be founded, which would render a complete synopsis of the condition and prospects of the Fatherland; there were other heads of remark which completed the prosperous survey. The actual interest of the Parliamentary campaign, however, happened to centre on matters of which the Imperial speech had taken no notice.

The Chancellor had named as German Ambassador at the Vatican, Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe. It was the first time a Roman Catholic had been appointed to the post by the Prussian Government, and the nomination was appealed to by Bismarck's supporters as a proof that he did not wish to show ill-will to the Catholics as a body, and that now that the Pope no longer filled the place of a temporal sovereign he was willing to conduct negotiations in Catholic church matters through the medium of a member of that confession. But some others saw in Bismarck's nomination a subtler purpose. Cardinal Hohenlohe, though a Papist, was a liberal, a German Unionist, and above all an opponent of the dogma lately promulgated at the Vatican Council. It might well

be that in the present critical condition of affairs, Bismarck held that a Prince of the Church, high in reputation but independent in ecclesiastical opinion, would be a better instrument for counter-acting Ultramontane intrigues than any statesman chosen from the ranks of Protestantism.

And to the appointment of Prince Hohenlohe the Pope himself decidedly objected. His positive refusal to receive him as German representative at his court, was the subject of a speech to the Diet delivered by the Chancellor on the 14th of May, in answer to a proposal made by a member, not to send any other envoy in the place of Prince Hohenlohe, but to let the necessary duties be performed by a Consulate General.

This course Bismarck refused to take, though declaring that the last transaction with the Papal Government had demonstrated the difficulty of effecting an understanding with the Roman Curia through the medium of an Envoy; that the latest dogmas promulgated by the Holy See rendered it impossible to act in harmony with the Curia; that in order to restore peace among the religious denominations, and solve existing difficulties, it appeared necessary to enact a law for the Empire securing complete liberty of conscience. The rejection of an envoy by the Government to whom it was proposed to accredit him was not, he said, a frequent occurrence. It was not a courteous proceeding, it had not happened to Prince Bismarck during a diplomatic career lasting over twenty-one years. It pained him the more inasmuch as Cardinal Hohenlohe appeared eminently fitted to bring about a conciliatory feeling. The regret he felt would not, however, justify him in manifesting irritation. Regard for the interests of the Catholic population of Germany had determined him to nominate another envoy, however difficult it would be to find one equal to Cardinal Hohenlohe, and however doubtful that any substitute could achieve good results. At a later stage of the discussion, Prince Bismarck emphatically declared that he should always reject any Treaty with Rome in which the Papacy might claim that certain State laws should not be binding upon a portion of the subjects of the Empire. The motion for striking out the estimate for an Envoy to the Pope was rejected, and the item was adopted by a large majority.

Dr. Windthorst rose to attack the appointment of Cardinal Hohenlohe, and his speech drew forth another utterance from Bismarck. "The Concordat," he said, "which Herr Windthorst supposes will settle our differences with the Pope is, if my views are acted out, not likely to be concluded. I am not at this moment at liberty to speak in the name of the Federal Council of the Empire on the subject under discussion; but I may tell the preceding speaker that, as far as Prussia is concerned, the Prussian Cabinet are determined to take measures which shall henceforth render it impossible for Prussians who are priests of the Roman Catholic Church to assert with impunity that they will be guided by Canon law rather than Prussian law." (This referred to the

reply lately given by the Bishop of Ermeland to the Government inquiry into his conduct.) "We shall maintain the legislative powers of the State against all comers. We shall bring it home to those not acknowledging our laws, that by obeying foreign law in preference to our own they are placing themselves beyond the pale of Prussian law. Having said this to Herr Windthorst in my capacity of Prussian Minister, it remains for me to answer his taunts on the stability of the Protestant Church, as a Protestant and an Evangelical Christian. If he fancies that the Protestant Church would not survive separation from the State, all I can tell him is that, to my sincere regret, he has not realized the true spirit of the Gospel."

This debate was followed within two days by one of the most momentous that had yet been held within the Parliament walls of United Germany; one, the issue of which amounted to nothing less than a solemn acceptance of the challenge sent forth by the Vatican Council of 1870 to the non-Catholic world. The debate arose upon the presentation of several hundred petitions to the Legislative Assembly, some advocating the expulsion of the Jesuits from the country, others, and the majority, interceding on behalf of the Order.

Bishop Monfang, of Mayence, opened the discussion, taking up the defence of the Society.

"The present popular agitation against the Jesuits," he said, "was set afoot by the Congress of the Old Catholics which met at Munich last autumn. That Congress being directed by half-a-dozen professors believing in their own individual and joint infallibility, assisted by half-a-dozen unruly priests, of course came to nothing. Twelve apostles of this calibre will never succeed in forming a Church, nor even a sect. The noise they made did not, therefore, particularly damage the Jesuits. Nor had the Protestant Association, which soon after assembled at Darmstadt, sufficient influence to set a movement going. Only when some papers in the interest of the Freemasons began to take up the cue given them by the enemies of the Order, did remonstrance assume a tangible shape. Petitions now poured in, charging the Jesuits with all possible and impossible offences, and repeating the most childish and incredible accusations, notwithstanding they had been contradicted ever so long ago. The greater part of these petitions were signed by Protestants, and have been addressed to us from places which, to the best of my belief, have never seen a living Jesuit within their walls. I deny the truth of these vague accusations. I deny that there is any substantial foundation for the aspersions to which the Order has been so long exposed, and which are chiefly credited by such as are utterly ignorant of its doings. I assert that the German Jesuits, being good and pious men, cannot help being patriotic, and that they bear as warm and sincere a love to the country as any other class of society. Has not the German Emperor expressly thanked them for the beneficial activity they displayed during the war? Have they been excelled by any one in

nursing the wounded and aiding the sick? But I hear you say, how about the peculiar doctrines of the Order? Is not, you ask, their moral teaching different from what the world is accustomed to regard as the ordinary rules of virtue and probity?" He then defended the Jesuit books on morality, especially that by Father Gury, which had been much attacked. He adverted to the abolition of the Order by Clement XIV. as an act of weakness on the part of the Pope. "Yes," he said, "a Pope, though infallible in matters of doctrine, might commit blunders on other subjects." He denied the intolerance of the Jesuits, and declared that their actual power had been greatly exaggerated. The surest way to increase the power of the Catholic Church, was to persecute it. In conclusion he said, "Although the Catholic Church and the religious orders belonging to it may be deprived of all secular authority and might, they still claim a legal and independent existence in nearly all the States of the German Empire. In Prussia more especially they have had their independence guaranteed them by a clause of the charter. Before grudging us this position you had better call to mind that the first 700 years of German history from Charlemagne to Charles V. have belonged to us exclusively. Even now, though we, the Roman Catholics, have been reduced to a minority in the territory of the Empire, we still number 14,000,000. That is a figure large enough to render it unadvisable to strengthen and encourage the Protestant majority in their unfortunate prejudices against us. In the interest of peace, concord, and unity, I ask you to reject all petitions hostile to the Order of the Jesuits."

To Bishop Monfang succeeded Councillor Wagener, a Protestant, holding office in the Ministry of State. His speech was regarded as virtually a Cabinet utterance. He declared the recent attitude of the Catholic clergy in Germany to be perfectly insupportable. "The Reformation," he said, "is unblushingly called a revolution, and the axiom, that God—*i.e.* the Church, *i.e.* the Pope—must be obeyed above the Sovereign and all else, is openly announced by bishops and others. I will only quote a few instances of this open contempt of the law. In the province of East Prussia the Bishop of Ermland, in accounting for his alleged excommunications, quietly tells us that if Canon law and State law should happen to clash, he will, of course, be guided by the former. In Westphalia a Catholic priest has had the assurance to question a public employé whether he believes in Infallibility and the other new decrees of the Vatican or not. Upon the reply that such belief would be hardly compatible with the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown, the priest contended that no oath of fealty to a secular Sovereign should ever be taken without the *reservatio mentalis* that it will not hold good when higher duties supervene. Official documents on this incident are in the hands of the Government. Such being the case, how long will the priests refrain from tampering with the fidelity of our sergeants and soldiers? It is, indeed, high time for us to interfere, and to ask the Imperial Government to submit to us a Bill which shall be valid

in all Germany, and shall introduce a new and uniform treatment of priestly recusants. It is the more necessary to have recourse to such an expedient inasmuch as the Pope, being no longer a secular Prince, is the less inclined to spare the feelings of secular Princes, and because there can be no doubt that the political enemies of the Empire will be but too happy to use our religious adversaries as their allies."

Prince Hohenlohe, late Bavarian Premier, and member for a half Catholic and half Protestant district in Bavaria, said he did not approve merely asking the Government to submit a Bill for the restoration of religious peace, as proposed by some preceding speakers. The least that Parliament ought to do was to prohibit the sojourn of any Jesuit at all in the country. It would be even advisable to enact that German subjects entering the Order abroad, should thereby forfeit their right of citizenship, while all those brought up in Jesuit institutions should be incapacitated from holding any public office.

Herr Reichensperger was the next speaker of note. He objected to the Catholics being subject to legislation in Church matters by Protestants, and declared the contemplated measure against the Jesuits to be altogether contrary to the principles asserted by Liberals. "I affirm," he said, "that, being Liberals, though the Catholic Church may not be to your liking, you are in honour bound to leave it alone, and suffer it to be governed by those whom it chooses to regard as its proper governors. As to the Jesuits, many of the most enlightened Protestants have acknowledged their deserts. Frederick the Great, Voltaire, and Macaulay unite in singing their praises. Their being Jesuits does not at all interfere with their patriotism. True Jesuits and Catholics in general are by the comprehensive tendency of their religion led to discern that the interests of humanity are not confined to one country alone. They acknowledge a common brotherhood of all mankind, and they know that Rome is the spiritual centre of the universe. Depend upon it, whatever your vote may be, it can only redound to the advantage of the Holy Church."

Herr Fischer, a Roman Catholic, and burgomaster of the Bavarian town of Augsburg, vindicated the notions of the more Liberal among his co-religionists, and attacked the Ultramontanes. "Ultramontane members have attached considerable importance to the large number of signatures they have been able to collect in favour of the Jesuits. I can tell them that in the Province from which I come, it would have been the easiest thing in the world to get up thousands and thousands of names against the Jesuits had we thought it at all necessary to do so. A large proportion of these signatures would have been those of Roman Catholics; and this, although we in Germany are legally enabled to fight the Jesuits with much more chance of success than the Prussians in the present state of their law can ever hope to do. There is, then, nothing to fear from the menace that 14,000,000 German Catholics will resent our putting out fresh defences against the Order. Just glance at

the Catholic members in the Assembly, and you will find that only one half of them are arrayed on the side of the Pope, the other fighting for what they conceive to be the interests alike of religion, of progress, and of their beloved Fatherland. That the Ultramontanes will exert themselves to represent to the masses the action of the Imperial Parliament as hostile to the Catholic faith I can, however, foresee. This is only in accordance with their usual tactics, and in one sense I must confess it would be true. Though the Catholic Church is not yet wholly identified with the Order of the Jesuits, considerable progress has been made towards merging it in that particular society for the acquisition of worldly goods. Indeed, I am afraid that the time is coming when the reproaches which are now being hurled against the Jesuits will be extended to the whole body of the Church. The power of the Order has of late been constantly on the increase. Frederick the Great may have thought the Jesuits useful in aiding him to propagate classical and other knowledge among his subjects. But Frederick never would have tolerated them, had they resisted what he deemed the interests of his kingdom. He was an absolute Monarch, and ready to disarm and punish his adversaries at a moment's notice. Besides, I quite agree with the Rev. Dr. Morfang that in judging the Jesuits we ought to inquire what they *are*, not what they *were*. No doubt, there have been some periods in their history in which they contented themselves with playing a harmless part; but what they have lately been to Germany may be gathered from the dictum of Ludwig I. of Bavaria—a Monarch whose sincere devotion to the Catholic Church has never been questioned. That King, who died only a few years ago, called the Jesuits 'the most selfish Prætorians, displaying all the foibles of Prætorianism in the very worst sense of the word.' Passing over to our day, we know the French count upon our Jesuits as their allies in a future struggle. Has not M. Rénan, latitudinarian though he be, warned his countrymen against attacking the Order, because its worthy members are sure to assist them on the day when the great French reckoning with Germany shall be settled? It is quite natural for the Jesuits to hate Germany. Constituted as we are, we of all nations are the least likely ever to submit to their behests. I am afraid we cannot prevent France and the Jesuits conspiring against us; it is a thing too likely to occur; but what we can do is to arm in self-defence, and that we will. The threats of the Ultramontanes terrify nobody. The Rev. Dr. Morfang has told us that the more we persecute the bishops the more powerful will they become. I must say I do not object on these terms to make them very powerful indeed. Whoever reflects on their conduct before and after the Œcumenical Council will bear me out in saying that their intellect has been bound in fetters. If they really do insist upon having their bodies likewise fettered, let them have their way."

The last speaker in this memorable debate was Professor Gneist, of Berlin, who acted as Chairman of the Special Commission

which had been charged with reporting upon the Petitions. He entered into an elaborate summing up of the reasons for the Government policy. After stating that hitherto the Prussian State practice had given an indulgent application to the law which, strictly speaking, required every Order to demand special permission before establishing itself in the country, he continued:—"As a consequence of the pro-Papal tendencies until lately prevalent in the Ministry, the number of convents in Prussia has enormously increased. In 1855 we had 69; in 1864, 243; in 1866, 481; in 1869, 826. The number of the persons shut up in these institutions, from 976 in 1855, had increased to something like 10,000 by 1869. Here you see the result of the most vapid of all vapid political *façons de parler*—'the Free Church in the Free State.' In Belgium, where the same sort of unhealthy liberty prevails, it is even worse, the number of monks and nuns having increased from 12,000 in 1846 to over 20,000 in 1870. In countries with a mixed population of Protestants and Catholics this augmentation of the standing army of the Church is doubly dangerous. We all know what the Church thinks of Protestantism, and what use it makes of its soldiery in combating other creeds. But we have to guard against an even more imminent peril. While insisting upon the duty of the Government to enforce ecclesiastical ordinances upon the members of the Catholic Church, that Church declines to permit the State to take cognizance of the nature of those ordinances and to judge for itself whether they are compatible with the public weal or not. Up to the present time the State has been content with the humiliating position assigned to it by the Church, and has acted as the obedient servant of the priests. Let us look at Prussia, which is a fair sample of what more or less is the case in all Germany. The Prussian Government forces Catholic parents to have their children baptized by a Catholic priest; but the Catholic priest asserts that the State has no right to question him as to his doctrine, or to inquire what are the duties imposed by him upon godfathers and godmothers. Again, the Prussian Government compels its Catholic subjects to be married by a Catholic priest; but the Catholic priest insists that in deciding what people may or may not be married, he must be guided by canon law, not by the Prussian statutes. Again, the Prussian Government enjoins upon its Catholic subjects the duty of paying church-rates, and itself contributes a considerable sum annually towards the expenses of the clergy; but the clergy refuse to account for the use made of the sums received. The State ordains that all Catholic children shall receive instruction in the religion of their Church; but the Church denies that the State has any right to inquire what the tenets of that religion are, or in the course of time may become. The State severely punishes all offences committed against priests while in the exercise of their clerical functions; but it has no power to prevent changes in the doctrine or liturgy calculated to call forth opposition. In point of fact, the State is satisfied with the undignified task of a



policeman, carrying out unhesitatingly the orders of the most reverend and imperious father—the priest. If this is, and always has been, an absurd and most anomalous condition, what can be said of it now that the Church goes the length of excommunicating teachers, judges, and administrative officers appointed by the Government, merely because they will not comply with some new-fangled dogma, originally resisted by the Bishops of their own race, and eventually introduced notwithstanding all opposition? Such a state of things is unbearable. We cannot consent to treat the Church any longer as a transcendental institution, which while it relies upon the secular arm of the State for strength, yet pretends to be altogether heavenly and exempt from human criticisms in all that it ordains and demands. To accord the Catholic Church this enormous privilege is not to grant her the liberty she regards as her birthright; it really amounts to enslaving her devotees in favour of her priesthood. The liberty of the Church, as understood by the Catholic priests, is nothing but an unmeaning phrase, implying the subjection to the priest of both State and parish. If the priest cannot do without the help of the State, the State is clearly justified in investigating the conduct and demeanour of the party it is expected to assist. Therefore, if in the Catholic Church there should happen to exist societies or persons wilfully impeding the action of the law or undermining the safety of the State, the State is only availing itself of its undoubted right when restraining the action of such societies and persons. Hence it follows that after all the Jesuits have recently attempted against us, we are only exercising our rightful privilege in restricting and repelling the proceedings of an Order which, from its very foundation, has been engaged in promoting, not the religion of the people, but the power and authority of the clergy. Our object is to restore peace and concord, and to act with that impartiality and tolerance which, under the sceptre of Hohenzollern, has always been extended to both Christian denominations alike.”

At the close of this memorable debate, the House passed a resolution requesting the Chancellor to “regulate the position of all religious orders, congregations, and societies; decide whether they shall be admitted, and on what terms; and enact adequate penalties should they imperil public order and safety; special regard being had throughout to the action of the Order of the Jesuits.”

This resolution being passed, no time was lost in acting upon it. On the 14th of June Professor Friedburg, on behalf of Government, introduced a Bill placing the Society of Jesus under police supervision, and giving the Federal Council power to remove its members from any part of Germany where their presence should appear inconsistent with the public interest. Subsequently, as modified and adopted by a majority of the Federal Council including all but the Polish and Ultramontane sections, it enacted that all convents and other establishments of the Order on German soil should be abolished, that the same veto should be extended to all other

orders and religious societies connected with the Jesuits, leaving to the Government to determine which these societies are; and it conferred on the administrative authorities the right not literally of expelling German members of the Jesuit order, but of assigning them localities where alone they might reside—a clause which in effect amounted to much the same as expulsion. Foreign members of the Order were to be expelled. The authority for carrying the law into execution was vested in a Committee of the Federal Council. The law received the Emperor's sanction before the end of June.

No wonder that these daring proceedings of the heretic Emperor and his Chancellor and the great Council of the German State excited the wrath of the thwarted Pontiff at the Vatican. "Let us hold out!" he said, in answer to an address from a German Ultramontane Society at Rome, "but let us hold out firmly united, and confiding in the justice of God Almighty. Who knows whether a little stone may not soon separate itself from a mountain top, and, coming down unexpectedly, smash the feet of the Colossus! But even if this should not be, if God should permit the persecution of the Church to go on, the Church entertains no fear. On the contrary, persecution can only help to purify it, and to clothe it with fresh beauty. We must not deny that the Church requires purification every now and then, and that the most effective means of reviving its ancient glory has ever been the violence of political power. In days like the present the wheat is sifted from the chaff, and all lukewarmness scattered to the winds. Wait quietly for the decrees of God Almighty. Respect and obey the Government as long as it does not command any thing contrary to the behests of God and Holy Mother Church. I bless your Fatherland, your families and friends, and all good Catholics of Germany. May God preserve and strengthen you to carry out all I have recommended! *Benedicat vobis Deus omnipotens!*"

This hint about the Colossus and the little stone was immediately laid hold of by the Antipapal party as an intended provocation on the Pope's part to disloyal plots against the German Government: others maintained it was merely a piece of Scriptural rhetoric. The superstitious felt uncomfortable when rumours of approaching cholera from the Russian borders began to be heard, and the extremely bad sanitary appliances of Berlin suggested how easy a prey the proud capital might become to this mysterious scourge of God.

The *Provincial Correspondence*, Bismarck's official organ, published a serious and angry article on the Papal vaticination. "When the Pope wishes that the German Colossus may be smashed, that the foundations of the German Empire may be subverted," remarked the writer, "it is a work of supererogation to discuss the matter any further. This statement of the Pope's explains a good many things which have recently happened in the Catholic Church in Germany, and which otherwise would be unaccountable. This frank and outspoken avowal of his sentiments by the Pope is

also another proof that in all questions of ecclesiastical import we have to deal not with individual Bishops but with the head-quarters of the Church and the parties directing the attack that is being made against us. In repelling this attack, the German Government, therefore, will not only have to punish individual offenders living under its own jurisdiction, but will also have to remember that the ecclesiastical movement in this country is connected with foreign interests adverse to our own, and that it is opposed to the position and national independence of Germany. Whatever we do, we shall henceforth remember that our adversaries aim at smashing the feet of the Colossus."

The *Osservatore Romano*, the Papal organ, was not behindhand with its compliments:—"We hope and trust that Providence will allow the immortal Pio Nono to live long enough to witness the triumph of Holy Mother Church over the wicked agitator (*mestatore*) Bismarck and his Döllingerian accomplices, the heretics and Old Catholics. Offended pride, and the disappointment he naturally experiences at seeing all his plans going to wreck and ruin on the rock which supports the Pope and Holy Church, have already deprived him of the last particle of common sense. At this moment all that is left of him is a hideous compound of perfidy, dishonesty, ignorance, and mendacity. Has he not already committed the imprudence of avowing in his official paper that the famous axiom, that Church and State ought to be both free and independent of each other, is an impracticable theory, and that the complete separation of the secular from the ecclesiastical power is an impossibility? The Catholics have always adhered to this opinion, and the Syllabus expressly condemns the separation of the two powers; but Bismarck draws a very erroneous inference from what we assert in common with himself, if he insists that the State has a right to interfere with the exclusive functions of the Church, such as the election of the Pope and the settling of moral and dogmatic questions. The language of the barbarous Goth is so absurd that it hardly requires to be contradicted."

A Ministerial crisis which took place in Bavaria at the close of the summer was brought about by the endeavours of the Ultramontane party allying themselves with the elements of Separatist discontent which existed in that country, and turning to account the wavering, impulsive character of the King. After the prorogation of the Reichstag, the German Crown Prince had been commissioned by the Emperor to go on a tour of inspection into the condition of the military forces of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hesse. The Prince travelled incognito, and in civil costume; but in spite of his endeavours he could not escape from the popular ovation which everywhere greeted him. Among the homes of the Southern troops, who had served under him in the war, his personal popularity was unbounded. Everywhere songs of triumph were addressed to him, and "Our Crown Prince" was eulogized as the hope and mainstay of the Fatherland. King Louis evinced symptoms of jealousy. During

several weeks that the Crown Prince stayed in Bavaria, his presence was all but ignored by the Court of Munich. And while he was still within the precincts of the kingdom, at the beginning of September, the Cabinet of Herr von Lutz, the friend and supporter of Bismarck, went out of office, and the monarch called to his side Herr von Gasser, a Separatist politician of the most decided type, with the commission to form a new Ministry. Von Gasser made the attempt, but could find no statesman of moderate opinions to work with him: he turned to the Ultramontanes, but their views were by no means identical with his. He found it impossible to constitute a Cabinet on reactionary and particularist principles alone. The King too, hot one moment, was cold the next. The crisis, therefore, resulted in a return to the former state of things: and thus was silenced eventually the one jarring note which marred the harmony of the great festal occasion at Berlin, when the three Continental Emperors met face to face to satisfy the world of their friendship, and themselves of the harmony for the moment, at all events, of their political previsions.

The Berlin Conference had been arranged between William and Francis Joseph for some time past: it is said ever since the German Emperor visited the Austrian at Ischl in the summer of 1871. The occasion now was seized to invite the Czar of All the Russias also. His acceptance was not withheld. The meeting was a brilliant one. Berlin put on its gala attire. It was a week before the illustrious assemblage dispersed. A grand military parade of the Guards on the 7th of September was followed by a banquet in the "White Hall," and a monster tattoo by torchlight in the Lustgarten, accompanied with splendid illuminations. Conspicuous among the entertainments was that given by the Crown Prince at the "New Palace" near Potsdam on the 9th. The courtesy and cordiality—to the outward eye, at all events—between the three Potentates was perfect. And while William, Francis Joseph, and Alexander talked and banqueted together as if no Sadowa had ever been fought and no "Baltic-provinces difficulty" existed, their Ministers, too, smoked the pipe of peace in harmonious trio. "Prince Bismarck," says a Berlin telegram of the 10th, "gives a private dinner to-night to Count Andrassy, Prince Gortschakoff, and their secretaries. The three have been closeted every day for the last three days for many hours; but all designs, save the wish to bring the three Sovereigns together and so promote peace and goodwill, are strongly repudiated." Of course, whatever might officially be said, conjectures were rife as to the real import of this Imperial meeting. Was it a "Holy Alliance" that was being concocted over again? a design to repress "Internationals" and all movements of thought that might be supposed to favour them? But this the genius of the age seemed to render hardly possible. Was it an indication that for the present all grounds of strife between the three Sovereigns were laid aside, and a paramount intention conveyed to ensure by their own concord the peace of Europe on the basis of the

*status quo* ? One thing was clear : that the new German Empire had obtained recognition from its two most formidable existing rivals ; and this was a fact most unacceptable to the French nation on the one hand, which saw its hopes of *révanche* by means of a foreign alliance indefinitely postponed ; and to the Ultramontanes on the other, who were forced to renounce the prospect of an ally and protector even in the Chief of the House of Hapsburg, the " born defender of the Catholic Church."

As soon as his guests had left Berlin, the German Emperor betook himself to Marienburg, the capital of West Prussia, to aid in celebrating the centenary of the first partition of Poland, when the province in question had been restored to Prussia, of which it originally formed a part. To erect a statue to Frederick the Great was a fitting commemoration of the event ; and the foundation-stone of this memorial was laid opposite the south-west front of the magnificent old castle by the conqueror's representative. The German Government, however, could not stir a step at this time without coming in collision with some discordant element. The Bishop of Ermeland took advantage of the moment to make ostentatious profession of his loyalty, and wrote to the Emperor himself, expressing his desire to pay his respects to him at the jubilee. The Emperor replied that he should be happy to receive Dr. Krementz, if he would simply retract the offensive assertions made by him in his correspondence with the Ecclesiastical Department of State, and declare himself willing to obey the laws of the land in their fullest extent. The Bishop's reply was so unsatisfactory that he had to forego his intention of waiting upon his Sovereign ; and soon afterwards it was decided in a Council of State that the salary he received from Government should be suspended.

It was indubitable that the clerical party were carrying out with very hearty intention their measures for war. The expulsion of the Jesuits, whether or not on the whole a politic measure on the part of Government, certainly had the effect of precipitating hostile action. It was the old war of Guelphs and Ghibellines over again. Under the auspices of Bishop Ketteler a " Union of German Catholics " was organized at Mayence at the beginning of July, professedly for the purpose of supporting the Church in its conflict with the Empire. In September the members of this association met at Fulda, and issued a memorial stating their grievances. They asserted explicitly that canonical laws were more binding than those enacted by the secular power ; that the Church, and not the State, was rightfully supreme in ecclesiastical affairs, in education, and in marriage contracts. They complained of the laws recently enacted against the Religious Orders, of the favour shown by the State to the " Old Catholics," renegades who had refused to obey the decrees of the Vatican Council : and they justified the action of the Bishop of Ermeland, and upheld the episcopal right of excommunication. The document was signed by the twenty-six German Catholic Bishops, the names of the Archbishops of Cologne, Munich, and Bamberg, and of

the Prince-Bishop of Breslau, standing first. Among the signatories was to be found Bishop Hefele of Rottenburg, he who had once asserted the Infallibility dogma to be a death-blow inflicted on the Catholic Church. Irritated by his apostasy, the Old Catholics now published the letter addressed to their committee at Bonn in November 1870, in which he had used these expressions.

There was yet a third convention of this newly-organized party before the month of September was over. It took place at Breslau, and was attended by upwards of 1600 delegates.

Meanwhile the Old Catholics showed but little of the resolute action manifested by the Ultramontanes. The incubus of a doubtful position lay upon them. They hardly knew what doctrine they were of, nor who were their lawful allies. Their assertion that they represented the Catholic Church as it had existed up to the 18th of July, 1870, clearly cut them off from union with Oriental Christians or with Protestants, even of the most High Church Anglican or Lutheran type. Nevertheless they had many sympathizers among both classes; and on either side the ground was felt for mutual approximation.

On the 20th of September the party met in Congress at Cologne. To them were gathered many eccentric Christians: Catholics "unattached," English Ritualists and Broad Church theorists, and Eastern ecclesiastics. Three dignitaries of the English Church were there: the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, and the Dean of Westminster. Père Hyacinthe was there; Councillor Bluntschli, the Evangelical Rationalist; the Jansenist Bishop of Utrecht, whose presence gave Catholic Episcopal sanction to the movement. The President's chair was filled by Professor Von Schulte. The prime leader of the movement, Döllinger himself, sat in a corner of the hall of assemblage almost out of sight, and took little part in the proceedings; but to all the foreign guests he was the foremost object of sympathy and gratulation. Among other distinguished members were Professor Friedrichs, young, earnest, and practical; Huber, of Munich, deep in philosophic insight; Reinkens, of Breslau, genial and eloquent; and Michelis, the stalwart muscular Christian on whom the "little Ermeländer," as Bishop Krementz was popularly nicknamed from the smallness of his stature, had just hurled the thunderbolt of his excommunication. The number of delegates present amounted to from 400 to 500.

The speech of Professor Michelis struck a note which reverberated throughout the succeeding discussions. He described how, thirty years ago, he had as a student first seen the magnificent cathedral of the city in which they were assembled—unfinished, ruined; its towers parted from its nave, its nave from its choir; and how now he found it rapidly advancing towards completion—choir and nave united in one, its stately proportions restored, its original plan carried out. "In this outward fact," he said, "I see a figure of what has befallen, and what may yet be in store for the divided, ruined Church of Christ, once more to be united and brought

together in its several parts." "And," he added, "this parable receives additional significance from the fact that the restoration of this Catholic cathedral was conceived and carried out by a Protestant King. It is only with the help of Protestantism that Catholicism can be united and regenerated!"

The immediate practical results of the Congress were the appointment of a committee for preparing the reunion of the Christian sects, a resolution for establishing episcopal organization among themselves, and a claim to be addressed to Government for the possession of Church property. The directing committee was to have its seat alternately at Cologne and Munich.

It was a year of Congresses in Germany. The Social Science Congress, which opened at Eisenach in the first week of October, under the presidency of Professor Schmoller, brings under our notice another of the many-sided aspects of human affairs. The promoters of this meeting stated it as their object to reject or to remodel the currently-accepted principles of political economy. Sharing, as they said, in the alarm which had been caused in many quarters by the dissensions between capitalists and workmen, they thought it possible to devise some middle course between free competition and socialistic despotism. On their speeches and theories it is not our purpose here to descant. It is enough to refer to the cause which led to the assembling of the Congress, namely, the numerous strikes which had taken place in different branches of German trade since the war, and which had ranged employers and artisans in hostile camps. The impetus given to trade by the consolidation of the German Empire had already raised wages 40 per cent., and largely increased the expense of living for all classes. The year 1872 had scarcely opened, when masters began to prepare for the anticipated pressure of business in the summer. Immediately the Berlin building trades turned recusant. The masters, remembering late defeats, thought it best to give in at once: and before a strike could be organized, an increase of pay and diminution of hours was granted to the masons and carpenters of the metropolis. But the concession only incited them to fresh demands. One trade followed after another in the movement. The strikes were directed by improvised committees, mostly belonging to one of the various Socialistic societies; and though happily not marked by violence or deep ill-will against the employers, they caused an amount of disturbance in most of the manufacturing towns which was most inconvenient for the time being, and could not but open unpleasant visions for the future. After the Eisenach philosophers had broached their various opinions, the meeting adopted the following general and temperate resolutions:—

#### " I. FACTORY LAWS.

" 1. The German Factory Laws are framed in accordance with the requirements of the case, but should be more effectually carried out by officers appointed by the State.

"2. The German Factory Laws require to be supplemented by other statutes still further reducing the hours of work for young persons and enforcing attendance at school. Whenever the evils these laws are intended to remedy show themselves, regulations adapted to the special requirements of the various trades should be passed.

"3. It is necessary to enact similar special laws for married women.

#### "II. COALITION LAWS.

"1. The right to combine for the attainment of a common purpose is to be unconditionally recognized and maintained.

"2. The majority of the meeting are of opinion that the Trade Unions and the relief funds they collect should be recognized by the law, provided certain conditions and obligations are complied with.

"3. The institution of Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation is declared to be useful."

Thus so far the meeting swept away the fog that hung over the doctrines of the new school. It confirmed the great principles of property and equality, declining to award undue privileges to the poor in their struggle to get on. It accorded special protection to women and children only, leaving the men to fight their way in a contest which affected all alike. But in recommending conciliatory measures it likewise acknowledged the necessity of convincing rather than compelling, of showing the working classes what is possible and what is not, and of satisfying employers that amicable arrangements are both their duty and their advantage.

Towards the end of November another Social Congress, calling itself the "Austro-German Social Conference," met at Berlin, to consider the same questions of capital and labour, and the elevation of the working classes by means of schools, libraries, insurance offices, and benefit funds.

Among the tasks of the great German Premier this year none was more near to his interest than the organization and administration of the newly-acquired territory of Alsace-Lorraine; and on the whole the process of assimilation with the German body politic went on as satisfactorily in the alien provinces as could be desired or expected. The University of Strasburg, which was opened on the 1st of May, was started with every advantage that money and favour could give to make it one of the chief seats of German learning.

On the last day of September the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine were to make their final option to which nationality they would belong. All who by midnight of that date had not transferred their domicile to France or elsewhere were to be considered and dealt with as German subjects. It was a mournful exodus; yet the emigrants were not so numerous as had been anticipated. Not more than 45,000 inhabitants elected still to be French. Moreover, when the German Army Conscription Lists were opened for the conquered provinces, instead of the sullen opposition to the new



service that had been predicted, more volunteers from Alsace presented themselves than could be received into the ranks. One mistake was made by the German authorities in the arrest of the French writer, M. Edmond About, on the 13th of September, in consequence of some abusive articles he had written in the journal called the *Soir* of the previous October. It was asserted that he was then, being a Lorrainer, *de facto* a German subject: all denizens of the conquered provinces were so until they exercised the special right accorded to make themselves French subjects by a declaration at any time before the 1st of October, 1872. If a strictly legal, this was not a generous interpretation of the letter of the Treaty; and M. About's vociferous complaints of his arrest and imprisonment raised an amount of sympathy for him rather more than the circumstances really called for. He was released after only a week's durance.

On the 22nd of October the Prussian Chambers resumed their sittings after the recess. Then came on the Chancellor's last great battle for the year. The New Districts Administration Bill was brought on for discussion in the Upper House. Count Eulenberg, the Minister of the Interior, stated that the idea of reforming the District Governments by means of provincial legislation was antiquated and impracticable. Feudal estates were an impossibility in the present day, and the Government could not turn a deaf ear to the cry which had made itself heard among the people for self-government. The introduction of self-government was in order to transmit to the citizens the general obligation to render services to the country. In regard to military matters, this had been carried out, and it had made Prussia great. In fine, General Obligation to national service was the watchword of the Government, which he begged the House also to accept.

The vote was taken on the 31st of October, when, notwithstanding the Emperor's intimation to Count Brühl, a Vice-President of the Upper Chamber, that he desired and expected it to pass, the Peers decided to reject the Government proposition by 145 against 18. The majority was a prodigious one; it involved nothing short of a political crisis. Whether prudent or not, the position of the recusant Prussian lords was intelligible. The Bill proposed to take away all they prized most highly. While everything else had been changing, the rural economy of Prussia had remained intensely aristocratic and feudal. The County Assemblies had been composed entirely of large landed proprietors, and privileges of police and powers of administering justice which in English provincial life are mere curiosities of antiquarianism had survived in Prussia, where they had a real existence in the hands of feudal Lords. The Government Bill was designed to put an end to all this. It proposed to remodel Prussia by conceding representative institutions and self-government to its villages and rural circles. Not that it aimed at excluding large proprietors from the County Assemblies, but it would admit the elected representatives of peasants to sit side by side with them; peculiar jurisdictions would

be abolished altogether, and the *Landraths* would be checked in the exercise of their administrative authority by being associated with Boards appointed by the reformed County Assemblies. Changes like these not unnaturally appeared to the members of the Upper House so revolutionary that they must be resisted at all hazards. The speakers in the Chamber of Peers declared that to upset the rural life of the country was to introduce Republicanism at once into the nation ; and that if the King was so misled as to believe the change consistent with the maintenance of the Monarchy and the continued existence of the State, it was their duty to rescue him from the evil consequences of his delusions.

The immediate consequence of the vote was that the Ministry ordered the Chambers to be closed ; and they were prorogued, with a royal message, for twelve days. Bismarck was entirely bent on carrying the measure, which he considered indispensable for bringing about a due amalgamation of Prussia with the New Empire in temper and principles. No one had acted more thoroughly with the aristocratic and Junker party in former times than he had done : but circumstances had changed, and Prussian particularism must in due course of things succumb to the more liberal requirements of a United Germany, if the greatest work of modern Europe were to come to a successful issue.

The Prussian Parliament reopened on the 13th. The Government, in accordance with the tactics which rumour had ascribed to them, reproduced their old Bill in the Lower House, with "certain alterations, the necessity or expediency of which has been demonstrated by previous debates," and about which, it was believed, they had come to a previous understanding with the majority of the Deputies.

The Minister of War, General von Roon, in introducing it, announced to both Houses that the Government was firmly resolved to carry this important measure by availing itself of all constitutional means at its disposal. These "means" were well understood to be, the creation of a number of new Peers, sufficient to turn the balance of the Upper Chamber in its favour : sufficient also, it was surmised, to aid Bismarck in the carrying out of yet further designs against the obstructive power of the *Herrenhaus* (House of Lords).

Before the close of November, the Districts Organization Bill in its new shape had passed the Chamber of Deputies. The general debate in the Upper House commenced on the 6th of December. Count Munster, hitherto the leader of the party hostile to Government, declared himself in favour of accepting the Bill in its integrity, and without any amendment whatever ; urging the advantage, from a national point of view, of not setting the remainder of Germany an example of internal discord, while he desired to have the Upper House remodelled in such a manner that the newly-acquired provinces would be fully represented. Count Eulenberg, the Home Minister, pointed out that, in face of the necessity of securing,

by the elections of new Peers, the adoption of the Bill unaltered, it was idle for the Right to prognosticate revolution from the passing of a law which had the majority of the people at its back. It was idle for the Right to claim, as it had done, the gratitude of the Government for its attitude during the internal conflict between 1862 and 1866. An individual might be grateful, the State could not be grateful. The King, added Count Eulenberg, could not for ever retain a Minister for having once given good counsel, and the Government could not for ever show consideration for a single Parliamentary fraction because it had formerly observed a proper attitude. This Bill was not, as asserted by its antagonists, the death-struggle of Conservatism, but the first reviving step towards internal reform.

The number of new creations of Peers at first suggested was forty ; eventually twenty-five were found to be sufficient. It was not without reluctance that the Emperor consented to a revolutionary step with which his feelings and principles in all his career as King of Prussia had been so little in accordance ; but he had resolved to go hand in hand with Bismarck in this matter, and to forget his old reactionary tendencies in the responsibilities of the new position which his great minister had created for him. Just before he put his sign manual to the new creations, he had an opportunity of expressing his sentiments on the proposed measure in answer to a letter addressed to him by Herr Frankenberg, a Conservative member of the Lower House, and a trusted friend of his own, who earnestly adjured him to refrain from coercive measures against the Lords. The Emperor, fully acknowledging the good intentions of the writer, reminded him that the Conservatives had looked forward to the speedy downfall of the State as an inevitable consequence of the agrarian and municipal reform of 1808, and went on to express his conviction that the time had arrived when the work begun in those early days must be resumed and to a certain extent completed. In these pushing times the Administration, he urged, had become too complicated an engine to be conducted by professional officials alone ; and even if this were not the case, the finances required to be lightened by the transfer of a portion of the public business to men not salaried by the State, and in a position to regard the honour of serving their country as their best reward. The Civil Service of Prussia was already 62,000 strong, and so badly paid that its members had a right to demand an increase of salary. As this demand could not any longer be refused, there was nothing left but to obviate the necessity of fresh offices being created as fast as had hitherto been done.

The Emperor's letter was well timed, and gave no little satisfaction to others besides the Liberals. In fact it tended to bring about a split in the Conservative ranks of the Lower House, which proved a great assistance to the schemes of Government.

The Government being thus fortified and prepared, the special debate did not occasion much struggle. On the 9th all the clauses

had been accepted, the final division giving a proportion of 116 votes against 91.

And so the triumphant Chancellor had gained another victory. It was no little surprise to the world when, at this moment of all others, he suddenly announced his desire to resign the Premiership of the Prussian Cabinet. Speculations were rife as to the reason. The Conservatives fondly hoped that he had really received a check at last: that the Emperor was not prepared to sanction the whole of his Prussian policy, and that he quitted the ground accordingly. The Liberals believed that it was only a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter*: that while he retained the department of Foreign Affairs in the Prussian Ministry, his position as Head of a Cabinet, the members of which, Herren Selchow and Itzenplitz, remained obstinately conservative, was less advantageous to his schemes than it would be as Foreign Minister only, with a representative in the Premiership who would do his best to carry out the Prince's views, and who could spare time for the manœuvres and antagonisms which were a vexation and worry to the already much-taxed statesman who had to act as Chancellor of the German Empire. At any rate, after doubts on the part of the public whether the retirement was really intended or not, an Imperial Rescript on the 21st of December established it as a matter of fact. The words of the Rescript were these:—"In compliance with the application contained in your report of the 20th inst., I hereby relieve you from the Presidency of the State Ministry. You will continue to confer with me on the affairs of the Empire and its foreign policy, and will, in case of being prevented from appearing personally at a sitting of the Ministry of State, be authorized on your own responsibility to give your vote on matters concerning the interests of the Empire through the President of the Imperial Chancellery, Herr von Delbrück. The Presidency of the Cabinet devolves upon the senior Minister of State." This senior Minister of State was Count von Roon.

Before the year closed, the Government came into violent collision with the Ultramontane party in the Grand Duchy of Posen. The Polish clergy in that province had been availing themselves of the antagonism between the Pope and the German Government to resume the work of national agitation more hotly than ever. Of late the indulgence shown them had encouraged these active servants of the Vatican to celebrate special services for the purpose of recommending their province to "the sweetest heart of Jesus," as a panacea against "the persecutions of those in power." Even this additional provocation was at first ignored by the authorities; but when they began reading from the pulpit a pastoral letter from their Archbishop fulminating against the sons of Belial—the name given to the Government and the Germans generally—the Home Office at last determined to interfere with the seditious proceedings. Half-a-dozen Roman Catholic chapels belonging to public schools, which are the property of Government,

were ordered to be closed. The priests officiating in these chapels, as well as the head masters of the schools to which they were attached, were requested to explain how they reconciled the reading of the objectionable document with the duties of their office; and a teacher who had gone the length of treating the scholars in his class to the abusive pastoral was removed. In Germany Proper, meanwhile, criminal prosecutions of Catholic priests likewise began to multiply. In the Thuringian village of Uder the parish priest was sent to prison for six months for transgressing the law of 1871 restricting the flow of political eloquence in the pulpit.

The Pope's Allocution on the 23rd of December, speaking bitter things against Germany, occasioned the sudden recall of Lieutenant Stumm from his residence at the Vatican as Chargé d'Affaires. Though the plea of ill-health was alleged, it was well understood that his absence from the Papal reception on New Year's Day was considered indispensable by the Emperor and his Ministers. The public journals had less reason for reticence than the Government. The *Spener Gazette* did not hesitate to pronounce, in an article headed "The New Benedetti," that the language used by Pius IX. towards the Emperor William was a greater insult than the Ems outrage; while the *North German Gazette* emphatically declared, "While we feel that the attack upon the Emperor's honour involved an insult to the German nation the more unpardonable the higher the pretensions of him who does not blush to abuse his religious mission in a manner so unprecedented, decrying the authority which derives its power from the Almighty, our moral indignation at such colossal impudence (an expression we borrow from the Allocution) can only be appeased by the conviction of an imperative necessity that the limits between Church and State must immediately be clearly defined by legislation. This legislation is matter of life and death for the German Empire."

#### AUSTRIA.

Our summary of Austrian History for the year 1871 concluded with the Speech from the Throne, of the 28th of December, indicating the programme of the Auersperg Ministry. Answering addresses were drawn up by the two Houses of the Reichsrath. That of the Upper House was a mere echo of the Imperial speech, and was accepted without change; that of the Lower House, drawn up by Dr. Herbst, was framed in an evidently party-spirit as against the pretensions of the Poles and Czechs, and drew on an animated discussion. Finally, however, it was accepted in its integrity.

The constitutional campaign began with the discussion of the Ministerial Bill for the introduction of compulsory elections, i. e. direct elections to be ordered by Government in all districts and towns of which the already chosen representatives should abstain from taking their seats in the Reichsrath. This was a compromise of the original government scheme, which had proposed the calling

up in such cases of the candidate who should have had the next number of votes to the elected member; but its adoption was a success for the Ministry. It had passed both Houses by the end of the first week in March, and received the Imperial sanction before the end of that month. The Budget and Financial Law for 1872 passed during the same period.

The Law of Direct Elections did not pass without a vigorous attempt on the part of the Galician and Dalmatian members to extort autononical concessions for their several provinces. The Ministers firmly refused; and their position of antagonism, aided by the passionate and unskilful tactics of the Polish deputies on the occasion, resulted in a complete victory, which gave not a little credit and prestige to the new Ministry.

Another circumstance in its favour was the financial exposition. It turned out that the late Finance Minister Holzgethan, by whom the estimates had been framed, had committed the unusual error of over-estimating the expenditure of Government, and under-estimating its revenue. Consequently, instead of the deficit of 3,000,000*l.* which had been anticipated for the year 1871, it was found that a surplus actually existed wherewith to meet the engagements of January, 1872; and with regard to the current year, instead of an expenditure calculated at 35,900,000*l.*, and a revenue of 30,800,000*l.*, the Special Committee reduced the first to 34,840,000*l.* (or, in certain eventualities, 500,000*l.* more), and raised the last to 32,660,000*l.* For this satisfactory state of things much credit was due to the strict frugality with which the administration had been for some time conducted. The order and method displayed by the German officials had even, it is said, had a beneficial effect on the alien races with which they were brought in contact; and the improvident Magyars had begun to evince commendable prudence in financial management. At the end of March the Reichsrath was prorogued, to meet again on the 7th of May.

Meanwhile the Ministry had felt itself sufficiently strong to venture on dissolving the existing Bohemian Diet, in which a strong Federal majority domineered, and ordering new elections for an Assembly to meet on the 24th of April. The Czechish malcontents left no means untried to promote their great aim of overthrowing the existing state organization of the Empire, and replacing it by a federation. It was the conduct of the great landowners which would determine the character of the next elections. It was to secure them, therefore, that the efforts of the Czech party were mainly directed, and the pressure exercised upon them assumed something of the aspect of terrorism, and provoked interference on the part of Government. Not content with agitating on the hither side of the Leitha, the Czechs sent envoys to the Croats, and even to Kossuth, the old Magyar agitator, at Turin. The German Liberals, usually supine in the matter of elections, were roused to vigour by the machinations of their rivals, and they too concentrated their efforts on the great rural proprietors. When

at last the fight was over, it was manifest that a decisive victory had been gained by the Constitutional party. A majority of not less than fifty-five votes was credited to them.

The Hungarian Diet brought its last session to a close in the middle of April, after a tumultuous fashion; the cause of discord being the Election Bill, which Government wished to pass, and which had obtained the support of the majority of the Chamber. The minority, composed of the Nationalists and extreme Conservatives, objected to it on two grounds. In the first place, because by giving a fairer representation to the majority of the population it threatened to cost them a number of seats. In the second place, because by substituting quinquennial for triennial parliaments it was almost certain to defeat their favourite aim—namely, the abrogation of the compromise of 1867, as a preliminary step to the establishment of a totally independent State, which would be all the more to their mind if it could be made a Republic. Government had very good reasons for wishing to bring the question to an issue without delay. The constitutional compromise of 1867 was a temporary measure concluded for ten years, after the expiration of which it would have to be renewed. It had worked well, and perhaps the argument most in its favour was that the very act of questioning its prolongation had induced a powerful portion of the Left to secede in order to make the compromise the basis of their future programme. Should a quinquennial Parliament be elected, the vote on the prolongation would come within its period of legislation, and as Government at present possessed a majority, there could be little doubt that vote would be favourable. On the other hand, if another triennial Parliament should follow, there would be a fresh chance for revolutionary agitation; in fact the period between the present year and 1877 would be nothing but agitation—the worst thing for Hungary that could happen.

There were other considerations. The Ultramontanes were busy in the ranks of the Opposition. Hitherto, a clerical party had not existed in Hungary; but the clericals for some months past had sought alliance with the Deakists, and then, meeting with no response, passed over to the other side, and, as usual, carried organization with them. They took with them also the more tangible advantage of a strong reinforcement composed of Ultramontane Conservatives who had hitherto acquiesced in the Hungarian approaches to Germany, because they hoped that a renewal of the "Holy Alliance" might follow in the wake of the second French rout. That hope being cut off, they had become anti-German, and had thrown in their lot with the revolutionists.

The Emperor came to Pesth to close the Diet, bringing with him the principal members of his family, and inviting the attendance of the whole diplomatic corps. The preparations for the closing ceremony were unusually magnificent. The Speech from the Throne was studiously moderate and practical, and worked a beneficial effect on the excited political elements of the moment.

After the Session was over, the Emperor further gratified his Hungarian subjects by making a tour through the south-eastern portions of the kingdom, which he had never visited before. At Temesvar he was met by a special envoy from the Sultan. The abstention of the Prince of Servia from showing a similar token of respect was the subject of much remark, and was supposed to be owing to the discouragement given by Austria to certain ambitious designs cherished by that ruler with a view to emancipating himself from the sovereignty of the Porte.

The new elections for the Hungarian Diet took place in June. It was opened on the 4th of September by Francis Joseph in person, just before his journey to Berlin. This year, according to constitutional law, the delegations of the dual empire met at Pesth, as they had met at Vienna the year preceding. The Emperor received them on the 16th, on his return from Berlin. His recent successful interview with his brother Emperors at that capital had given fresh confidence in the maintenance of peace, and the Delegations opened under unusually cheerful auspices. The publication of the so-called "Red Book," which was to give an account of the foreign policy pursued by the Government, called Count Andrassy to the front, to give replies to information asked for by Dr. Giskra in reference to that department of affairs. Some of these replies may be cited here, as serving to show the attitude of the Austrian Government in reference to certain leading political matters. In reply to questions concerning the recent meeting at Berlin, Count Andrassy stated that "no political arrangements were made" during the Imperial meeting; but that an "exchange of views" had taken place between the Ministers of the three Powers, which was "perfectly satisfactory." The most important consequence of this exchange of views was the assurance given to Austria "that certain Panslavist tendencies, which continue to strive to bring the two States" (Austria and Russia) "into antagonism with each other, find no support in Russian official circles." Such a statement from a Minister who, like most Hungarian statesmen, was formerly known as a bitter enemy of Russia, naturally produced a great sensation in the delegations, and the German papers lost no time in inferring that a *rapprochement* must have taken place between the two countries.

As regarded Italy, the Minister laid great stress on the existence of most amicable relations with that State. The only difficult point concerning them was the relation of the Romish Church to the Italian Government. In that respect the Austro-Hungarian Government had endeavoured by perfect frankness, and an explanation of its really sincere intentions, to make its views acceptable without hurting the legitimate national feeling. The Government had used the same frank language on both sides, because only in this way was it possible to arrive at a solution really useful to both parties. The Government had avoided, at the same time, all that might have had the appearance of pressure from without, and



which would only have made an understanding between the parties more difficult. The Minister could assure the Assembly that that language had been fully appreciated on the part of the Italian Government.

To the question what attitude the Government had assumed with regard to the measures adopted in Germany against the Jesuits, the answer of the Minister was that he laid peculiar stress on good relations with Germany, and considered them the basis of the policy of the Government; and that these good relations demanded only that neither State should take advantage of the internal difficulties of the other. To go beyond this, and to interpret these friendly relations so that each State should make every momentary internal difference in the other its own affair, was a policy in which the Minister could not share, and which he had never been called upon to espouse. He could only add that his view in this respect was fully shared by the leading statesmen of Germany. Any measures that might be required were the duty of the Legislature. If complications should arise—a thing he did not expect—then only would the Minister for Foreign Affairs have to take the responsibility for them.

The last question put to Count Andrassy was what attitude the Government had taken with respect to Rome, and respecting the encroachment of the Papal Curia in the internal affairs of Austria.

Count Andrassy's answer to this was that with regard to the internal affairs of Austria he had always consistently maintained them to be outside his sphere of action. He had heard the question of the Concordat settled when he took office; as for the rest, he must declare that the situation was as clear and defined with respect to Rome as with respect to Italy; and, frank as his language was with the Papal See, he must acknowledge equally frankly that he had never found any interference on the part of the Papal See in the internal affairs of Austria.

A long discussion took place on the Addresses to be presented in answer to the Speech from the Throne. No less than five of these Addresses were to be sent up, representing the different fractions of the Chamber, not grouped as Conservatives, Liberals, and Radicals, but as those who were for upholding, or cancelling, or modifying in different ways, the constitutional compromise concluded by Hungary with Austria in 1867. The debate was a weary one, till enlivened on the 7th of October by a speech from Baron Sennyey, the ex-President of the Supreme Court at Pesth, who, though a member of the old Conservative party, had long enjoyed the reputation of being one of the ablest statesmen in Hungary. Baron Sennyey had only just been elected for the first time as a member of the Lower House, and he took the opportunity of declaring that although he would not sacrifice his principles, he was ready to recognize the existing state of things, and take an active part in political life. His speech was a splendid piece of oratory, and the position of the speaker, combined with his pungent criticisms of the doctrinaire policy of the

present Government in Hungary, gave it the importance of a political event.

An animated debate on the Army Estimates took place on the 9th and 10th of October. In the Estimates proposed by the Minister of War, an increase of 37,000*l.* sterling was required on the demand of the previous year, for the purpose of maintaining 28,000 additional infantry on the peace effective. This gave rise to hot discussions in the delegations, and the measure was very nearly lost, owing to the position taken up by the German Liberal party, usually the supporters of the Government. At last, however, through the exertions of Prince Carlos Auersperg, who was an influential member of that party, backing up the personal intervention of his brother, the Minister-President, the increased Estimates were passed by 32 against 24 votes. Some cases of official corruption which came before the civil courts at this time, caused almost more excitement than the political contest on the Army Estimates.

Some time previously the Government had discovered bribes to have been taken by the Conscription Commissioners in Galicia from Jews who might prefer that mode of answering their military obligations to the inconvenience of personal service. The matter was privately investigated, but no conclusive evidence was then found. It was judged, however, that the abuse must be stopped by setting a deterrent example; consequently—so the charge set forth—the means was resorted to of employing an *agent provocateur*, by name Nuchim Karmelin, to induce young Jews to offer bribes to the conscription officers, who were instructed to accept them, in order subsequently to appear as evidence against the bribers. The case became complicated by the orders of the Civil Conscription Commission to re-examine fourteen Jews who had been declared unqualified. This compelled Karmelin to obtain possession of the conscription-lists, which he was enabled to do by aid of the commanding officer. The fraud was, however, discovered; and Karmelin was placed in the dock accordingly.

Another case of corruption was brought forward affecting Dr. George Schmidt, a magistrate of the Common Council in Vienna, who was asserted to have pledged for 200,000 francs his own vote and those of seven other members of the Council in favour of certain projects advanced by M. Pontonnier, the agent of the French Market Company (*Markthallen Consortium*). And, thirdly, Government, acting on a complaint laid before the Emperor by the Archduke Albert, took the resolution of sequestering the Lemberg-Czernowitz Railway, in consequence of its mismanagement by Baron Offenheim, one of the directors, who had largely enriched himself at the expense of the public interest.

Before the year closed, Count Lonyay was forced to retire from the Presidentship of the Hungarian Ministry, in which he had succeeded Count Andrassy when that statesman was made Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, on Count Beust's resignation. He had never worked well with the members of his Cabinet,

who were not friends of his own choosing; and their relations amounted to a sort of armed neutrality, very detrimental to the public service. An insinuation brought against the integrity of the Minister by M. Csernatony, a member of the Extreme Left, on the 18th of November, brought matters to a crisis. M. Csernatony had indeed to apologize, but Count Lonyay received such feeble support from his colleagues that on a visit which he soon after had occasion to pay at Vienna, the Ministry there requested him to resign. A successor to his post was found in M. Szlavy, late Minister of Commerce in the Hungarian Cabinet.

In Austria Proper the course of history this year had been singularly uneventful. The Auersperg Ministry held on its way, and did not until near the close of the year lift the veil from its promised scheme of electoral reform. On the 16th of December Prince Auersperg summoned a conference of certain deputies of the Reichsrath, and laid before them the outline of his project. Its leading features were announced to be as follows:—The members of the Lower House to be henceforth elected by all persons entitled to the suffrage. The number of members of the Lower House to be increased to 120. Each electoral district to elect one deputy. Every one entitled to vote for a member of the Diet also to be entitled to vote for a member of the Reichsrath. The votes to be given in writing. An absolute majority to be necessary for the election of a candidate. Those entitled to vote in any one province to be eligible in all the provinces. The duration of the period for which a member is elected to be six years.

On the 14th the Austrian Minister of Finance, Baron de Pretis, laid the final accounts of the year 1871 and the Estimates for 1873 before the Reichsrath. It appeared that the estimated expenditure for 1873 exceeded that of last year by 25,500,000 florins, and that the estimated revenue for 1873 exceeded that of the past year by nearly 19,000,000 florins. No use had been made during the current year of the sums voted by the Reichsrath for extraordinary purposes. After reserving the cash balance of 1872, amounting to 18,000,000 florins, for the support of the money market, and 25,000,000 florins for meeting the heavy requirements of the first quarter of 1873, there would still be available cash balances amounting to 21,000,000 florins to cover requirements for 1873, so that the financial year of 1873 would close with a surplus of 3,500,000 florins. The Minister attributed this favourable financial result principally to the increase in revenue from taxes, and expressed a belief that there was, at last, a prospect of the Budget being balanced. This financial statement was received with great satisfaction.

Soon afterwards the social and political circles of Vienna were much agitated by the Duc de Gramont's intimation to the French Committee of Inquiry at Versailles that he was about to make public certain documents in his possession proving the previous concurrence of Austria with France in the project of war with Germany

in 1870. One of these documents was even said to be the authentic draught of a treaty of alliance between the two Empires. Immediately a war of explanations, contradictions, and recriminations set in: and when the year came to an end, the public mind was looking forward to either an interesting series of revelations, or, as seemed more probable, to the detection of a baffled statesman's mare's nest.

## CHAPTER IV.

ITALY.—Vatican and Quirinal—Relation to French Politics—Cardinal Hohenlohe—Old Catholics in France and at Rome—Abbé Michaud—Père Hyacinthe—Russia, Turkey, and the Vatican—Italian Parliament—Death of Mazzini—Municipal Elections at Rome and Naples—Eruption of Vesuvius—Autumn Floods—Financial Statement—Religious Corporations Bill—Pope's Allocution—Retirement of M. de Bourgoing.

SPAIN.—Sagasta Ministry—Dissolution of Cortes—New Elections—Carlist Insurrection—Battle of Oroquieta—Convention of Amorevieta—Ministry of Serrano—Ministry of Zorrilla—Dissolution of the Cortes—Attempted Assassination of the King—Fire at the Escorial—Revolt at Ferrol—Impeachment of Sagasta Ministry—Financial Measure of Gomez—Bill for Abolition of Slavery in Porto Rico—Disordered Condition of the Country.

BELGIUM.—Comte de Chambord—Lagrand Dumonceaux—Elections—Strikes.

NETHERLANDS.—Tercentenary—Death of M. Thorbecke—International Association Congress at the Hague.

SWITZERLAND.—Rejection of Federal Reform—Geneva Arbitration—Bishop Merillod—New Elections.

SWEDEN.—Millennial Celebration in Norway—Death of King Charles XV.

DENMARK.—King's Speech—Storms in the Baltic.

RUSSIA.—Second Centenary Celebration of Birth of Peter the Great—Condition of Russia—Finances—Statistical Congress—Policy in Foreign Affairs, and in Central Asia—War with Khiva.

TURKEY.—Armenian and Bulgarian Church Questions—Ministerial Changes—Question of Succession to the Throne—Egypt and Abyssinia—Jews in Roumania—Servian Principality.

GREECE.—Ministerial Changes—Question of the Mines of Laurium.

## ITALY.

THE *Nazione*, a Florentine journal, published at the beginning of the year an interesting article on the "dualist" representation of foreign Powers at Rome:—"The King is at the Quirinal, the Pope at the Vatican. There are two Courts, two societies, two diplomatic bodies, each with its own tendencies, passions, and interests. . . . The diplomatists accredited to the Vatican are often more Popish than the Pope; they imagine that they alone are the real representatives of their respective Governments, and look upon their colleagues who are accredited to the Italian Government almost in the light of usurpers."

The Pope confined himself rigorously to his little kingdom of the Vatican, the last relic of his temporal sovereignty. But he entertained personally, it is said, a not unkindly feeling towards his rival on the other side of the Tiber. "C'est le seul Italien qui a bon cœur—malgré lui," he would remark of him; and, with the indomitably sanguine spirit which always impelled Pius IX. to the more confident self-assertion the more facts seemed against him, he would express his belief that Victor Emanuel would not much longer remain on the Quirinal.

The Pope's daily life at this time is thus described: "When it is not a day for audiences, he usually first confers with Cardinal Antonelli on political questions, and then with the Cardinal-Vicar Patrizi on Church matters. The Pope very willingly gives audiences, as it pleases him to see people, and to show himself surrounded by his Court, which is the most ceremonious in the world. The prevailing colour in the costumes is scarlet, and the Pope alone is clothed in white. After the audience Pius IX. goes into the garden, and walks about till two o'clock, with two guards in front, one of his stewards by his side, and two privy chamberlains dressed in mediæval Spanish costume behind him. After mass he reads his letters, a great number of which come daily from foreign emperors, kings, and other high personages. . . . At 10 p.m. the Pope dismisses his courtiers for the night." "The number of persons," the writer continues, "now residing at the Vatican, which consists of 50 separate buildings, with 14 courtyards and 12,000 rooms, is 3000. It is a town without streets. None of the officials have been changed. Antonelli is still Secretary of State, Negroni Minister of the Interior, Randi Minister of Police, and General Kanzler Minister of War. Mgr. de Mérode and Cardinal Antonelli detest each other, and each is at the head of a large party. De Mérode, an energetic and apparently earnest man, directs the extreme Opposition party, with the Jesuits and Ultramontanes; while the more sceptical and moderate Antonelli is supported by Cardinals Berardi, De Lucca, Silvestri, Di Pietro, Amyot, and Clarelli. The Pope is equally friendly to both parties."

When Easter came there were none of the usual celebrations at St. Peter's. The Pope held service in his private chapel. Once or twice during the year he was said to have been seen driving through the streets of Rome, and gazing at the new shops on the Corso, or at other monuments of the altered *régime*.

His mind was much occupied with thoughts of quitting the Eternal City altogether. The Jesuits and Ultramontanes in his councils strongly urged him to the step. As age advanced upon him, and the choice of a successor could not be far off, they were anxious that the next Conclave should take place in some Romanist land more likely to afford scope for the high ecclesiastical party than the modern kingdom of Italy, with its inveterate Liberalism. It was therefore rather their aim to represent Pius as a watched and oppressed "prisoner" in the Vatican, to work upon the pity of

his lieges elsewhere. For such representations, however, the Italian Government took care to give no handle. The freedom of the Vatican, and its master's power to go where and when he would, were in no degree infringed. In answer to an inquiry directed to the Austrian Court, the Pope received from Count Andrassy the reply that in no country would he find so secure a refuge as in the Vatican itself, or be so removed from the danger of political complications. The dispositions of the French President were also sounded by the Papal Court, though it was intimated that in no case would the Pontiff consent to enter a country where Republican institutions were actually in force. Thiers—whose personal politics had always been in favour of the Pope's Temporal Power—expressed his willingness to offer the Holy Father an asylum in France, only with the proviso that he must not bring the Papacy with him. Among the many difficulties of the game which the veteran French statesman had to play at this time, none were more evident than those which concerned his dealings with the Potentates of the Vatican and the Quirinal. To get the Pope on his side was to secure an important interest in those contemporary European forces which were most bitterly antagonistic to Bismarck and the German Empire. But, on the other hand, he could not favour Ultramontanism to any marked extent without giving dire offence to the Radicals of the Left, whose political programme involved secular education and the suppression of the priestly element generally. Again, to break with the King of Italy would have endangered the formation of a direct alliance between that monarch and the Emperor of Germany: to recognize his rights as against the Pope compromised the French Government with the powerful influences of clericalism. A critical question just now brought the difficulty to the foreground. When M. de Goulard, who had informally represented the French Government at the Court of Victor Emanuel, was appointed to the portfolio of Finance in place of M. Pouyer-Quertier, it became necessary to send a successor. Should he be regularly accredited as Minister? The question had been started before M. de Goulard's removal. He had himself declined to receive formal appointment. The matter involved inevitably offence either to the Pope or to the King. M. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, announced his intention of presenting to the Assembly at Versailles a number of petitions from the French Catholics against accrediting any Minister to the Court of Rome. M. Thiers felt the full awkwardness of his situation should any discussion take place; and he contrived by successive postponements to avoid giving the Bishop the opportunity he desired before the Easter recess. Then, with as little delay as might be, he sent out, with full powers and dignity as his diplomatic agent at Rome, M. Edouard Fournier. It seemed the least evil course of the two, and it rendered nugatory any debate at all on the clerical petitions, with the embarrassing questions such debate would have raised.

The Pope was disappointed and angry. "What are certain

Governments?" he said to an audience at the Vatican. "They are like a pyramid, of which the apex is dependent on a Cabinet, which is dependent on an Assembly, which in its turn is dependent on a thousand demons who have chosen it. All are slaves of sin; the Angel of God pursues them, and threatens them with a naked sword; and the day will come when this exterminating angel will make known the justice of God, and the effects of His mercy."

The Vatican Court as well as the Quirinal underwent a change of French diplomatists. The Marquis de Harcourt was succeeded by the Comte de Bourgoing. Both the new envoys managed to give pleasing assurances to the respective rulers to whom they were sent.

Cardinal Hohenlohe's appointment as German Ambassador at the Vatican, and his rejection by the Pope, have been already mentioned. At first, it is said, both the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli were disposed to concur in this appointment; but the Jesuits, fearing that it might produce a reconciliation between Germany and the Holy See, set every engine at work to prevent it: an endeavour in which they were strongly supported by the French clergy at Rome, and the editor of the *Univers*, M. Veuillot, on a visit at the time to the Holy City. "The policy of the Jesuits," observes a writer in the Italian paper, the *Perseveranza*, "which does its utmost to prevent any distinction being made in theory or in practice between Jesuitism and Catholicism, here had a common ground of action with that of the French Chauvinistes, who hope to bring religious fanaticism into the field as their ally in the future war of revenge against Germany. . . . These are mighty influences on the anti-German side, and they place the Pope in an extremely difficult situation. The French clergy evidently claim to be the protectors of the Holy See, with the intention of afterwards making use of their position to influence the destinies of France. Religion is thus made the cloak of an extensive conspiracy, and the Pope, who professes to be the prisoner of the Italian Government, is really the prisoner of these ambitious plotters."

The anti-Infallibilist movement within the Church was gathering strength from many quarters. Its aspects in Germany have been already glanced at. In France it made itself conspicuous chiefly in the cases of the Abbé Michaud, vicar of the Madeleine, and of the Abbés Junqua and Mouis at Bordeaux, all three of whom resigned their clerical preferment as refusing to accept the recent dogma of the Vatican, and expressed their sentiments in incisive language. "Notwithstanding all the difficulties inherent in the task," wrote the Abbé Michaud in his letter to the Archbishop of Paris, "the world shall see sooner or later to which belongs the final victory: to those who combat for Christ governing the Pope by His Gospel, or to those who combat for the Pope supplementing Christ by his Syllabus." Later in the year M. Michaud wrote a series of letters to the *Cologne Gazette* which attracted much attention.

In Rome itself—within ear-shot of the Vatican—a Committee of "Old Catholics" was formed. Its organizer was the famous ex-

Carmelite, Père Hyacinthe, who was at Rome for some months in the early part of the year, and held five "conferences" there in March and April. His Committee put forth a programme, of which the substance was this: the erection of its work on the foundation of Jesus Christ only, as the "Son of the living God, the sole Redeemer of souls and of nations," the one source of the regeneration which the world needs; the rejection of human traditions, especially those affirmed as dogmas by the late Vatican Council; the reform of the Catholic Church in pastors and flock, and the reunion of Christian Churches on the basis of the first eight centuries; continued recognition of the legitimate authorities within the Church; abstention from the formation of a new sect; right to resist arbitrary prescriptions; efforts for calling together a "really free and Ecumenical Council." Hyacinthe's eloquence at Rome drew many hearers to his conferences. But the most startling testimony on his part to that freedom of judgment in Church matters to which he laid claim, was the marriage which, under his lay appellation of M. Charles Loyson, he concluded in London in the month of August, with an American widow, Mrs Merriman.

With the Russian Court the relations of the Papacy were passing into a state of unwonted cordiality. An Ambassador was nominated by the Czar to the Holy See to replace the mere *chargé d'affaires* by which his Government had been represented there since the diplomatic rupture of 1865; and Cardinal Antonelli on the part of the Pope declared that the recent appointment of Archbishop Ledoschowski as Primate of Poland was a mere formality of no importance, and that the Polish Roman Catholic clergy in Russia should be authorized to teach and preach in the Russian language, and be placed under the authority of the Government.

With Turkey, on the other hand, the Vatican stood on terms of ill accord. The Grand Vizier Mahmoud Pasha had given up the estates of the Armenian Catholic Church to the Greek schismatics and banished its Patriarch Hassoun; and his successor Midhat Pasha showed no desire to listen to the remonstrances of Cardinal Antonelli on the subject.

The political history of the Italian kingdom offers very few salient points for remark this year. It is the history of a people working on to improvement in many ways, social, industrial, and commercial, and exhibiting a healthy freedom from partisan excitements.

The Parliamentary Session which began early in January furnished no debate of any consequence save that on the financial proposals brought forward by Signor Sella in the previous December. These were finally adopted by 208 votes against 160 on March 23rd.

On the 11th of March a vote was passed, with the concurrence of all parties in the Chamber, which affords a striking instance of the harmonizing force of Italian patriotism, and of the generous disposition of the people to forget the acrimonies of political difference in the recognition of the force of character which has achieved great things.



It was a vote expressing the regret of the Chamber at the tidings which had just reached it, of Mazzini's death. Giuseppe Mazzini, whose name, to many ears, was so long a synonym of all that was dark and dangerous in political conspiracy, whose Republican propagandism kept thrones in terror, and who was popularly credited with very distorted theories as to the duty of regicide—theories, however, which he himself emphatically denied—died at Pisa on the 10th of March. His age is variously stated at from 63 to 66 years. His health had been declining for some time; but it was reported that just before his death he was preparing for a journey of revolutionary propagandism into the North of Italy. His funeral was celebrated at Pisa on the 14th, with numerous deputations from the towns and provinces, from the Freemasons and other societies. About 12,000 persons, it is said, were present; but there was no disturbance of the peace: all was conducted with order and decorum. The Radical party seized the occasion for a demonstration and procession at Rome on the 17th. That also passed off in perfect order. Benedetto Cairoli spoke when the car adorned with Mazzini's bust stopped in the Court of the Capitol. "Romans," he said, "where Cola di Rienzi fell, Mazzini triumphs!" Unquestionably, to Mazzini's burning enthusiasm and indomitable perseverance, more than to the agency of any other man,—even to that of Cavour or of Garibaldi, who could hardly have done what they did but for his previous influence on the popular mind,—the great fact of Italian Unity was fairly to be ascribed.

The rival Governments of the Vatican and the Quirinal, which had pursued their ways very quietly side by side during the first half of the year, came into collision at the beginning of August, when the municipal elections were held for Rome and other cities. Since 1859, when Italy became a kingdom, the whole of the clerical party had kept aloof from participation in the elections, whether municipal or political. *Nè eletti nè elettori*, was their maxim of conduct, held almost as a religious dictum; and consequently the Liberal party had had the elections to themselves, even while Rome was still a Papal city. But this year a direct order was issued from the Vatican, requiring every adherent of the Pope to vote, and every parish priest to urge the faithful to the duty. To the strenuous efforts of the *papalini*, equally strenuous efforts were opposed on the other side. Each party prophesied that the vehemence of their antagonists would lead to some violent outbreak. Nothing of the kind occurred. The orderly spirit of the population again displayed itself most creditably. The priests went up in bodies of from ten to sixty; marching compact and united like bodies of soldiers. Of the monks who voted, the Dominicans formed the largest number. But the victory lay with the Moderate Liberals; of the clerical candidates, though Prince Torlonia was at the head of the list, not one was returned. As soon as the result was known, the whole city waved with an *imbandierata*, or display of flags. At night the Corso was illuminated.

The elections at Naples, where the Cardinal-Archbishop Riario Sforza was the ruling spirit of the Church's action, turned out more to the advantage of the Clericals; though as against the Moderate Liberals, they could hardly be said to have obtained a decided majority. The extreme Radicals were signally defeated—in fact, these elections and other symptoms seemed to show that the Republicans and Internationalists had at this time scarcely any footing in Naples. Its evils came from other sources: from its insecurity from street crimes, the failures of justice, and the loose morality of officials. In the Neapolitan provinces, too, brigandage was alarmingly rife this summer. A complaint on the subject was addressed to the head of the Ministry, Signor Lanza, signed by eleven deputies.

In the absence of great political excitement, the convulsions of nature this year in Italy were varied and startling, and produced very calamitous results. On the 24th of April there was an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which lasted for a week, and caused great destruction of property and loss of life. The lava divided into two streams, one of which, taking a north and north-easterly direction, rushed down to San Sebastian and Massa, destroyed several villas at Cercola, and, turning sharp off, menaced Ponticella: the other poured itself on the Novelle of Resina. Thirty thousand persons fled from their homes to take refuge in other places, or to bivouack in the open air. The deaths were estimated at several hundreds. In the autumn, a hurricane swept over the island of Sicily, and destroyed the flourishing town of Palazzolo, in the province of Noto. But the worst physical calamity which befell the Italian kingdom was occasioned by the terrible inundations which the autumn rains brought to pass in the basin of the Po. When Christmas came, no less than 80,000 persons, it was calculated, had been thrown upon the public charity for food and clothing, in consequence of the devastation thus produced throughout the northern provinces.

On the 14th of December, Signor Sella, replying to Signor Rattazzi, gave information respecting the financial condition of the country. He announced that the state of the finances in 1872 had been in conformity with the Government anticipations; reminded the House of the deficits which had existed in previous years; and said that in 1872 the State held in the Treasury not only the produce of the taxes then due, but a considerable amount that had been in arrear. The fact of these arrears having been paid into the Treasury had induced the Government to postpone the imposition of the new taxes, to the amount of twenty million lire, which had been asked for in the financial Bill.

In this winter session of the Assembly, a Bill of no small importance was presented for the consideration of a special committee. It had been anticipated and discussed by the public during the summer, raising in every mind the expectation of another angry collision between the rival Powers of the Vatican and the Quirinal. The measure was directed to the regulation of Religious Corporations within the city of Rome. It was moderately framed. As intro-

duced by the Minister of Justice on the 20th of November, its main provisions stood thus :—

The laws of 1866, 1867, 1868, and 1870, relative to the suppression of religious corporations and the conversion of their property to be applied to the province and city of Rome : but in the case of those corporations that have a director or deputy-director in the city of Rome, the houses of such directors to be maintained, though without power of adding to the original property, or claiming civil rights. The property of the suppressed corporations to be still applied to the charitable purposes for which they were originally established. The edifices appertaining to the religious establishments in Rome to remain at their disposal until such time as the pensions to be granted shall have been decided upon, which decision must be arrived at within twelve months. The property of the religious corporations in the city of Rome to be converted into inalienable public *rentes*. The Minister, in the course of his speech, added that the total net revenue of the corporations amounted to 7,192,000*f*.

The Pope's Allocution at a Consistory on the 23rd of December, when twenty-two Cardinals were present, was a characteristic summing-up of the "situation" as viewed from the loopholes of the Vatican.

"The Church," he said, "continues to be sorely persecuted. This persecution has for its object the destruction of the Catholic Church. It is manifested by the acts of the Italian Government, which summons the clergy to serve in the army, deprives the bishops of the faculty of teaching, and taxes the property of the Church by heavy burdens. Above all things, the law presented to Parliament on the subject of religious corporations deeply wounds the rights of possession of the Universal Church, and violates the right of our Apostolic mission. . . .

"In face of the presentation of this law, we raise our voice before you and the entire Church, and condemn any enactment which diminishes or suppresses religious families in Rome or the neighbouring provinces. We consequently declare void every acquisition of their property made under any title whatsoever."

Then, recalling to the minds of the promoters of this law the censures directed against those who encroach on the rights of the Church, the Pope continued :—

"But our grief at the injuries inflicted on the Church in Italy is much aggravated by the cruel persecutions to which the Church is subjected in the German Empire, where not only by pitfalls, but even by open violence, it is sought to destroy her, because the persons who not only do not profess our religion, but who even do not know that religion, arrogate to themselves the power of defining the teachings and the rights of the Catholic Church. These men, besides heaping calumny upon ridicule, do not blush to attribute persecution to Roman Catholics ; they bring such accusations against the bishops, the clergy, and a faithful people because they

will not prefer the laws and the will of the State to the holy commandments of the Church. The men who are at the head of public affairs should recollect that none of their subjects better than the Roman Catholics render unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and for that very reason render unto God the things which be God's."

He then remarked that some parts of Switzerland appeared to be pursuing the same path as Germany, and brought to recollection what had occurred to the Church of the Canton of Geneva. He spoke of Spain, declaring that the Clergy Dotation Law was opposed to the concordats and to justice. He dwelt upon the schism among the Armenians of Constantinople, who persisted in their rebellion, and who by stratagem had deprived the Roman Catholics of their immunities. On the other hand, he rejoiced at the constancy and the activity of the episcopate and the clergy of all those countries where, jointly with a faithful people, they defended the rights of the Church. He invited the Metropolitans to assemble their suffragans for consultation, in order to battle against iniquity, and concluded by invoking the Almighty to come to the aid of the Church.

The retirement of M. de Bourgoing, the French Minister at the Vatican, because his Government allowed the officers of the *Orénoque* to pay their respects on Christmas Day to the Italian King as well as to the Pope, was a tribute of loyalty to the Holy See for which the Ultramontanes greatly applauded him. He was replaced by M. de Corcelles, not at first with the title of Ambassador, but as envoy from M. Thiers, who, it was said, took the opportunity to assure the Pope of the undiminished importance he attached to the maintenance of good relations between his Government and the Holy See.

#### SPAIN.

Spain offered the only exception to the generally tranquil course of the world's politics this year. There all the elements of turbulence were in ceaseless action. King Amadeus, *El Rey intruso*, as his inhospitable subjects were wont to style him, kept on his throne indeed, but it was a throne shaken by many tempests, whose occupancy brought him small dignity, less authority, and utter unrest. Nothing but the worth and gallantry of his personal character saved his position from being one for commiseration amounting to contempt.

Señor Sagasta, who had climbed to power on the overthrow of the Malcampo Ministry in November 1871, had contrived to stave off for a time the evil day on which he must be brought face to face with an unmanageable Cortes. The royal influence, however, forced him to the battle-field on the 22nd of January of the present year, and he then delivered his Ministerial programme. He explained that a national policy of the Spanish people was now to be substituted for the old continental policy of the House of Austria

and the family policy of the House of Bourbon; that this new and national policy consisted in a careful abstention from interference in the affairs of other nations, and a corresponding claim of exemption from the interference of other nations in Spanish matters. He lamented the absence of internal concord; hinted at the adoption of rigorously repressive measures against the "International" and other disloyal associations; commended Señor Angulo's administration of the finances; promised liberal legislation in reference to religious matters; and ended by a reference to the Cuban question, which caused considerable agitation in the Assembly, as he took occasion to pronounce an eulogy on the conduct of the volunteers in the matter of the recent Havannah massacre.

Then followed a stormy incident, which at once placed the existence of the new Cabinet in jeopardy. Some questions of mere business arrangement arose between Señor Herrera, Vice-President of the Cortes, and Secretary Rios Portillo. The members of the Assembly instantly took sides; wild confusion ensued. Sagasta declared that he should treat the support of his Vice-President as a Cabinet question. It was immediately put to the vote, and the Ministry was defeated by nearly 100 voices. Sagasta then repaired to the King, and told him that two alternatives were open—dissolution of the Cortes, or the acceptance of his resignation, and a change of Ministry. The King decided for the former course. Sagasta read the decree of dissolution from the tribune, and announced the new elections as fixed for the 2nd of April, and the meeting of the Assembly for the 24th of that month.

The dissolution of the Cortes seemed likely to secure the Sagasta Ministry in office for at least the next three months; but in the middle of February a danger arose to it from a difference between the Unionist and Progressist members of the Cabinet. Admiral Topete, indignant at some recent promotions in which his own party was overlooked, demanded the removal of General Gaminde, Señor Angulo, and two other Sagastites from the Cabinet, and threatened otherwise to withdraw the support of himself and his adherents from Sagasta. Sagasta would have consented to make Gaminde a scapegoat, but Gaminde refused to be sacrificed; and the coalition Cabinet was on the eve of total rupture, when the King himself interfered, insisted that he would recognize two constitutional parties only, the Conservatives and Radicals, and gave the Sagastinos and Unionists twenty-four hours to effect an amalgamation of their various elements into one Conservative party.

The result was the formation of a remodelled Cabinet, containing five Unionists and three Sagastinos. Sagasta remained at the head of the Cabinet, Malcampo was still Minister of Marine, Camacho was appointed Minister of Finance. Thus again the ship was floated, "Conservative" breezes filling the sails.

The shifting of old names and party symbols was in truth at this time not a little difficult to follow. After the Ministerial crisis of November 1871, the then victorious Progressista party had

come to form two divisions, under the respective leaderships of Sagasta and Zorrilla: Sagasta representing the more Conservative, Zorrilla the more democratic class of ideas, though both occupied nominally the middle ground which lay between extreme opinions on either side. When the King's Allocution of February was issued, declaring that he would recognize the existence of two constitutional parties only, the Sagastites drew towards the Conservative Unionists, and the Zorrillists towards the Radicals and Republicans. On the Ministerial side, accordingly, the watchwords for the new elections were, Order, the Savoy dynasty, and the security of the gains of the Revolution of 1868: in fact, the *status quo*. Against the *status quo* were for the moment banded in anomalous coalition, Zorrillist-Progressistas, Radicals, Republicans, and Carlists. The alliance between the "Blacks" and the "Reds," which the review of recent European history has brought before us on more than one occasion, seldom presented more incongruous features than in the Spanish electionary contest of April 1872. The Carlists invoked Catholicism, Divine right, and pitiless reaction. While working shoulder to shoulder with the Radical and Church-hating politicians of the Extremest Left, their cry was, "No more altars to the demon! No more despotism disguised as liberty! . . . It is time to restore to God His own; to reconstitute the country of Recaredo and Philip the Second. . . . It is time now that in all Spain, from Cadiz to the Pyrenees, should wave alone and triumphant the flag of God, of Spain, and of the King." For the machinations of the great Ultramontane party throughout Europe, in fact, Spain just now offered a promising field; and no serviceable allies were to be despised, no serviceable pleas neglected. The *curas* of the northern provinces worked upon the patriotic as well as upon the religious prepossessions of the peasantry. In Biscay especially they took care to represent that the Government of the foreign intruder aimed at abolishing the old *fueros*, or local rights and customs, which were the especial pride of the population. All the future welfare and happiness of the country was represented as involved in the success of the legitimate heir to the throne—the Prince who claimed through the male line of the Spanish sovereigns, and whose right was good not only as against the Savoy pretender, but as against the late Queen Isabella also, her sovereign plea having rested only on the setting aside of the Salic Law. Carlos, Duke of Madrid, whose claim was thus advanced under the title of Charles VII., was a young man, the son of Don Juan, and nephew of that Count de Montemolin who had set up as Charles VI. against Queen Isabella in 1860, and who, with his brother Juan, when they were both taken prisoners, had consented to renounce their "legitimist" rights on condition of their lives being spared. Montemolin had died childless. Don Juan considered his own rights as revived by the fact of Queen Isabella's abdication; but being personally no favourite with his party, he found it advisable to make them over to his son, who

accordingly was thenceforth championed by the Carlist party as legitimate King of Spain. There was now but one other claimant to the throne, Alfonso, son of Queen Isabella, in whose favour the Duc de Montpensier resigned his separate pretensions.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the many-headed opposition, the result of the April elections was very favourable to Government in the provinces generally, where, as in France, the influence of public functionaries on these occasions always makes itself felt among the ignorant peasantry. But in Madrid the opposition triumphed; and the number of Carlists alone who obtained seats in the new Cortes—thirty-five—was said to be twice as many as ever sat there together under Prim's interregnum. Before the day of opening, however, a circular was issued, signed by the Legitimist pretender himself, forbidding any representatives who might have been elected from the ranks of his party, to take their seats in the Assembly, inasmuch as he totally denied the right of the said Assembly to be considered as the legislature of the kingdom. This was an overt act: the bursting forth of the flame which every one knew was smouldering. Government so understood it, and instantly arrested the whole of the Carlist Junta in Madrid, Valladolid, Burgos, and other cities. At the same moment that these arrests were made, telegrams were received from Aragon, Navarre, and the Basque provinces, announcing Carlist risings under old chiefs of the party and provincial *curas*. In Castille and Leon also bands rapidly formed, and the mountains of Toledo and the plains of La Mancha sent forth their Don Quixotes of legitimacy to cry "Viva Carlos VII.!" The principal leader of the rebel forces was General Diaz de Rada, appointed by the Pretender Commander-in-Chief of the Basque provinces and Navarre. No time was lost by the Government of King Amadeus in despatching Marshal Serrano to the scene of action. At the head of 20,000 men he marched to Tudela, and there established his head-quarters on the 29th of April. From thence he took the road to Pampeluna, drove the insurgents from Estella, and sent forward detachments under Generals Moriones and Primo Rivera to the mountain region among the sources of the Bidassoa. Meanwhile, in spite of a magniloquent proclamation he had made to the inhabitants, Diaz de Rada retreated regularly before the royal troops; and when, on the 2nd of May, Don Carlos himself crossed the frontier at Vera in Navarre, he found his adherents driven up into a corner between the Pyrenees and the mountains separating Navarre from Guipuzcoa; while the Government forces occupying the mouths of all the mountain passes made it impossible for them to escape. Carlos issued a proclamation, telling the Spaniards that he, their King, was now among them; that he was come to restore to them their privileges and their national independence, and that their cry should be, "Down with the Foreigner!" But the same day, May the 2nd, General Primo de Rivera arrived at Echalar, only two leagues from Vera. Upon hearing this, Don Carlos left Vera for

Lesaca, intending to reach the province of Guipuzcoa. But Marshal Serrano had already placed a column in his way, among the mountains of Haya; and General Primo de Rivera, hearing that the Carlists had made for Lesaca, got to that place first by a forced march. Thus hemmed in, Don Carlos and his "army" wheeled about again towards Vera, seeking concealment in the mountains of Zulain. Here, it is said, General Rada declared to the Prince that he considered his cause hopeless; and being told in return that he was a coward and traitor, resigned his command. General Aguirre was appointed to replace him.

On the evening of the 4th of May the inevitable collision occurred. General Moriones, who happened to be leading the most advanced of Serrano's divisions, came up with the Pretender and Aguirre at Oroquieta, a small *pueblo* in the valley of Basaburua. Moriones had 2000 men and a mountain battery. The Carlist forces were estimated at 5000 or 6000. The Carlists defended themselves behind rocks and stone walls for some hours, but finally gave way, leaving 750 prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

For some days the fate of the defeated Prince remained a mystery. It was rumoured that he was killed; that he was made prisoner; that he was hiding among the mountains. It turned out, however, that, after concealing himself for a few days, he succeeded in recrossing the frontier to France.

Though scotched, the rebellion was not killed: in fact, it never was killed throughout the year. The martial *curas* and other leaders managed to keep up a guerilla warfare, a source of constant irritation to the body politic, and of outlay to the impoverished exchequer. The Convention of Amorevieta, concluded by Marshal Serrano with the rebel leaders of Biscay on the 27th of May, flattered Government for a time into the belief that tranquillity was about to ensue, although many murmurs were raised when it was found that the rebels consented to lay down their arms only on condition of an amnesty being accorded them. But Serrano knew his difficulties: want of money, the uncertain loyalty of many officers serving under King Amadeus's colours, the intrigues of the Duke de Montpensier, the questionable projects of the Radicals. Having concluded his Convention, he hastened back to Madrid. There he found himself confronted with a political crisis. On the 22nd of May the Sagasta Ministry had fallen. A dubious financial transaction, of the nature of what the French call a *virement*, had been the cause. The King had sent to Serrano, while he was still negotiating with the Biscay chiefs, desiring him to undertake the formation of a new Cabinet. For the moment Serrano delegated the task to Admiral Topete; but on his arrival at Madrid, on the 27th, he assumed in his own person the Presidency of the Ministry.

Instead of receiving the ovation of a successful general, Serrano found the public greatly incensed against him for the Convention of Amorevieta. He lost no time in presenting himself



before the Congress, and explaining the object and reason of the step he had taken. A fierce debate ensued; finally a motion expressive of satisfaction with his conduct was carried by 140 votes against 22. In the Senate the battle lasted four days. There, too, the General's conduct was ultimately approved of by a majority of 71 against 13. The public indeed were by no means satisfied, but Serrano, fain to content himself with this nominal vindication, proceeded to discuss the situation with his adherents. No small difficulties surrounded him. The Carlist insurrection was still alive, despite the Convention, and demanded more troops and more money. The Republicans, who had hitherto kept quiet, began to give signs of breaking into armed opposition. The Radicals, deserted for the time by their chief, Ruiz Zorrilla, who had thrown up his seat in the Cortes and retired in disgust to his lands in Tablada, might be expected to adopt some course highly embarrassing to Government. Serrano took a soldier's resolution. He announced to the King that, in his judgment and that of his colleagues, there was no other way of facing the danger which beset the throne than to entrust them with the power of suspending, when they should deem it necessary, the Constitutional guarantees. The King demurred, but listened. A few days afterwards he assembled his Council; heard from its members separately their opinions in favour of Serrano's suggestion; and then, to their discomfiture, declared that he had made up his mind against adopting it. He said that in the traditions of his family there existed no instance of a monarch suspending the cardinal laws, much less in a restrictive sense; that he had sworn to guard the Constitution of the State, on his oath as a gentleman and as a King (*como caballero y como rey*), and that he would rather depose before the nation the powers he had received from it than be wanting to the compact by virtue of which he had been crowned with its sovereignty. Stung to the quick, Serrano declared his intention to retire. "You may do so," said Amadeus, calmly. The whole ministry then laid down office. The King sent to the venerable Espartero; but the octogenarian statesman declined, on the score of age, the task of forming a Cabinet. Then General Cordova, who had been War Minister in the Zorrilla administration, was summoned to the royal presence. Being asked by the King if he would undertake to form a Ministry which should attempt to govern the country by means of the Constitution, Cordova replied that such had ever been the distinguishing doctrine of the Radical party to which he belonged; that the honour of the Premiership properly belonged to Zorrilla, now in retirement; but that meanwhile he would suggest a list of names. Then the "Hermit of Tablada" was communicated with; and, in spite of his recent declaration of abstention from the political game, he consented at once to accept the mission offered to him. He was received at Madrid on the 16th of June amid popular acclamation, and shortly afterwards issued a circular explaining the programme of the new Radical Ministry—a programme in accordance with his

declarations of July and August in the last year. Then followed the dissolution of the Cortes.

The new Ministerial revolution being thus arranged, King Amadeus intended to start on the 19th of July for a visit to the Northern Provinces, leaving the Queen and the two royal children behind. Before parting, they had arranged to attend an open-air concert in the gardens of the Buen Retiro, the favourite resort of Madrid society in the evenings of the hot season. In the afternoon secret information was conveyed to Señor Mata, the Civil Governor, that the night would not pass over without an attempt on the life of his Majesty. The King was told of it, but he either refused to give credence to the report or did not desire to alarm the mind of the Queen, for he took his ride alone in the afternoon as usual, and made no change in his intention to go to the night concert. The Civil Governor redoubled all the usual precautions. He caused the whole way from the palace to the gardens to be covered, as it were, with armed police, many of them in plain clothes, and he had all the usually frequented haunts of the "conspirator class" of Madrid closely watched.

Having passed the evening in the gardens, the royal party were returning about midnight. Suddenly, while driving down the Calle Arenal, the King's carriage was assailed by a rapid succession of shots. General Burgos, who was sitting opposite the King and Queen, rose and leaned over them. The King rose also, to show that he was unhurt. More shots were fired, some by the assassins and some by the armed police, a sort of combat being waged all down the street. The royal carriage drove rapidly back to the palace; the only injury done being to one of the horses, which fell dead on entering the courtyard. One of the assassins was shot, another seriously wounded, and three were captured. The precautions of Señor Mata had proved happily effectual. The armed police, stationed along the line in consequence of the warning previously given, had taken note of some fourteen or sixteen ill-looking men who came out of a tavern in the Plaza Mayor and placed themselves in position at various points just as the King's carriage was approaching. The courage of the King himself, who went out on foot at nine o'clock the morning after the affair to see the marks of the balls, and refused to put off his journey to the provinces for more than a day, excited a popular enthusiasm in his favour. The shouts of "Viva el Rey!" raised by some fifty thousand voices around him, was a pleasant variation in his ordinary experiences of Madrid street favour.

In his tour through the provinces of Leon, Biscay, Asturias, and Galicia, similar marks of public sympathy greeted the much-tried *Rey intruso*. So far the frustrated attempt at assassination had tended rather to strengthen than to weaken his position. But it was a striking exemplification of the delays to which Spanish justice is liable, or the unwillingness to punish the authors of a political crime of violence, that the would-be regicides of the Calle Arenal, though caught red-handed, remained untried through-

out the year. Secret examinations of witnesses were carried on, and depositions registered, but it was only by chance that the world obtained any hint of their import. As, however, the assassins of General Prim had never yet been brought to justice, the delay in this later attempt on the King's life was perhaps the less to be wondered at.

The new Cortes opened on September the 15th. It had been part of Zorrilla's programme that no Government influence should be used—as heretofore—in manipulating the elections; consequently, when a large majority was returned in favour of the Ministry, the issue was naturally held up as proving a wide national adhesion to the policy of the Radical party. The King was present on the opening day, and delivered a speech which was received with great applause. He expressed regret for the failure of the attempt to restore relations with the Holy See, but said he did not despair of seeing remedied a situation so afflicting to him, hoping that the Pope's wisdom and prudence would persuade him of the King's veneration for his person and respect for his spiritual power, as also of his determination to study the deeds and ideas of the age, and to maintain religion according to the Decree established in full right by the sovereign will of the Spanish nation. He then referred pleasantly to his recent provincial journey, and the friendly relations he had maintained with foreign Powers; censured the clergy for their share in the Carlist insurrection; promised measures on Cuban reforms; and finally adverted to finance, the abolition of conscription, the penal code, trial by jury, commercial codes, and education.

The month of October was signalized by two conflagrations: one physical, the other political. On the 1st, during a violent thunder-storm, the royal palace of the Escorial was struck by lightning, and the buildings of the monastery set on fire. Exaggerated reports were spread abroad; ultimately, however, the destruction proved to be less than had been anticipated—not more than 30,000*l.* sterling in amount. Ten days afterwards news came of an insurrection at Ferrol, where 1500 men belonging to the arsenal hoisted the red flag and shouted for the Republic, their leaders being a retired military officer, Pozas by name, and Captain Montijo, a dismissed naval officer. Captain-General Sanchez Bragna was sent against them, and by the 18th the revolt was over, the arsenal being captured together with 500 prisoners.

A party struggle of some vehemence broke out in the Cortes early in the following month, the occasion being the impeachment of the late Sagasta Cabinet, on account of the corrupt financial transactions which were the immediate occasion of its fall, and which in the last Cortes had been allowed to drop in consequence of the dissolution. The case had reference to a certain trust fund, called the *Caja de Ultramar*, which, being intended for the use of the Colonies, had been treasured upon by the ex-Ministers for secret service money during the elections. The motion for the arraignment of the eight

Ministers was now brought forward by some of the Republican party, Señor Moreno Rodriguez being spokesman. Zorrilla himself was strongly against it, and did his utmost to defeat it; and though, after an animated discussion, a vote passed by 124 to 104 that the motion should be taken into consideration, the efforts of Government to secure a majority in the committee to which it was referred were so successful as to leave little chance of its coming to a practical issue.

Two measures, of contrasted reputation, were brought before the Cortes during this session. One was the financial scheme by which Señor Gomez proposed to ease the burdens of the Exchequer, and which provided that of the foreign debt 2 per cent. only should be paid in money, the rest in bonds fixed at 20 per cent. above the market value. Much to the damage of the national credit this Bill was passed. Its effect was soon seen in the ill-success of a new loan which Gomez then attempted to raise. The other measure, introduced by Zorrilla himself on the 23rd of December, was for the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico. It was a noble and beneficial proposal, and the fulfilment of a pledge to which the Radical party had long since committed itself. Its immediate effect was a Ministerial crisis, and the retirement of two members of the Cabinet, Gomez and Gasset. But a triumphant vote of confidence was passed in the remodelled Ministry, after magnificent speeches made by Zorrilla, Martos, and Castelar.

Unhappily the year closed amidst wide-spread confusion and disturbance in the provinces, and excitement in the capital itself. "The Carlists in the north," says the Madrid correspondent of the *Temps*, "the Federalists in the south, overrun the country, exacting contributions, cutting the railways and telegraph wires, inflicting heavy damages upon private persons and upon the State, putting a stop to all commercial intercourse, undermining local trade, protecting and facilitating smuggling, and obtaining unlimited authority wherever they go." The same writer thus sums up the political situation:—"The Radical Ministry is opposed by the united strength of the Carlists, the Alphonsists, the Republicans, and the Liberal-Conservatives, while a dissension within its own ranks threatens to hand over the reins to the fraction known as the Cimbrios—that is to say, to men like Martos, Rivero, Becerra, whose Democratic tendencies bring them even nearer than the mere Radicals to the Extreme Left. The royal authority, without prestige or popularity, has ceased to be anything more than an empty expression of speech; and as to any respect for the law, such a thing does not exist. As to the financial prospect there can be no two opinions; bankruptcy is almost unavoidable. Vain attempts have been made to check the yearly increasing deficits, the taxes are collected with great difficulty, and over at least a quarter of the kingdom they cannot be collected at all. And yet the Government is so purblind as to propose the establishment of fresh imposts, and the increase of those already in existence. Congress may vote them, but who can enforce

their payment?" The King himself, shaken by an attack of rheumatic fever in the autumn, was reported to have grown silent and desponding, though doggedly determined to remain at his perilous post as long as it was possible to fight the adverse influences which surrounded him.

The Cuban rebellion held on its way this year, adding to the drain on the finances.

#### PORTUGAL.

Portuguese politics felt from time to time the reverberation of Spanish excitement; but no material events in the current of affairs call for our notice.

#### BELGIUM.

The temporary residence of the Comte de Chambord at Antwerp in February made that city the focus of French Legitimist intrigue and excited the Liberals of Belgium to counter-demonstrations. The inconvenience caused by this state of things led to the Count's departure at the end of a fortnight by request of the Government. On March 11 the Count Lagrand Dumonceaux was convicted of fraudulent bankruptcy by the Brabant Court of Assize, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with costs. The communal elections in June were the occasion of a sharp struggle throughout the kingdom between the Clericals and the Liberals; success remaining chiefly with the latter. Strikes of workmen in trades and collieries were numerous; and there was a somewhat serious one in the coal district of Borinage in July, when the military were called out.

#### NETHERLANDS.

The Tercentenary Anniversary of the National Independence was celebrated with sturdy Dutch enthusiasm in the month of March.

In May, the Liberal Prime Minister, M. Thorbecke, died, having had the satisfaction of witnessing the triumph of the Constitutional system which he had consistently advocated since the year 1848. It was decided that a statue should be erected to his memory. He was succeeded in the Premiership by M. de Vries.

The meeting of the Congress of the International Association at the Hague in the beginning of September divided European attention for a few days with the contemporary meeting of the three Emperors at Berlin. The Internationalists held their first public sitting on the 4th, under the presidency of Carl Marx. The President, in his opening speech, acknowledged the hospitality of Holland, and condemned the Ministers who desired the extradition of the Communists, stigmatizing M. Jules Favre as a wretch, and General Trochu as a traitor. He recalled with satisfaction the reply of England to the demand for extradition; and, in conclusion, urged

unanimity in prosecuting the enfranchisement of the working classes. The following resolution was passed :—"In the name of the working classes of the whole world we express our admiration for the heroism of the champions who have fallen for the rights of the people, and we send a greeting to all those who are still in fetters." After a mid-day adjournment, the public sitting was resumed in the afternoon. Several propositions were presented, and referred to a committee composed of the members Fraenkel, Dereure, Dupont, Lafargue, Brisme, and Edmer. A discussion then commenced upon the question whether the General Council of the Society should continue to exist or be abolished. The public sitting closed at half-past seven, to be resumed the following evening. In the report of the General Council Prince Bismarck was alluded to as "Spy-in-Chief of the German Empire." "At the present moment," it was said, "three Emperors are holding a meeting in Berlin with the object of projecting fresh wars, whereas we assemble with the object of rendering war impossible by the emancipation of labour." The report further sought to demonstrate that since 1848 the Proletariat had never been so united around any flag as around that of the Commune.

Two days later the Congress separated in civil strife; all the germs of dissension that the Association had harboured in its bosom broke out. The General Council and the Federal Councils were proved to have divergent aims. Whereas the masses desired simply an International Trade Union, their leaders were bent on organizing political revolution in a Communistic sense. The end of it was the breaking-up of the Council, and the virtual emancipation of the constituencies. The General Council split into two sections: the minority, composed of British, Swiss, Spanish, and Italian representatives, deciding to form a European confederation apart from the extreme section which owned the leadership of Marx and the French Communist party, and which passed a resolution to transfer its head-quarters from London to New York.

#### SWITZERLAND.

On the 12th of May, a *plebiscitum*, or popular vote, was held throughout Switzerland to determine the acceptance or rejection of the Revised Constitution. It was rejected by a small majority—4967, upon a voting population of 509,921; and on the Cantonal vote, by a majority of three out of twenty-two Cantons. Thus, for the present, was the main labour of the Federal Assembly, during a period of six months, rendered fruitless.

In July, the city of Geneva obtained importance and interest as the seat of the Arbitration between the British and American Governments, on the subject of the Alabama claims, to be decided under the Treaty of Washington. Later on, the same city became involved in a contest with the See of Rome; the occasion being the Pope's

erection of Geneva into a Catholic bishopric, independent of the existing Bishopric of Lausanne, and the appointment of M. Mermillod as Bishop, without any consent on the part of the State. The civil power proceeded vigorously, refused to recognize the new bishopric, and forbade M. Mermillod to exercise any episcopal functions, or even those of his former office as Curé of Geneva. A war of pamphlets and newspaper articles ensued.

At the end of October took place the election of Deputies to the National Council, the general result of which showed a strong majority in favour of the Revision of the Constitution, making it probable that the decision of the *plebiscitum* of May the 12th will before long be reversed.

#### SWEDEN.

Among the national anniversary commemorations which were rather frequent in Europe this year, none was so venerable in point of historical antiquity as the Millennial festival of the establishment of the kingdom of Norway, by the fusion of her petty kingdoms into one realm, under Harold Haarfager, in the year 872. A monument to the fair-haired Prince had been recently erected on the shore at Harrgesund, near Hafsfjord, where he won his crowning battle; and it was unveiled on this auspicious occasion in presence of Prince Oscar and a distinguished assemblage.

The dissolution of the Norwegian Storting (or Parliament) in the month of May, on account of a collision between the majority of its members and the royal authority on the question of the right of Ministers to be present at the debates, was the last political action to be recorded of King Charles the Fifteenth. On September the 18th that able and popular monarch died, after a lingering disease, at Malmoe, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and was succeeded by his brother as Oscar II. The qualities of King Charles were such as to secure him a hold over the affections of his people—generous, enthusiastic, poetical, skilled in literature, fond of progress and enlightenment, he would perhaps have done greater things than he really achieved had his lot been cast in circumstances more fitted to call forth great energies. His brother and successor had long held a high post in the Swedish navy, and, though less popular than his predecessor, is credited with considerable talent and honesty of purpose.

#### DENMARK.

When Christian the Ninth opened the new Rigsdag on the 7th of October at Copenhagen, he was able in his Royal Speech to describe the past year as one of happy progress. He referred to the splendid harvest, the Scandinavian Exhibition, scientific Congresses, the joint Monetary Commission, the birth of a Prince; and spoke of the

King of Sweden's death with deep sorrow, stating that he was Denmark's true friend. He expressed, however, a confident hope that the cordial friendship between the two kingdoms would continue under King Oscar's enlightened reign. The foreign situation, the King said, remained unchanged. The Schleswig question was still pending, but the hope of a satisfactory solution was undiminished. Bills had been prepared for a reform of the public schools in the direction of a more popular system of education, and for law reform. A revision of army law would also be proposed. The King was greeted with hearty cheers.

One public calamity there was to deplore shortly afterwards, in the awful floods which the storms of November brought upon the lowlands adjoining the Baltic. Whole families were drowned; and farms, and in some instances almost entire villages, were swept away.

#### RUSSIA.

The two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Peter the Great was celebrated with great magnificence at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and in all the other cities of Russia, on the 12th of June. The imperial family attended solemn worship in the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul at St. Petersburg. Towards the end of the services, when the Hymn of the Resurrection was intoned by the choir, the Emperor took a medal, coined in honour of the occasion, from the hands of the Finance Minister, and placed it upon the sepulchre of his illustrious ancestor, the fortress walls sending forth at this signal a salvo of artillery.

At Moscow the occasion was taken to open the Polytechnic Exhibition; when the Rector of the University, Professor Soloviev, delivered an elaborate harangue on the merits of Peter the Great as a Reformer:—"With Peter's activity," he said, "we are accustomed to associate the most important reforms. Among his contemporaries, it is true, many were opposed to his grand schemes, while others regarded him as the regenerator of his race, and contended that he first called Russia into existence. Foreign writers, too, hostile to this country, and hiding their animosity under the pretence of censuring a single man, have frequently treated us to the assertion that Peter lived too early for his subjects, who were not in a position to profit by the blessings he showered upon them. As to the trifling circumstance that Peter's works survived his death, this has been set down by the wiseacres of Western Europe as accidental, and proving nothing. Indeed, these invidious critics go the length of asserting that, notwithstanding all that Peter has done for us, it is just possible his work may be undone some day, his reforms scattered to the winds, and Russia, once more steeped in barbarism, be forced back into an Asiatic wilderness. I think we can afford to wait the fulfilment of these prophecies; we can afford to wait and see



whether what is called a superficial civilization will not continue to stand, as it has stood so long. Meanwhile no one will deny that Peter's reign forms a great and decisive period in our history. Other nations have had reforms and reformers; but in no country in the world has so much been effected by one man, has such an immense amount of multifarious labour been done by a single individual."

The position of the Great Empire at this moment was indeed a gratifying comment on the lofty schemes and aspirations of its virtual founder. Recovered from the desolating effects of the Crimean War, and having shaken off some of its most hampering consequences by the revision of the Black Sea Treaty, she was now restoring Sebastopol as a military and naval emporium, while her Budget, showing for the first time a surplus instead of a deficit, indicated that firm financial foundation, without which a nation's reviving prosperity must always be more or less uncertain. "The Russian Budget for 1872," says a journalist, "marks a turning-point in the financial history of the Eastern Empire. A surplus of 384,221 roubles may seem a very insignificant sum for so vast a country, but it becomes a very appreciable indication of prosperity when it is recollected that for exactly forty years, ever since 1831, the Russian Budget has been suffering from a chronic state of deficiency. These deficits were by no means as unpretending as is the present surplus, nor have they been limited exclusively to years of war."

The improved management of the finances, according to the same authority, may be dated from the year 1863, when the Board of Control was newly organized; but political difficulties made the deficits still increase till 1866, since which time a steady progress towards solvency has been traceable, and this notwithstanding the great absorption of money by the steady development of the railway system.

The eighth meeting of the International Statistical Congress was held at St. Petersburg in August. There were assembled on this occasion an unusually large number of eminent statisticians both from Europe and America.

At the present time the policy of Russia was very much directed to the acquisition and maintenance of influence in the affairs of her neighbours and dependants. Rumours of a design to conciliate the Polish subjects of the Empire seemed to point to a consolidation of her Pan Slavonic policy. With the Letts of Livonia the efforts of the ultra-Russian party seem to have been successful only in increasing local hostility to the German element in the population, without drawing it at all nearer to the Russian. At the Court of the Sublime Porte, the Russian Ambassador, General Ignatieff, had succeeded in establishing an interest apparently as great as that which Lord Stratford de Redcliffe once wielded there on behalf of the English. The Grand Vizierate of Midhat Pasha was only a temporary obstruction of this interest, one of its effects being to check the independent aspirations of the Bulgarian Church.

Under the Vizierate of Mahmoud Pasha the claims of the Bulgarian Church to be governed by an elective hierarchy, instead of by bishops appointed by the Greek Patriarch, was officially sanctioned, and it was no secret that this sanction had been given with the connivance, if not at the instigation, of Russia, whose policy in regard to the Eastern Christians had thus entered into a new phase. Before the conflict between the Greeks and the Bulgarians, Russia had played the part of protector of all the members of the Greek Church in the East without distinction of nationality; but being now compelled to side with either one or the other of the opposing parties, she took up the cause of the Bulgarians with an ardour which excited much indignation in the Greek press. The Greek Patriarch at first wished to submit the Bulgarian dispute to the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, but this was rendered impossible by the abstention of the Russian ecclesiastical authorities from that Council. He then convoked a synod of all the bishops of the Greek Church in Turkey; upon which General Ignatieff persuaded two of the most influential to take the part of the Bulgarians. When the synod met, the Greek Patriarch proposed that the "schismatic church" of Bulgaria should be excommunicated. The majority agreed, but the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch objected, and even threatened at once to leave the Council unless fresh negotiations were opened with the Bulgarians. The synod was in consequence adjourned for a fortnight. During this interval the Russian Ambassador used every effort to set aside the decision of the majority in the synod; while the Greeks, backed by the Government at Athens, and by the anti-Russian Grand Vizier Midhat, were equally active in supporting their patriarch. The result was a victory for the Greeks: the decree of excommunication was formally promulgated on the 30th of September, and the Bulgarian clergy are now prohibited by the head of their Church from performing ecclesiastical functions. The dismissal of Midhat, however, has removed the most formidable obstacle to the plans of Russia. The Bulgarian question, originally arising out of a dispute among members of the Greek Church in Turkey, has now taken the shape of a conflict between Panslavism and Hellenism; on one side is Russia striving to secure the predominance of the Slavonic element in the East, and aiming to undermine the authority of the Greeks in all the Turkish provinces; on the other, the Government at Athens, supported by Austria, and by those Turkish statesmen who think Greek influence at Constantinople less dangerous than Russian influence.

In Central Asia the activity of Russian policy this year was conspicuous. A commercial treaty, involving the cession to Russia of the district of Kuldja, estimated at 20,000 geographical square miles, was concluded with the ruler of a Mahometan kingdom in Eastern Turkestan, which had recently detached itself from the Chinese Empire; and schemes were proposed for railways to form a double line of communication between Russia Proper and her new

dependencies in the far East. Nearer the European limits Russia found it advisable to settle accounts with the Khan of Khiva, a prince who had made himself obnoxious by the murder of certain Russian merchants, and other actions of a political nature. The expedition ordered against Khiva in October was subsequently delayed; and the news received just before the close of this year was, that the Khivese had invaded the Russian territory, that nine thousand men were besieging the Russian forts of Old and New Emba, and two thousand infesting the lower course of the Emba River, while other detachments were marching against the post of Krasnovodsk on the Caspian, and Fort Irgles on the Orenburg-Turkestan road; also that Russian reinforcements had been sent in haste to the Emba Forts from Orenburg and Irghis.

The dangerous illness of the Czarevitch at Christmas caused great alarm; but, as in the case of our own Prince of Wales at the same period of the preceding year, the symptoms began to ameliorate before the season was over.

#### TURKEY.

The great contest within the Roman Catholic Church had its effect among the subjects of the Mahometan ruler. To the Armenian Church question we have already had occasion to allude. The Hassounites and anti-Hassounites represented the respective parties of Infallibilists and "Old Catholics." Another ecclesiastical topic of interest was the Bulgarian Church question, which, as has been already said, turned upon the demand of the Bulgarians to manage their own religious affairs, instead of being subject to the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople. After a long conflict with the Greek Patriarch, the Sultan issued a decree on the 24th of February, permitting the election of an Exarch for the Bulgarian Church, and recommending three prelates—Passios, Anthimos (Metropolitan of Widdin), and Hilarion (Bishop of Loftcha)—as the fittest candidates for the post. Hilarion was then elected by the Bulgarian Church Council; but the election was not confirmed, as the Patriarch could not admit to the dignity of Exarch a priest who had repeatedly been censured for his liberal opinions, and had been twice excommunicated. It was then decided to elect the more moderate Metropolitan Anthimos of Widdin. The Œcumenical Council at Constantinople in the month of September declared the Church of Bulgaria to be schismatical.

The Turkish Government sustained a great loss in September by the death of Djemel Pasha, the able Minister of Foreign Affairs, which occurred quite suddenly as he was returning by railway from a complimentary mission to the Emperor of Russia. Other Ministerial changes occurred abruptly this year. In the month of July the Grand Vizier, Mahmoud Pasha, fell into disgrace, and was

made to resign office in favour of Midhat Pasha, Governor of Bagdad. Mahmoud had represented Russian influence in the Councils of the Porte; Midhat represented Austrian influence. But Midhat's sway was short. It was said that he would not, like his predecessor, lay the savings of the State Treasury at the Sultan's disposal. Rudschi Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier in his place. The true key of Turkish politics this year seems to be discoverable in two *motifs*: the Sultan's wish to alter the succession, and the influence which the Russian Ambassador, General Ignatieff, had succeeded in establishing over his councils. With regard to the succession, the Sultan's eager desire was to get his own eldest son, Youssof Izeddin, declared his heir, in conformity with the usual European system, instead of Murad Effendi, the eldest son of his brother the late Sultan Abdul Medjid, who, having been born under his father's reign, had, according to Turkish law, a prior claim to a cousin born before *his* father had ascended the throne. The policy of Russia was to favour the Sultan's wishes in this respect, through the ministry of those Grand Viziers with whom General Ignatieff had established an *entente cordiale*.

An Egyptian expedition against Abyssinia, in punishment of a raid committed by the Abyssinians on Egyptian territory, calls for mention. The Khedive was credited with ambitious designs of annexation, for which he was not sorry to seize on the first available pretext, and is said to have found a useful instrument in Werner Munzingas, the French consul in Abyssinia, and an *élève* of the Jesuits.

We must also advert to the ill-treatment of the Jews by the populace at Smyrna and in Roumania, and the refusal of Roumanian juries to find verdicts against the offenders. The Bill for the settlement of the Roumanian Railway question was passed at the beginning of the year.

Finally, we must bestow a glance on the Servian Principality, which was a source of some disquiet this year both to Turkey and Austria. Prince Milan Obrenovitch, fourth Prince of Servia of that family, attained his majority in the month of August, and entered upon the full exercise of his sovereign powers. The event was celebrated at Belgrade with great demonstrations of popular rejoicing. A million and a half of the Servian population are subjects of the King of Hungary, and these Servians, it would seem, are not the least impatient of the race for the realization of the great "idea" which contemplates a transfer of their allegiance from the Emperor Francis Joseph to Prince Milan. But as the notion of a disintegration of the Hungarian kingdom to favour the constitution of the Servian kingdom, of which Prince Milan and his subjects dream, is not one that Magyar statesmen can entertain for a moment, this question seems likely to become one of great difficulty and danger. The Servians, in fact, seek to found a Servian kingdom which shall include the whole Servian race.

Prince Milan opened the Servian Parliament, or Skuptschina, at Kragujevacz, in the month of October, and made a speech setting

forth the condition and aims of his Government. In November the Minister for Foreign Affairs announced that certain pending difficulties with the Turkish Government, relative to two frontier fortresses—Zakar and Little Svornik—were to be settled by negotiation with the Porte, and not by foreign intervention.

#### GREECE.

The Greek Government underwent two changes of Ministry this year. In January M. Zaïmes gave place to M. Bulgares, after which the Chamber was dissolved, and a new general election took place. In July Bulgares was superseded by M. Deligeorges. The last Ministerial crisis was brought about by the question of the Laurium mines, which, after undergoing a constant blundering treatment for a year past, was brought into European prominence this autumn by the course of events. The dispute now rested on the claim of the Greek Government to tax the scoria and *débris* of the old mines in the district which the French adventurer M. Roux, and the Italian M. Serpieri, had, in 1864, purchased the right of working. The lessees complained of an *ex post facto* law, charging them for liabilities for eight years back. At the end of the year the question was referred to the Governments of Austria, Germany, and Russia, who agreed in recommending arbitration.

### CHAPTER V.

**NORTH AMERICA.**—UNITED STATES.—International Questions with England—Assassination of James Fisk—Break-down of the Erie Ring—Jay Gould—Trials of Oakley Hall and of Judge Barnard—Decision of Supreme Court on the Mormons—Bills in Congress—Speech of Senator Sumner—Presidential Election Campaign—Horace Greeley—Conventions at Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Louisville, Pittsburg—State Elections of October—Election of General Grant as President—Death of Mr. Greeley—Opening of Congress—President's Message—Finance—Death of Mr. Seward—Fire at Boston—Politics of Louisiana—Arizona Diamond Bubble.

**MEXICO.**—Death of President Juarez—Honduras Civil War.

**SOUTH AMERICA.**—BRAZIL.—Treaty with Paraguay.

**PERU.**—Revolution, and Murder of President Balta.

**BOLIVIA.**—Murder of President Morales.

**ASIA.**—CHINA.—The Emperor's Marriage—Treaty with Japan.

**JAPAN.**—Reforms—Railway opened.

#### UNITED STATES.

THE two leading subjects of interest this year, in the history of the United States, are the diplomatic relations of the Government with

the Government of Great Britain; and the Presidential election, with the circumstances connected with it. The first series of incidents filled up the earlier part of the year, culminating in the Geneva Arbitration in September, with the subsequent arbitration of the Emperor of Germany in the San Juan boundary question on the 21st of October.

The Presidential election took place on the 5th of November, and was the central spring of internal politics from the time that Congress was prorogued in June.

The international negotiations and discussions with England on the Alabama question, the Indirect Claims, the Supplemental Treaty, the Award, the Counter-claims, and the San Juan Arbitration, have already come under review in the English portion of our history, and we shall therefore not return to them here, but occupy our space with the history of the Presidential election, and also with some other matters, which, if of less wide and stirring interest, nevertheless carry on the record of the internal policy of the United States, or reveal some characteristic features of the national life.

The assassination of Colonel James Fisk, on the 6th of January, removed from the scene of action the most notorious of the speculators who had enriched themselves and damaged the credit of their country by the transactions connected with the "Erie Ring." Fisk was shot dead in the Grand Central Hotel, New York, by Edward Stokes, a rival in the affections of a mistress whom he was visiting. Great was the excitement in New York at the news; greater, it is said, than any public event had caused since the assassination of President Lincoln. Stokes was apprehended and committed for trial. The death of Fisk had the effect of deepening the popular movement against the Ring, while it removed from the working of that fraudulent conspiracy its ablest and most energetic member. Mr. Jay Gould, who had hitherto shared with Fisk the principal hazard and responsibility, now found himself in difficulties which he was incompetent to surmount. A panic set in among the directors; one by one they dropped off; and when the final attack by the indignant public was made on the 11th of March in the Grand Opera House, which had been the main triumph of Fisk's magnificence and the citadel of his government, Gould, after struggling at his post against the newly-elected Board, literally forced to retire from room to room, while the police-force he had summoned declined to aid him, finally on the following day succumbed, capitulated, and acquiesced in seeing the respectable names of General Dix, General M'Clellan, and Mr. Sherman substituted in the chief direction of the Erie Railway for those of the broken and disgraced "Ring" of which he had been so prominent a member. The repeal of the "Erie Classification Act" soon afterwards, by the New York Legislature, completed his defeat. The new direction quitted the Opera House, the scene of former frauds, to re-establish their headquarters in the former office of the Railway.

For a short time Gould's name was allowed to remain among the directors, but he soon retired altogether, and a suit was instituted against him by the new managers for damages incurred by his maladministration. The bill of complaint was served upon the defendant on the 1st of July. It recited numerous breaches of trust and violations of law from the time of Gould's election as President in October, 1867, to his being ousted from his office. His management was charged with causing an over-issue of capital stock of the Erie Railway, the repeated elections of fraudulent Boards of Directors, and the unlawful issue of \$10,000,000 bonds appropriated to himself and his confederates. The bill of complaint also adverted to the injury to the Erie Railway from Gould's flight to the State of New Jersey some years before, and his expenditure of \$1,000,000 of the railway money to extricate himself from the embarrassments caused by his frauds; also to another fraudulent issue of \$38,000,000 bonds to "water" the stock, unlawful payment of heavy claims to Vanderbilt and others, fraudulent transactions with connecting railways, the building and leasing of the Grand Opera House, &c. For all of these things damages were claimed amounting to \$10,000,000. The suit was still pending, when, several months later in the year, Gould contrived to mix himself up in a swindling operation known as the "North Western Corner," which furnished such strong evidence of malpractices on his part that, on being arrested, he became frightened, and agreed, in consideration of the Erie Directors withdrawing their suit against him, to make restitution of property to the amount of more than \$9,000,000, this restitution embracing 60,000 shares of Erie common stock, and the Grand Opera House itself.

The trial of Mayor Hall, of "Tammany" notoriety, was proceeding simultaneously with the Erie Revolution. It ended abruptly, however, on a technical point, the New York Recorder deciding that Judge Daly's Court, by which the Mayor was being tried, had no legal existence; and that he, the Recorder alone, by the laws of New York, was authorized to hold a Court of Sessions such as Judge Daly was improperly holding. The eleven jurors were, therefore, discharged, the Court dissolved, and the Mayor set free. After their discharge the jurors are said to have assured the Mayor that no evidence that they had heard implicated him in any criminal action.

He was tried again in October, when, after the counsel had occupied two days in their closing speeches, and after a charge by Judge Brady, the jury announced that they could not agree, and were consequently discharged.

Another triumphant incident in the war of public opinion against the fraudulent "Rings" of Tammany and Erie was the deposition of Judge Barnard from the judicial bench in the same month of October. The constitution of the State of New York gives the people security against a bad judge by providing for his removal after impeachment before the Senate of the State. Of late years, however,

this protection had been imaginary rather than real, for, if the Judges had been notoriously corrupt, the Senate was so likewise. But the tide of popular opinion, which swept Mr. Tweed and Mr. Gould successively out of power, came to be felt even in the Senate at Albany, so that the prosecution of the three judges implicated in the evil deeds of the Erie Ring appeared no longer a hopeless work. Before the charges against these officers came to maturity one of them died, another resigned; but Judge Barnard, the boldest, ablest, and most guilty of the three, stood his trial daringly, pressing as many as possible of the influences which he once swayed, and which remained still unbroken, into his defence. If, however, after the fall of his accomplices in the Erie and Tammany conspiracies, there remained to him any remnant of favour in the Senate at Albany, the vehemence and unanimity of public opinion compelled this friendship to silence. Upon the most serious charge Barnard was found guilty. Having been convicted of having used the immense powers of his judicial office, embracing both the common law and an equity jurisdiction, for the service of Fisk and the Erie Ring, he was sentenced to removal from his place on the Bench and disqualified for re-election.

The trial of Stokes for the murder of Fisk came on in June; but, after lasting twenty-two days, the jury were discharged, being unable to come to an agreement. Seven were in favour of a verdict of wilful murder, and five of manslaughter. Stokes was then remanded to gaol to await a second trial, which was still outstanding when the year ended.

The cause of the Mormon community obtained a signal triumph this year in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Engelbrecht v. Clinton*, which overruled all the recent decisions of Chief Justice M'Kean. The effect of the Supreme Court's decision was not merely to put a stop at once to the prosecution of Brigham Young and all other Mormons, and to release those already convicted: at the same time it restored the Mormon control of the courts of Utah. Chief Justice M'Kean, by a series of judgments, had ruled that the district attorney or public prosecutor appointed by the Mormon legislature had no standing in the courts of the Territory, which are United States courts, and can consequently recognize only United States officials: that, for the same reason, the Mormon marshals had no authority to summon juries for those courts, as they had been in the habit of doing, and that polygamists living in open and constant violation of the law of the land were *ipso facto* incapacitated to serve upon juries to administer that law. In conformity with these rulings the juries were empanelled which convicted a Mormon of bigamy, and which found true bills against Brigham Young and his leading disciples. In virtue of the new decision, all these verdicts therefore fell at once to the ground. Civil actions of very great importance, especially mining suits, involving the title to property worth millions, had been decided by juries selected under the rulings of Chief Justice



M'Kean, which were now equally invalid. It would seem probable that the decision of the Supreme Court will have a further effect in improving the chance of a favourable consideration of the Mormon petition for the admission of Utah as a State into the Union. The Mormons offer, if their petition is granted, to renounce polygamy, and to insert a clause in the Constitution of the new State strictly prohibiting the practice.

With the exception of the discussions connected with the Washington Treaty and the proposals arising out of it, upon which it will not be necessary here to enlarge, the debates in Congress during the early part of this year present little worth special notice. An Amnesty Bill for all persons excepting military or naval officers or members of Congress concerned in the late Rebellion, passed the House of Representatives in January. A Tariff Bill was passed by both Houses in June, a few days previously to their prorogation for the summer.

The greatest fight in Congress was connected with a resolution introduced by Mr. Sumner into the Senate on the 14th of February, to inquire into the sales of American arms and ordnance stores to France during the Franco-German War. In a speech arising out of this subject on the 31st of May, he took occasion to make a most violent onslaught on the President, whose candidature for the approaching election was pending. With characteristic extravagance of language, he accused General Grant, in pompous phrases, interspersed with real and imaginary examples from history, of nepotism, of pecuniary corruption, and of disregard for the letter and spirit of the Constitution; asserted that by employing military officers in civil appointments, and by ordering certain reports to be made to the Commander-in-Chief instead of the Secretary at War, he had attempted to establish despotism, or as he chose to phrase it, the "One-Man power;" quoted Mr. Buckle and the late Lord Durham as authorities for the proposition that soldiers are unfit for political functions, and declared that Marlborough and Frederick the Great were conspicuously deficient in political ability. He further recorded how Jefferson had blamed his political rival, President John Adams, for giving promotion to his son; how Washington had refused a present of canal shares from the Virginia Assembly; and how Lord Brougham would only consent to receive a very trifling ornament from his admirers at Glasgow. With these instances Mr. Sumner contrasted the old historic tales of Papal nepotism and corruption, and compared General Grant's exercise of power and patronage to the ecclesiastical jobberies of Alexander VI. and Gregory XIII. Then he cited St. Louis of France. Unlike that virtuous monarch, who when leaving his country for a crusade "charged his queen-regent not to accept presents for herself or her children," General Grant, he said, had not only received numerous gifts, but had in two or three instances promoted the donors to high offices of State. Then again he censured the obstinate and abortive efforts of the President to get Congress to assent to the

annexation of San Domingo, conveyed, he said, in an "annual Message where undisguised insult to the Senate vied with absurdity in declaring prospective profits, and with geographical ignorance." But all this, added the orator, would be one of the riddles of American history, to be explained only by the extent to which the "One-Man power" had succeeded in subjugating the Government.

Undoubtedly, Grant's prospects, which had been very favourably estimated during 1871, had lost ground latterly, owing to unpopularity excited by the mode in which he had distributed patronage, and his supposed liability to family influence; and the notion of starting Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, as a rival candidate for the Presidency, which at first seemed absurd enough, became an important reality when the rival "Nominating Conventions" set to their work. It is difficult, indeed, to say what the result might have been, had a better candidate than Greeley been available for the purposes of the malcontents; but probably no one of higher stamp would have been pliable enough to unite the political divergences of the factious seceders from the ranks both of the orthodox Republicans and of the orthodox Democrats. Greeley was known as a lively, half-educated, reckless journalist, a man of genial, impulsive humour, an active agricultural improver on his farm at Chappaqua, in politics an antagonist of Free Trade, a pronounced Radical, a life-long opponent of the "Democratic" party. He made no scruple now of announcing his readiness to remit fiscal legislation to the people and to Congress; and promised the Democrats, if they would help in securing his election, a share of official good things proportionate to their exertions.

On the 1st of May the "Liberal Republican" National Convention met in the city of Cincinnati; and on the 3rd, Senator Schurz as spokesman, nominated Horace Greeley as candidate for the Presidency, and Benjamin Gratz Brown for the Vice-Presidency.

The "Platform," or Declaration of Principles promulgated by the Cincinnati Convention, began with a denunciation of the Grant Administration for its disregard of the laws of the land, the corruption and bribery it had practised, its opposition to needful reforms, hostile attitude towards the Southern States, and unprincipled system of patronage, after which it continued,—

"We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:—1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, colour, or persuasion, religious or political. 2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, Emancipation and Enfranchisement, and to oppose any re-opening of the questions settled by the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments of the Constitution. 3. We demand the immediate

and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the Rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country. 4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of person under the protection of the Habeas Corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitation of power. 5. The Civil Service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of Republican Government. 6. We, therefore, demand a thorough reform of the Civil Service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the officers of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favouritism and patronage, and that public station becomes again a post of honour. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election. 7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise. 8. A speedy return to specie payments is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government. 9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism. 10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be sacred to actual settlers. 11. We hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to cultivate the friendship of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonourable either to demand what is not right or to submit to what is wrong. 12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles, and the support of the candidates nominated by this Convention, we invite, and cordially welcome, the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations."

The Platform being read, Mr. Burnett, of Ohio, moved that this—the second "Declaration of Independence"—be adopted by acclamation. The Platform was then adopted amid wild applause.

A month later the "Republican National Convention," consisting of the orthodox members of the party, opposed to the so-called "Liberal Republicans," met at Philadelphia, when Ulysses S. Grant was proposed for re-election to the Presidential Chair, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

The "Platform" of the Philadelphia Convention began with a recapitulation of the achievements which had signalized Grants'

term of office. Then followed, in a subsequent series of articles, the enumeration of the principles on which the Republican party desired future policy to be based; as thus: "2. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit of any discrimination in respect of citizens, by reason of race, creed, colour, or previous condition of servitude. 3. The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments. 4. The National Government should seek to maintain honourable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty. 5. Any system of the Civil Service under which the subordinate positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing; and we therefore favour a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life-tenure of office. 6. We are opposed to further grants of public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people. 7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and the revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, be raised by duties upon importations, the duties of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages for labour, and promote the industries, growth, and prosperity of the whole country. 8. We hold in undying honour the soldiers and sailors whose valour saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation; and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favour such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honourably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge. 9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers concerning allegiance—'Once a subject always a subject'—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims of their former Governments; and we urge continual careful protection, and encouragement and protection

of voluntary immigration. 10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage. 11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labour, and the Republican party recognize the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labour, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization. 12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box, and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation. 13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and the rates of interest upon the balance; and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment. 14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction, and the honest demands of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration. 15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land. 16. The Republican party propose to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government. 17. It is the duty of the Federal Government to adopt such measures as may best tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building. 18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people; and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march of victory."

Not a little anxiety was directed to the third of these political assemblages, calling itself the "National Democratic Convention," which met at Baltimore on the 9th of July: for on the nomination there decided upon, hung all the apparent chance for the success of Mr. Greeley's candidature. Had a third competitor been proposed by so large and influential a section of the Democratic party, the split in the ranks of Grant's opponents would have been irreparable. As it was, the prevailing desire of ousting Grant, be his successor who he might, led the Baltimore politicians to follow in the steps of those of Cincinnati. Mr. Belmont, of New York, made a long

address, in which, whilst showing that personally he owed nothing to Mr. Greeley, he expressed his strong opinion that the Convention ought to nominate him. He recognized the fact that Mr. Greeley had been a life-long opponent of the Democratic party, but the Cincinnati Platform and Mr. Greeley's letter of acceptance he looked upon as essentially Democratic documents, and he thought Mr. Greeley, in the present state of affairs, was the man upon whom all the opponents of Grant could best unite. He really believed that, if nominated by the Convention, Mr. Greeley would faithfully carry out the doctrines of the Democratic party, and he, therefore, would give Mr. Greeley his cordial support.

Horace Greeley was nominated accordingly for the President, and Brown for Vice-President; and not only the Cincinnati candidates, the Cincinnati Platform also was adopted in its integrity. This was, in fact, a significant turn of party politics; a surrender of principle on the part of a large portion of the Democrats to the single object of preventing the continuance of the present rule; but the "National Democrats" might not unfairly retort that the "Liberal Republicans" also had sacrificed principle in order to meet the Democrats half-way, and that the Platform which both now settled to adopt was essentially a compromise between the two inconsistent lines of policy they had hitherto advocated.

As there was a loyal section of the Republicans, however, so there was a loyal section of the Democrats, who were by no means satisfied with the "new departure" of their party; and in the beginning of September this section, known as the "Straight-out Democrats," or "Bourbonists," held their rival Convention at Louisville, Kentucky. The Louisville Convention was strongly encouraged by the partisans of Grant, as tending to divide the hostile ranks. The candidate set up by the "Straight-out Democrats" was Mr. Charles O'Connor, leader of the New York Bar, a gentleman of considerable personal and professional eminence. Mr. O'Connor, however, objected to being brought forward. In a remarkable letter addressed to the Convention, he stated his reasons, based on theories of Government which were manifestly incompatible with the present working of the Constitution. He launched into a vigorous denunciation of the abuses by which the Presidential power had been allowed to make head against the defences originally contemplated by the Constitution, especially in the multiplication of offices, and the opportunities thereby afforded of corrupt patronage. He denounced also the corrupt system of taxation. "Paternal Government," he said, "is not necessarily mischievous in a Monarchy, but in a Republic based upon universal suffrage it cannot fail to foster innumerable evils. It is, in fact, 'the sum of all villainies.' A Government which devotes some of its powers to 'putting money in men's pockets' must employ others in extortion. The policy involves a continuous career of rapine and favouritism."

For these and other evils he declared that a strict habit of popular surveillance was the only remedy; a remedy far more efficacious

than the complex system of constitutional balances which "the fathers" of the Republic had devised. Still, if compelled to choose between the two candidates now before the public, he avowed his preference to Grant over Greeley. "The success of General Grant," he said, "might involve no important consequences, but that of Greeley would consecrate the practices referred to, which, in my opinion, are absolutely incompatible with the permanence of Republican institutions. In saying this, it is not intended simply to pronounce for anti-Protectionist ideas; that question is left untouched. If the support of home industry against foreign competition is to be regarded as sound policy, it can be afforded as far as needful by a much simpler, a less expensive, and a far less damaging process than our over-grown Customs establishments. The true policy is national regeneration. It is far more comprehensive than mere free trade. Its aim is to break the sceptre of trading politicians and emancipate the masses."

Finally, in reference to the existing evils he had pointed out, he continued:—"My deep aversion to all these things has induced me to encourage the movement which you represent, and doubtless my name will be presented for your consideration as a nominee. In that event I beg leave respectfully to withdraw it. The strength and emphasis which have marked the language employed by some gentlemen in addressing me on this subject must be my excuse for saying what follows. Success should of course be an object. In the present condition of affairs other leadership will afford a better prospect of attaining it. Choice can be made from many equally reliable as reformers—probably more capable of public office, and yet less likely to combine formidable elements of opposition. I could not consent to subscribe to a platform containing either a profession of faith or a recantation of errors and a promise of amendment. The existing practice requires this, and that practice may not be abruptly set aside. Love of that absolute independence which can hardly be maintained in public office, a desire to promote your success instead of impeding, and a belief that I can thus best perform the individual citizen's quota of public service, have created in my mind an unalterable resolve to remain in private station.

"Yours truly, CHARLES O'CONOR."

Mr. O'Connor's refusal struck the Convention with dismay. Mr. O'Connor was their sole hope. They cast about in vain for a substitute. At last, after a night's deliberation, they determined to nominate him in spite of his disinclination, and adopted his letter itself as their "Platform," along with some supplementary resolutions, one of which ran thus:—"Resolved,—That, having been betrayed at Baltimore into a false creed and false leadership by that Convention, we repudiate both, and appeal to the people to approve our Platform, and to rally to the polls and support a true Platform and candidates who embody it."

Still O'Connor held back. Then the "Straight-out" party turned to John Quincy Adams, who had been proposed for Vice-President;

but he declined to act except as second to Mr. O'Connor. Finally a motion suggested by Mr. Goodlett of New York was agreed upon by 544 voices against 30. This resolution declared it to be the sense of the Convention that Mr. O'Connor having fully and heartily approved the objects and purposes of the Convention, and having been nominated for President, and John Quincy Adams for Vice-President, the delegates of the Democratic party assembled at Louisville were unwilling to make other nominations in their stead, and that the Democratic party would give them in any event their undivided support.

The last of these political meetings that calls for notice is the so-styled Pittsburg Convention; a gathering of soldiers who had fought in the late war, and who assembled at Pittsburg in Pennsylvania to record their vote in favour of the victorious General of the North.

"We enter our solemn protest," they said, "against transferring the control of the Army and Navy, Treasury, and the entire government, the enforcement of constitutional amendments, with the execution of the laws themselves, to a selfish and corrupt coalition composed chiefly of elements but recently in open hostility to them all. . . . We gladly and proudly reaffirm our enthusiastic confidence in the integrity, patriotism, and ability of President Grant. We point to his Messages for opinions and recommendations in harmony with the most advanced political sentiment. We point to the condition of the country in all its relations, foreign and domestic, for proof that its laws are well administered and its honour maintained."

Meanwhile Grant and Greeley were each touring about, to make profession of their faith before the people. Greeley harangued much and often; Grant harangued little; but he was subjected much to that process of investigation called "interviewing," in which the Americans are adepts.

Greeley arrived at Pittsburg a few days after the Convention had met there, and addressed the people:—"Fellow-Citizens,—The wise king says there is a time for war and a time for peace. The city of Pittsburg has recently witnessed a rehearsal of the pomp and pageantry, the blazonry and circumstance of Civil War. A very large number of men were collected here at a vast expense with the single purpose of rekindling the bitterness and hatred, the animosity and antipathies, the fears and exultations of Civil War, for the advantage of a political party. I take you to witness that the greater portion of the journals of Pittsburg, as well as the orators on this occasion, have been trying their best to make us, the people, hate each other for the sake of partisan advantage. A stranger would imagine on reading the journals of this city for the last few days that we were still at war, and that their purpose was to revive and exasperate the hatred and animosity of Civil War. In order to intensify and invigorate their side of the conflict, they talk about rebels and traitors. Are we never to be done with this?"

Greeley's tour closed with a reception at the Lincoln Club House,



New York, when he made his final address. He told his visitors that he thought his journey had done good. The Liberal Republicans had no principles they wished to hide, nothing of any sort they wished to conceal, and the public mind was clouded, and needed to be disabused. He thought he could declare the Liberal movement to be not a coalition of discontented elements, but a rising of the people on well-defined principles, on which they are all agreed. He did not mean to be tortured into saying another word to the end of the canvass. He had explained himself as fully as seemed necessary, and he trusted that the good work might go on. He thought the Liberal cause had been strengthened during the past two weeks; that Pennsylvania would be carried by the Liberals if there was a fair election; that Ohio was Liberal; and that Indiana could neither be defrauded nor bought, but would cast her vote for the Liberal candidates at the November election. He desired to say, in closing, that he had been greatly cheered and strengthened by the demonstrations and enthusiasm he had witnessed during his twelve days' tour. Mr. Greeley then retired; and so ended his speech-making expedition, in which it was calculated that he had spoken not less than 150 times.

For a while public opinion was in great suspense as to the respective chances of the two candidates who divided the field. The State elections of October soon dispelled that uncertainty, showing beyond the possibility of mistake, that the general feeling of the Union was in favour of Grant. Especially was the Pennsylvania election considered decisive of the coming issue; and it was seen to be so when the Electoral Colleges came to be chosen into whose hands the actual voting for the President was by the Constitution committed.

The important event itself took place on the 5th of November. General Grant carried the day by a majority even greater than had been anticipated; it amounted to something over 725,000 votes. If it is true that at the time of the election there were in the United States no less than 60,000 men holding office at the will of the President, and required to contribute on an average fifty dollars each to the expenses of the contest, it must be allowed that the causes of Grant's success were not all of the most unimpeachable kind; and the discouragement of American patriots at an evil which once begun is necessarily of a growing nature may be understood. But besides this, the Democratic "ticket" had undoubtedly failed from internal causes. It seems that after the Pennsylvania State election in November there was a general collapse among the supporters of Greeley. Many of the Democrats, who had never really liked his candidature, found an excuse for not voting in the hopelessness of success. But they chose simply not to come forward at all in the contest, whence their name of "Stay-at-home Democrats." They did not throw their weight into the scales of the "Straight-out Democrats," who still asserted the candidature of their recusant champion O'Connor, for which they only succeeded

in securing the beggarly amount of 10,000 votes. The declaration of such States as Virginia, West Virginia, Delaware, and Nevada in Grant's favour was wholly owing to the great Democratic desertion, and aided materially in the result. On the whole, therefore, it now appeared that Ulysses S. Grant would begin his second Administration as President under most favourable auspices, with a triumphant party and two-thirds of Congress at his back, and an Opposition more signally demoralized than any party had heretofore been in the United States.

Meanwhile Mr. Greeley accepted his defeat with composure, and announced that he was about to resume the editorial management of the *New York Tribune*, "which he relinquished on embarking in another line of business six months ago;" that he intended to make it an independent journal, treating all parties fairly; that his present course would be one of "silence and forbearance;" that he would "never again be a candidate for any office;" and hereafter would "not be provoked to indulgence in those bitter personalities which are the recognized bane of journalism."

A considerable shock was felt when on the last day of the month the announcement appeared in the public journals that Horace Greeley was no more. The anxieties and exertions of the Presidential contest, and the death of his wife, brought on inflammation of the brain, to which his excitable nature succumbed after a few days of hopeless exhaustion and mental aberration. He was in his 62nd year. All the sensational elements of American public opinion were set in action by his death; glowing eulogies on his character appeared on all sides; a public funeral of unusual ceremonial was decreed him; and his death was alluded to in the opening prayer which prefaced the proceedings on the re-assembling of Congress.

The Congress re-opened on December 2.

The Presidential Message was then delivered by the triumphant candidate for the nation's votes. It was a document of singularly happy import, considered from a political point of view. It had nothing to announce save circumstances of prosperity; of content in the past, and good augury for the future. That the Alabama and San Juan arbitrations had both resulted in favour of America; that the Russian territory of Alaska had been ceded to the United States by treaty; that the balance sheet of the Exchequer showed a rapid increase of financial and commercial prosperity; that the public debt was in regular course of diminution: these were the leading subjects of congratulation.

The Message paid a tribute to the memory of Juarez, the lately deceased President of Mexico, and expressed hopes that his successor would confirm the belief entertained in his wisdom and patriotism by the results of his administration, and by strengthening the relations with neighbouring countries—a course rendered absolutely necessary by the lawless acts which disturbed the adjacent settlements, and which must cease under the rule of order.

Alluding to Cuba, the President remarked that no advance had been made towards the pacification of the island; that though the insurrection was without prospects of ultimate success, yet Spain was unsuccessful in repressing it. The continued maintenance of slavery, he said, was doubtless the strongest inducement for the continuance of the strife. A terrible wrong is the natural cause of a terrible evil. The Emancipation Law remained unexecuted, and the President expressed his regret that Americans should still hold slaves in Cuba in defiance of their own laws.

The most important of the documents submitted to Congress with the President's Message, was Mr. Boutwell's Annual Report of the Finances for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1872. It stood as follows, in actual numeration :—

#### RECEIPTS.

From Customs . . . . .	\$216,370,286	77
Sales of public lands . . . . .	2,575,714	19
Internal revenue . . . . .	130,642,177	72
Tax on National Bank Circulation, &c. .	6,523,396	39
Repayment of interest by Pacific Railway Company . . . . .	749,861	87
Customs, fines, &c. . . . .	1,136,442	34
Fees, Consular, patent, lands, &c. . .	2,284,095	92
Miscellaneous sources . . . . .	4,412,254	71
<b>Total ordinary receipts . . . . .</b>	<b>\$364,694,229</b>	<b>91</b>
Premium on sales of coin . . . . .	9,412,637	65
<b>Total net receipts . . . . .</b>	<b>\$374,106,867</b>	<b>56</b>
Balance in Treasury June 30, 1871, including \$18,228 35c. received from "unavailable" . . . . .	109,935,705	59
<b>Total available cash . . . . .</b>	<b>\$484,042,573</b>	<b>15</b>

#### EXPENDITURE.

For Civil Expenses . . . . .	\$16,187,059	20
Foreign Intercourse . . . . .	1,839,369	14
Indians . . . . .	7,061,728	81
Pensions . . . . .	28,533,402	76
Military Establishments, including fortifications, river and harbour improvements, and arsenals . . . . .	35,372,157	20
Naval Establishments, including vessels, machinery, and improvements at Navy yards . . . . .	21,249,809	99
Miscellaneous, Civil, including public buildings, lighthouses, and collecting revenue . . . . .	49,956,939	8

Interest on public debt . . . . .	\$117,357,839
Total, exclusive of principal and pre- mium on public debt . . . . .	<u>\$270,559,695</u>
Premium on Bonds purchased . . . . .	6,958,266
Redemption of the Public Debt . . . . .	<u>99,960,153</u>
Total net disbursements . . . . .	<u>\$377,478,216</u>
Balance in Treasury, June 30, 1872 . . . . .	<u>106,564,356</u>
Total . . . . .	<u><u>\$484,042,573</u></u>

During the year the actual net reduction of the public debt was \$99,960,253. Under the Treasury system of debt statements ever, by which all the money in the Treasury is deducted from face of the debt, the apparent reduction of the debt during the year was \$100,544,491.

The most questionable part of the Message, according to European political economists, was the recommendation that one million sterling should be expended for five years for the encouragement of American merchant shipping. A recommendation that no further reduction of taxes should be made within the present year, may also have been made from an anxiety to retain protective duties as well as from financial caution. The last paragraph of the Message was devoted to the question of Civil Service Reform, the question which had afforded the pretext, or the cause, of the opposition to Grant's re-election. The new rules, said the President, could be tested by experience, and it was his intention to apply the principle of good faith during his term of office, hoping that the country might be such as to justify Congress in making them obligatory on his successors.

The telegraphic report of the statement made by Mr. Boutwell, the Finance Minister, on the day after the delivery of the Confidential Message, stands thus: "Mr. Boutwell estimates the surplus revenue for the fiscal year at \$40,000,000, all of which will be applicable to the redemption of the public debt. The surplus for the next year is estimated at \$34,000,000. The imports and exports for next year are valued at \$1,000,000,000, only 28 per cent of which are expected to be carried by American vessels. Vigorous action is urged to regain the control of the commerce by American shipping. It is shown that the American imports exceed the exports, but that the latter have decreased by \$13,000,000 since 1871. Mr. Boutwell recommends a moderate reduction in duties, and justifies the principle of protection. The Treasury will continue its control over the currency, in order to bring the value of money to the same value as coin. A reduction is advised in taxation."

The death of the famous American statesman, Mr. Sumner, occurred on the 10th of October, at Auburn, New York. He was in his 72nd year. On retiring from public life in 1869, he had

tours to Mexico and Alaska, and more lately a journey round the world ; and at the time of his death he was engaged in preparing a memoir of these tours for publication. His remains lay in state at his residence during the day, and his funeral at St. Peter's Church was attended by a large concourse of official authorities and of the public.

The city of Boston attracted public attention on two very different occasions this year. The International Peace Jubilee in June and July was numerously attended, the principal feature of attraction being the musical entertainment, when successive days were devoted to the harmony of the English, German, French, and Austrian nations respectively.

In November a conflagration of the city occurred, which would have been perhaps the most terrible on record in the Union, had it not been for the still greater devastation of Chicago little more than a year previously. The fire began on Saturday, the 9th of November, at about half-past seven in the evening, and was not got under control till the middle of the day on Monday. Two smaller outbreaks subsequently occurred, the last being on the 20th. The loss of property was estimated at \$75,000,000. Nine hundred and thirty business houses and firms, sixty private dwellings, twenty-one banks, forty-six insurance companies, and twenty-seven newspaper offices are said to have been burnt out. The area devastated was about eighty acres, covered with the best wholesale houses in the city. The loss included all the principal "dry goods" establishments, the wool and leather houses, five or six savings' banks, and Trinity Church. There was an unusually large stock of dry goods on hand, as the sales during the season just closing had been light, and fresh stocks of linens, cottons, and other fabrics for summer wear had recently been taken in. The wool-market also had been dull, so that immense quantities of that staple had accumulated, Boston having had more than any other American city. All this was destroyed. Pearl-street, which had been devastated by the flames, was the chief market of the New England shoe and leather trade. At a meeting of the Board of Underwriters, it was estimated that the total loss would be \$250,000,000, most of which falls on Boston insurance companies. One reason given for the long unchecked spread of the flames was the horse epidemic at that time prevalent, which prevented the effective use of the fire-engines. It was said also that the directors of the fire-brigade, sharing in the general malversation of official life in America at this time, had been culpably negligent in preparing for an emergency.

The contest between Warmouth and Pinchbeck in Louisiana was a leading incident of American public life towards the end of the year. Warmouth was Governor of Louisiana, and a "Liberal Republican," a supporter of Greeley in the Presidential contest, and as it would seem, a very unscrupulous demagogue. His aim was to get himself elected to a place in the Senate of the United States. A party in his State calling itself the "Custom-house" party, with

the Vice-President, Pinchbeck, at its head, were opposed to him, and got a resolution passed in the Louisiana House of Assembly by a large majority, impeaching Warmouth of high crimes and misdemeanours. Pinchbeck was then sworn in State Governor in his stead. The consequence was an official war between the rival potentates and their adherents, which was still in progress when the year came to a close.

The Arizona diamond bubble is too characteristic an instance of American speculation at this period not to claim a mention. In those auriferous regions beyond the Rocky Mountains, the rush to the diggings had been so great that the business got overstocked and the excitement began to fail. Then it struck some imaginative speculators that a new bait might be invented for the immeasurable acquisitiveness of the public. There was a district, it was affirmed, somewhere among the Sierras, where the diamonds were far more plentiful than in Sindbad's celebrated valley. A party of highly trustworthy men had sampled them, and brought back specimens of the smaller sizes, but of the purest lustre. An intelligent young Englishman, who happened to have been in the company, had tripped over one ant-hill, which on close examination proved to be gemmed with rubies and diamonds. All the members of the party stuck to their story, and kept their secret. A distinguished mining engineer was taken to the spot, and pronounced the property "wonderfully safe and attractive." Strange to say, the San Franciscans themselves gave implicit credence to the romantic tale. What they thought of the prospects of the speculation may be surmised from the fact that the acreage of gems was to be disposed of in lots to eighteen separate companies, each company paying down one million sterling, and finding as much more for promotion money, working expenses, &c. The English *Times* newspaper had the credit of bursting the bubble. It examined the matter from the common-sense point of view, demonstrating its inherent absurdity, and pointing out besides that some of the gentlemen who figured more prominently in it had already been mixed up in similar transactions worse than suspicious. Of course the *Times* proved right and the bubble burst before very great harm had been done. The diamond deposits turned out to be fictitious, the precious stones having actually been stuck in the soil by the cunning enterprisers, so as to deceive the mining expert who had been employed; and the ingenious audacity of the promoters had been rewarded by a sum variously estimated at 130,000*l.* to 400,000*l.*

#### MEXICO.

The death of President Benito Juarez, on July 18th, was, in spite of the connexion of his history with the unhappy fate of Maximilian, generally regarded as the loss to Mexico of an able and honest

uler. From the date of his triumph at Queretaro down to the moment of his death, Juarez had to deal with a succession of revolts and conspiracies. In fact, a more than usually dangerous rebellion in the Eastern States, simultaneously with a new intrigue of the clerical faction under the lead of the Chief Justice Tejada, had been suppressed only just before his death; and Juarez had appointed a new Ministry, with sanguine hopes of real improvement henceforth in the troublesome state of the country. Señor Lerdo de Tejada was unanimously elected President in his place. The pacification of the country was reported as complete before the close of the year, and Porfirio Diaz, the rebel leader, had accepted the amnesty proffered him.

#### HONDURAS.

Honduras was the theatre of a civil war between the ex-President Medina and the Provisional Government appointed to succeed him. A battle was fought on the 26th of July, when Medina was completely routed, and his forces dispersed.

#### BRAZIL.

Towards the end of the year a treaty was concluded between the Government of Brazil and General Mitre on the part of the Paraguayan Republic. The Brazilian Government engaged to give its moral support to the Oriental and Argentine Governments in aid of their also negotiating with Paraguay separate Treaties of Commerce and Navigation, and in the case of the consideration of limits. Should any difficulty arise, the three allies to come to an understanding thereon in accordance with the Treaty of 1865. The three allies to be on an equal footing as regards the payment of the war indemnity by Paraguay.

#### PERU.

A revolution, marked by circumstances of great atrocity, took place in Peru this summer. During the late summer the results of the local elections had been adverse to the Conservative or Clerical party. President Balta, approaching the end of his Presidential term, foresaw the probability of being succeeded by a leader of the opposite faction, and was prepared, as it seems, to acquiesce in the verdict of the people. But Colonel Gutierrez, his Minister for War, did not understand the meaning of so peaceable a settlement. It is asserted that for a time his dangerous arguments overpowered the better judgment of the President, and induced him to assent to

a forcible usurpation of the supreme power. But, before the critical moment came, Colonel Balta shrank from the responsibility of once more outraging the law. Gutierrez thereupon resolved to seize it by forcible means. On the 22nd of July the square facing the Government Palace was filled with troops and artillery, the President was arrested, martial law was proclaimed, and Gutierrez, sole master of Lima, declared himself Supreme Chief and Dictator of the Republic. His grasp of power, however, was from the first uncertain; nor was his conduct during his brief tenure of the Dictatorship such as to conciliate the neutral interests of the country. Gutierrez had no real hold over the army. He found it necessary to purchase the fidelity of the troops with gifts of money; and to obtain the means he resorted to what are called "forced loans" from the principal banks of the Peruvian capital. This reckless expedient drove the commercial classes into open revolt against him, and the people of Lima, whose sympathies were with the Liberal party, were soon encouraged by the news of resistance at Callao and in the fleet, to rise and revolt against this wanton usurpation. The forces of Gutierrez melted away, and his brother, his Minister for War, was killed in a street fight. Then the Dictator committed an atrocious and unpardonable act of ferocity. He sent a party of his bravoes to murder President Balta in his prison, and shut himself up with such of his soldiery as were still purchasable in one of the fortresses of the capital. Lima, freed from Gutierrez and his troops, rallied at once to the legitimate Government, under the Vice-President, and Gutierrez, in despair, attempting to escape from his refuge, was captured and killed by the mob. The most horrible part of the popular vengeance remains to be told. The naked corpses, it is said, of Gutierrez and his brothers were dragged from the lamp-posts, where they had been hung, to the cathedral tower of Lima, were hoisted a hundred feet into the air, and, having been rubbed with kerosene, were burnt in the sight of a furious and applauding multitude. Such was the conclusion of this sanguinary and purposeless *coup d'état*. In four days, it is estimated, it cost more than 200 lives. The reins of power were quietly handed over to Colonel Zevallos, the Vice-President, by whom they were, on the 2nd of August, resigned to Don Manuel Pardo, the Liberal candidate for the Presidency.

#### BOLIVIA.

Another South American President was assassinated on the 24th of November. This was Morales, President of Bolivia, who fell a victim to the political animosity entertained against him by his nephew, Colonel La Fayé. On his death the reins of government were assumed by Tomas Frias, but for the interval only, pending a new Presidential election.



## CHINA.

The young Emperor of China was married on the 16th of October. The name of his Empress is Aluté; she is a Mongol by descent. The ceremonies and superstitions attendant on the marriage were largely chronicled in the current literature of the day. The chief significance of the marriage, as concerns the foreign politics of China, is that the Emperor will have to assume the reins of power henceforth, and that one of the first questions he will have to decide on his own responsibility is the admittance of foreign ambassadors to audience.

One important political transaction had been accomplished this year by China in the treaty and trade regulations concluded with Japan, which, though showing progress in some ideas of civilization, still exhibited much of the jealously restrictive policy usual among these Eastern nations.

## JAPAN.

In Japan, meanwhile, a very remarkable spirit of reform and progression in Western ideas has been manifesting itself. The Embassy which was sent by the Mikado, or Emperor of Japan, to visit the seats of Government in Europe and America, had it in charge, it is said, among other things, to collect materials for the elaboration of a new religion, to be prepared, with the sovereign's supervision and sanction, for the acceptance of his people!

On the 12th of June a railway, the first constructed in Japan, was opened between Yokohama and Shinagawa. Among other things, the Mikado has devoted much of his attention to education. It is said that he has established in Yedo alone five colleges, each containing from 1500 to 3000 pupils, and a new military academy. Among the subjects taught at these institutions are all the branches of science and several foreign languages. Twenty-three French professors have been engaged for the military academy, and ten English professors for the naval school; and twenty Bavarian shoemakers and ten brewers are to be employed as teachers in the industrial establishments.

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1872.

### LITERATURE.

THE whole number of books published in the United Kingdom this year, according to the "Publishers' Circular," amounted to 4814, of which 3424 were new books, 1100 new editions, and 290 American importations. Of new works in theology there were 590; of novels, tales, and works of fiction, 468; of poetry and the drama, 272; of voyages, travels, and geographical research, 172. We shall proceed to mention some of the works which attracted most attention from the public, or which seem otherwise to have special claims to notice—basing our report in great measure on the current criticism of the journals. And first for biography.

The literary gossip of the London drawing-rooms during the early weeks of this year found a pleasant topic in the "Recollections of a Past Life," published, after it had been three years in private circulation, by the octogenarian physician, Sir Henry Holland, whose title to notoriety has long rested not more upon his professional ministrations among the upper ten thousand, than upon his active interest in science and literature, and his indefatigable energy as a traveller over almost every visitable portion of the earth's surface. His life commenced before the first French Revolution, and, directly or indirectly, he became mixed up with the historical events of his era, and with almost all the personages who made it famous. In the course of his long professional life he made it a rule to spend two months of every year in foreign travel. One of his early tours on the Continent was made in the capacity of physician to the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline. In the course of time he visited every capital of Europe, most of them repeatedly, made eight voyages to the United States, travelling over more than 26,000 miles of the American Continent, one voyage to Jamaica and other West Indian islands, was four times in the East, twice in Iceland, twice in Russia, repeatedly in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, besides making voyages to the Canary Isles, Madeira, &c., "and other excursions which it would be tedious to enumerate." So far from injuring him professionally, Sir Henry Holland says he found these yearly excursions beneficial in every way, and he notes how of late years, by the aid of the telegraph, he had been able to make engagements for the very hour of his return:—

"On the day, or even hour, of reaching home from long and distant journeys I have generally resumed my wonted professional work. . . . I recollect having found a patient waiting in my room when I came back from those mountain heights—not more than 200 miles from the frontiers of Persia—where the 10,000 Greeks uttered their joyous cry on the sudden sight of the Euxine. The same thing once happened to me in returning from Egypt and Syria, when I found a carriage waiting my arrival at London-bridge, to take me to a consultation in Sussex-square, the communication in each case being made from points on my homeward journey. More than once, in returning from America, I have begun a round of visits from the Euston Station."

As may be supposed, he was often brought into connexion with incidents more or less curious in an historical point of view. He was in the Peninsula when the Duke of Wellington "was preparing the campaign which won the battle of Salamanca and carried the English army to Madrid;" and while in Portugal he had the advantage of being ranked and provided for as a major on the commissariat list. When in Turkey he was summoned almost daily to the palace by Ali Pasha, who on one occasion asked him whether he knew of any poison which, put on the mouthpiece of a pipe or given in coffee, might slowly and silently kill, leaving no note behind. "The instant and short answer I gave," says Sir Henry, "that 'as a physician I had studied how to save life, not to destroy it,' was probably, as I judged from his face, faithfully translated to him. He quitted the subject abruptly, and never afterwards reverted to it." Sir Henry was at Madrid when the news arrived of the great victory of Vittoria, and a fortnight later he visited the battle-field. Once at Naples he was at a great ball given by Count Mosburg to the Neapolitan Court, the Princess of Wales, and many foreigners, when intelligence came of the escape of Napoleon from Elba. He was at Genoa when Pope Pius VII. landed under English protection and passed to the palace prepared for him guarded by files of English soldiers. He was at Prague when the first news reached him of the battle of Waterloo, and was afterwards present at the church thanksgivings for the victory held in the Prussian capital; and he saw Paris for the first time when it was garrisoned by the English and Prussian armies. In later life the writer's interest in the events of the day and in foreign travel continued unabated. He relates how he was twice in Algeria during the French war of conquest there, "on one occasion joining at Blidah the march of a corps under Marshal Bugeaud against certain Arab tribes near Medeah;" how at the age of seventy-five he was an active spectator of the great civil war in America; how, when on the verge of his eighty-second year, he again visited the States, and travelled in five weeks more than 3500 miles; and how, in 1871, he visited Iceland for the second time, and was able to ride for nearly twenty miles. Nor when at home has Sir Henry's life touched at fewer points of interest. He attended professionally six English Prime Ministers. Of Canning he says:—

"On my return to London I hastened to Lord Liverpool, to report to him on what he himself strongly expressed to me as a matter vital to his Government. Having satisfied his inquiries as to Mr. Canning, he begged me to feel his own pulse—the first time I had ever done so. Without giving details, I may say that I found it such as to lead me to suggest an immediate

appeal to his medical advisers for careful watch over him. The very next morning Lord Liverpool underwent the paralytic stroke which closed his political life."

Six months afterwards Canning himself was no more:—

"Succeeding to Lord Liverpool's place as Premier, when exhausted by recent illness, and harassed by unceasing toil and turmoil, personal as well as political, from the moment of his taking the office, an attack of internal inflammation came on, under which he rapidly sank. I scarcely quitted him during the last two days of his life."

In a note Sir Henry records that Mr. Canning said to him, while sitting by his bedside in this his dying illness, "I have struggled against this long, but it has conquered me at last."

Sir Henry draws between Lord Palmerston and Lord Aberdeen the following comparison:—

"Without infringing on my rule of abstinence from professional anecdote, I may briefly notice the singular contrast of natural temperament between Lord Palmerston and Lord Aberdeen. The inborn vivacity and optimism of the former pervaded his life, both public and private, preserving him in great degree from many of those anxieties which press, more or less, upon every step of a Minister's career. He had a singular power of clear and prompt decision, as I had often occasion to know, and was spared that painful recurrence to foregone doubt which torments feeble minds. Lord Aberdeen looked at objects and events through a more gloomy atmosphere. He was wanting in that elasticity of body and spirit so influential in a public career. I recollect on one occasion to have seen them as patients in immediate succession for several days together, when this contrast was presented under strongly-marked colours, which illness more especially discloses."

Lady Clementina Davies's "Recollections of Society in France and England" run on a parallel line with those of Sir Henry Holland's earlier life. Belonging to a well-defined and limited section of society, with traditions and associations special and romantic, Lady Clementina might, we fancy, have made her "Recollections" more interesting than they are, had she known how to throw a little colour, not of invention, but of imagination, over the bare record of facts. Her father was titularly Lord Maurice Drummond; her grandfather was Earl of Perth and Duke of Melfort, the latter title having been given in the first instance by James II., as well as that of Duke of Perth, to one of his most faithful adherents in exile. After the English Revolution of 1688 the Earl of Melfort was allotted a suite of apartments at St. Germain immediately beneath those occupied by the King, and these rooms were tenanted by his descendants up to the date of the French Revolution of 1789, when their connexion with the French Court compelled them to leave France. At St. Germain Lady Clementina Davies was born, and there the earlier years of her childhood were passed, her family having returned upon the advice of Talleyrand, an old friend of her father's.

While wishing, however, that Lady Clementina had from tradition made us a little more at home with Jacobites as Jacobites, in a Jacobite home, it is fair to say that her personal recollections refer mostly to times and scenes in which anything like positive Jacobite colour would be out of place. She

arrived in England in the first year of the present century. Afterwards her father went to reside in Edinburgh. There she fell in with all the notabilities who combined to make the Scottish capital so brilliant a rendezvous for many years. The Comte d'Artois, then residing at Holyrood, Mrs. Siddons and John Kemble, Mrs. Jordan, Walter Scott, figure in her pages. We understand that her want of reticence in some of the anecdotes of private life told about this period have given no small offence in the northern capital. From Edinburgh Lady Clementina repaired to London with her father in 1814, when the fall of Napoleon had been succeeded by the return of the Bourbons. Louis XVIII. was accompanied from Hartwell by his niece—his Antigone as he called her—the Duchess d'Angoulême, daughter of Louis XVI., and generally spoken of in Europe as "The Orphan of the Temple." It is amusing to read that, as "the elder of the two surviving brothers of 'Louis the Martyr' was not a hero in appearance, the Legitimists in France, where tradition still clung to the warlike deeds of the Bourbons in bygone times, felt it expedient to prepare the minds of the people for the sight of a king whose infirm legs were cased in red velvet gaiters, whose body, no longer slender, was buttoned up in a blue surtout, and who wore on his head a round English hat." She was present at most of the festivities which were held in Paris to celebrate the Restoration. At nearly all the best frequented soirées roulette was the favourite, if not the principal, event of the evening; and the Marquis d'Ivry, who was appointed by Government to preside at the ceremony, went from house to house with his "little wheel," much in the same way as less respectable caterers for the amusement of our own sporting public travel from one race-meeting to another. She was in Paris on the 20th of March, when Louis XVIII. fled before the advancing armies of Napoleon, and was residing at Versailles with her father when the news of Waterloo reached them in the shape of some wild Cossacks galloping down the avenues of the Grand Monarque. She was in Paris also at the time of the Duc de Berri's assassination, and describes graphically the scene around his death-bed in the Opera House—a scene, by-the-bye, which had been still more powerfully described by an English lady of older date, Horace Walpole's friend, Miss Berry. Lady Clementina arranges her anecdotes with some disregard of chronology. Her second volume opens with a description of the first representation of Voltaire's "Irene" at the Théâtre Français.

A busy diplomatist's experiences are before us in the "Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H., from the Peace of Amiens to the Battle of Talavera." Mr. Jackson began life as an attaché to the suite of his brother Francis, employed as British Envoy in the negotiations which led first to the conclusion and then to the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. In 1806 he was himself sent on a confidential mission to the Court of Berlin. Afterwards he acted diplomatically under his brother again, during the expedition against Copenhagen: then under Mr. Frere in Spain. He remained in the public service till 1859, and died in 1861, at the age of seventy-six. His sketches of Paris during the Consulate are marked by great shrewdness and vivacity, and form perhaps the most generally amusing part of these volumes. He thus describes the hero of the hour:—

"I was much struck by the personal appearance of Bonaparte; for the caricatures, and the descriptions which the English newspapers delight to

give of him, prepare one to see a miserable pigmy; hollow-eyed, yellow-skinned, lantern-jawed, with a quantity of lank hair, and a nose of enormous proportions. But, though of low stature—perhaps five feet five or six—his figure is well proportioned, his features are handsome, complexion rather sallow, hair very dark, cut short, and without powder. He has fine eyes, full of spirit and intelligence, a firm, severe mouth, indicating a stern and inflexible will—in a word, you see in his countenance the master-mind; in his bearing, the man born to rule.”

Mr. Jackson noted the reactionary symptoms in social fashions, and contrasts with the slovenliness still conspicuous at Madame Fouché's receptions, the advancing decorum and ceremony at the Court of the First Consul. Fouché himself impressed him as the most remarkable personage on the scene next to Bonaparte. “In a certain power of dramatic effect he rivalled the First Consul himself. He draped himself, so to say, in a mystery of terror, till every one, and especially the English visitors, seemed to have believed that half Paris was filled with his myrmidons. Mr. Jackson was solemnly cautioned that all French teachers and valets acted as his spies, and that ‘he has now under his direction in Paris forty organized Jacobin clubs, by whose means he could put in motion an armed mob of eight thousand men.’” Later on we have a very vivid description of the bombardment of Copenhagen, of which the writer was an eye-witness.

Of the “Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin” Mr. Walrond has performed his task as editor with remarkable judgment and skill. Lord Elgin was one of those men who, born into the highest rank in English social life, deliberately relinquish in their career every thought save that of being their country's servant. There are aristocrats who “live at home at ease,” and who may do excellent work in their generation, while enjoying the privileges of their position; and there are those who live a life of exile for the sake of power or of duty. In Lord Elgin's case, duty seems to have been the one guiding motive of his life. As he tried to impress on his young son, as the principle of his race, it was his practice first to think what it was right to do, afterwards only what it might be pleasant to do. “He seemed utterly incapable of regarding any subject except with a view to the interests of his country,” wrote an intimate friend concerning him. Jamaica, Canada, China, and India were successively the theatres where his busy life was passed. Few and brief were his intervals of home rest. In Canada, where he was Governor-General from 1847 to 1854, he had occasion to show his fearlessness of responsibility by giving his assent to the Compensation Bill, which gave such dire offence to the Canadian Tories after the Rebellion, instead of reserving it, as he was urged to do, for the consideration of the Ministry at home, and so shifting to their shoulders the burden of unpopularity. Another instance of the same quality was his resolving to lend Lord Canning, for the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, the troops with which he had been entrusted for the purposes of his mission in China: thus postponing for six months, and it might have been altogether giving up, the prospect of credit and success for himself, for the sake of what he conceived to be a more vital concern to his country.

Lord Elgin's Chinese journals are still interesting, notwithstanding that the story has been told by other hands, and that China is no longer an unfamiliar land to English travellers. The most striking feature in them is

the way in which his hatred of anything like oppression of a population, whom he could not regard as in any way responsible for the acts which he was commissioned to avenge, was tempered by his sense of the inutility of half measures. "I have seen," he writes, "more to disgust me with my fellow-countrymen than I saw during the whole course of my previous life, since I have found them in the East among populations too timid to resist and too ignorant to complain. I have an instinct in me which loves righteousness and hates iniquity, and all this keeps me in a perpetual boil." But while contemplating the bombardment of Canton, an unresisting town with a million inhabitants, he writes, "It was impossible for me to do otherwise than as I have done. I could not have abandoned the demand to enter the city without compromising our position in China altogether, and opening the way to calamities even greater than those now before us." The deliberate burning of the Summer Palace at Peking was another instance of how inexorable Lord Elgin could be when he had once determined that strong measures were necessary. Yet all this time his sympathy with the better side of the Chinese character, and his desire to get to understand it as thoroughly as was possible in so short a stay, continued undiminished. Lord Elgin entered on his Indian government with his characteristic thoroughness and energy. But unhappily his allotted time was short. The account of his last days, given by his brother-in-law, the Dean of Westminster, is full of interest. Struck down by heart-complaint, when engaged on an official tour in the north-west provinces, he had a week to contemplate the approaches of inevitable death. The grim visitor found him prepared with the panoply of a Christian. He uttered some natural regrets; then made all his arrangements for departure, and sank to his rest resigned and happy.

The "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence" has been given to the world by Mr. Merivale, but of the two volumes, the first was composed by Sir Herbert Edwardes, whose death prevented him from completing the task he undertook as much as fourteen years ago. Why it was not completed sooner we can hardly understand. Sir Herbert made vast and careful collections for his work. It was truly to him a labour of love. He was an intimate personal friend of his hero, and belonged, like Sir Henry himself and many other distinguished officers of their time, to the strictest sect of the "Evangelicals." Sir Herbert was, besides this, an accomplished writer, fond of the vivid and picturesque style, and, accordingly, his portion of the memoir, which goes down to Lawrence's appointment as Resident at Nepaul, is a most animated and gushing effusion, made up of religious sentiment, family minutiae, dramatic "effects," and indiscriminating eulogy.

The contrast between the first and the second volume is rather like that of a cold water *douche* taken by a patient after being boiled in blankets. Mr. Merivale writes temperately and thoughtfully. Though sympathizing with Sir Henry's religious earnestness, he cannot assimilate the particular doctrinal and sentimental aspect it assumed. Though admiring his lofty, disinterested, and chivalrous character, he does not think him always in the right as a politician, and, in the Punjab business, is disposed to side with John Lawrence. Lord Dalhousie's conduct, at all events, so much complained of by the partisans of Sir Henry, Mr. Merivale defends. The case was this:—

Henry Lawrence, then President of the Board at Lahore, held views in

regard to the native aristocracy, rent, free grants, resumptions, proprietorship, tenant-right, and so forth, very dissimilar to those of his brother. After a while, their differences of opinion became an impediment to business, and almost a discredit to the State. Lord Dalhousie agreed with the younger brother, and, taking advantage of a hint as to retirement thrown out by the President of the Board, made him the offer of the Residentsip of Rajpootana. This was accepted by Henry Lawrence, not, of course, without mortification; the Board was dissolved; a Chief Commissionership was created and bestowed upon John Lawrence; and the elder brother retired from the province where years before he had gained his first diplomatic honours, and where he had successfully laboured to reconcile a proud and warlike population to a burden as well as to the advantage of our unbending rule. However the personal friends and adherents of Henry Lawrence—and they were neither few nor unimportant—might regret the termination of the controversy, it could have ended in no other way. It would be too much to expect that any Viceroy, having decided opinions as to some special course to be pursued, should abstain from enforcing his own policy by the agents whose views were in consonance with his own. Meanwhile, the extremely creditable part of the affair is, that it produced neither alienation nor personal ill-feeling between the two brothers.

But Sir Henry could never get over the slight, as he considered it. And, indeed, a general tendency to think his claims neglected seems to have been a besetting weakness of this great man. So Mr. Merivale points out, though we doubt not Sir Herbert Edwardes would have failed to discern it; and thus an unconscious egotism, an inability really to forget himself in the contemplation of wide subjects, mingled in Sir Henry's character, oddly enough, with a rarely unselfish generosity in all matters of practical conduct. We quote from Mr. Merivale a passage which is interesting on account of its subtle analysis of official character and habits, and which lets us into the secret of much of Sir Henry's personal influence and popularity.

"Besides higher qualifications, he possessed, in an eminent degree, a quality which can hardly be called a merit, but which often stands its possessor in greater stead than more exalted merits,—readiness to take interest in the concerns of others. Many a man, with the best and kindest intentions towards his associates and subordinates, and without any degree of haughtiness on his own part, fails in winning affection, perhaps in obtaining personal success, because he cannot bring himself to feel or to act this kind of sympathy with them in their affairs and their progress. Such a man avoids close personal intercourse, except on business subjects, not from pride or unamiableness, but because he derives no pleasure from it, and is annoyed by the necessity for it. He is not what the Greeks called, 'anthropologous,' which Sir Henry was to a very great extent. Without being exactly of what are termed social habits, he loved companionship, and to have around him those in whom he took interest, and who repaid it. I have found among the records of this part of his life a curious indication of his habits in making acquaintance with his new set of subordinates. On some of their earliest reports, respectively, he has endorsed a kind of summary of their character as it struck him; e.g. '—, political agent at —, amiable and not without ability, but priggish, and must have his own way,' and so forth. There are few ambitious and active young assistants who would not rather be anxious that they were



noticed in this way by a popular chief, even though praise were mixed with disparagement, than that they were left in the cold shade of impartial silence."

In conclusion, we would add that the record of the bright character and remarkable talents of Sir Henry's wife Honoria, and her graphic letters, form no inconsiderable portion of the charm of these volumes. Sir Henry was left most desolate in spirit by her death, which occurred four years before his own; but his devotion to duty was unimpaired up to the fatal day when a chance shell from the rebel batteries shattered his thigh at Lucknow; and never was epitaph more appropriate than that chosen by himself, "Here lies Henry Lawrance, who tried to do his duty."

"Life and Letters of Captain Marryat." By Florence Marryat (Mrs. Ross Church).—As a biography it cannot be said that this book is well done. Captain Marryat's character was sufficiently original, and his literary achievements sufficiently popular, to have made a life-like sketch of him very acceptable. But Mrs. Ross Church has cumbered her volumes with a great deal of dull, documentary matter, and with many letters that are not worth insertion: and she does not connect or explain the motives of her father's actions and movements as she might have done. We learn that Frederick Marryat was born in Westminster in 1792. He went to sea when a mere boy, and left it when a man in his prime. He had been in above a hundred engagements on land and sea, and earned rank and honour by the zealous fulfilment of his professional duties.

The peace of 1815 threw him out of active employment for a time. In 1820 and 1821 he was cruising round the Island of St. Helena, acting as a sort of naval sentinel on Bonaparte, on whose death he sailed with despatches announcing the event to England. A pamphlet urging the abolition of impressment, published in 1822, created a strong aversion to him in the mind of the Duke of Clarence, and was remembered by that royal personage when he became William IV., as the following anecdote testifies:—His Minister having suggested Captain Marryat to him as a deserving subject for some mark of favour, the King said, "Give him what you please; you best know his services." The Minister was about to retire, when the magnanimous monarch called him back,—"*Marryat, Marryat! By-the-bye, is not that the man who wrote a book against the impressment of seamen?*" "The same, your Majesty." "Then he shan't wear the Order (the Legion of Honour just given him by Louis Philippe), and he shall have nothing."

Captain Marryat served in the Burmese expedition, 1823—1825, and had the credit of capturing the famous stockades in the Rangoon River, being rewarded for his gallantry (notwithstanding William IV.'s prepossessions) by a Companionship of the Bath. His last cruise was in 1828—1830, when he commanded the "*Ariadne*" in the Atlantic. On his return to England he held the post of Equerry to the Duke of Sussex. But this he soon gave up, and turned his mind to literary pursuits. His first naval novel, "*Frank Mildmay*," had been published before he resigned the command of the "*Ariadne*." Colburn, the publisher, gave him four hundred guineas for it. "*Newton Forster*" appeared in 1832. Next came "*Peter Simple*," of all his productions the most general favourite, though "*Japhet in Search of a Father*" may be considered superior to it for truth and vividness of representation within a narrower range of sympathies. We need not go through the list of his novels. "*Jacob Faithful*" and "*Midshipman Easy*" will be among the best

remembered. In his later years he wrote romances of adventure adapted specially to the tastes and understanding of children; and it may be doubted whether any effort of his pen, even including "Peter Simple," has attained so true and lasting a popularity as "Masterman Ready." Just before he left active service, Marryat bought an estate in Norfolk, called Langham, of about 1000 acres, the outlay connected with which, in inventions and improvements, kept him a poor man to the end of his days. He did not go to reside there till 1843, within five years of his death, which occurred in August, 1848, when he was not more than fifty-six years old; the end being hastened by the news of his eldest son having been lost in the "Avenger."

One of the most conspicuous biographies for the year has been the "Life and Labours of Mr. Brassey," by Sir Arthur Helps. At first sight the combination in the title-page struck us as odd. We hardly expected that the great Railway Contractor of the age would have found for his delineator a philosophical moralist so refined, so fastidious, of such purely literary sympathies as the mouthpiece of Milverton and Sir John Ellesmere; or that the fact of his hero having begun life with nothing, and left a fortune of two millions and a half, would have had any special imaginative charm for the Utopian theorist of Realmah. But Sir Arthur's choice of his subject seems really to have been a choice of love. When he first made acquaintance with Mr. Brassey, he was fascinated. Describing the interview, he says, "There entered an elderly gentleman of very dignified appearance, of singularly graceful manners, suggesting at once the idea of what is called a gentleman of the old school." And he adds that the one man of whom Mr. Brassey most reminded him was the late Lord Herbert of Lea.

He began life in a humble, but not a destitute, condition. His family was, indeed, an old one in Cheshire, and had descended to the level of the yeomanry from a higher social rank. His father possessed above three hundred acres of landed property.

At the age of sixteen he was articled to a land-surveyor and agent. His working qualifications and personal attractiveness won the good-will of his master, who took him into partnership, and sent him to conduct a branch of his business at Birkenhead, then scarcely showing any signs of its coming growth and prosperity. For eight years he continued in this occupation, and then made an acquaintance which changed the whole course of his life. He went to inspect a stone quarry in company with George Stephenson, who was so favourably impressed with the young man's peculiar energy and powers of combination that he advised him to turn contractor. The contractor, such as he was then known, was an employer of labour on a far different scale from that with which we are now familiar. Stephenson, who must have foreseen better than most people the immense mechanical and industrial obstacles which would hinder the actual construction of railways, no doubt rejoiced to set a man like young Brassey to overcome them. Brassey's first tender was not accepted, but when he tried again he was successful. Ten miles of the Stafford and Wolverhampton line were entrusted to him, and the manner in which he executed the work thoroughly satisfied every one who had to do with him. Locke, Stephenson's successor in his engineering connexion, became his fast friend, and under his auspices Brassey quickly came to the front in the ranks of contractors. The mere list of his subsequent works makes one marvel how any single brain could have contrived to carry out such a multi-

tude, in almost all parts of the civilized world. Sir Arthur Helps ingeniously entraps his readers into a rapid survey of the catalogue, by placing it in the middle of his book, with an intimation that he does this on account of the skipping propensities of even diligent readers, who would never glance at such a series of names and places if relegated to an appendix at the end of the volume. The list itself fills six closely-printed octavo pages. Nevertheless, we desiderate more statistical information as to capital employed, and more methodical summing up of figures than it provides; and are reminded by this, as well as other parts of the execution of the work, how much more of a moralist than a man of business the biographer really is.

One great element of Brassey's success in life was his magnanimous way of conducting business. Having once chosen his subordinates, it was his habit to trust them implicitly; and as a rule he was amply rewarded. Then, again, his system was to avoid all litigation and all sharp practice of every sort, preferring rather to incur losses sometimes to an enormous extent. At some periods of his life, owing to his immenseliabilities, his whole savings were for a time in danger. But he weathered every storm, on the principle of going through every work without drawing back at moments of the extremest risk. Allowing for occasional losses, he cleared no more than about 3 per cent. on all the sums of money that passed through his hands. But those sums amounted to seventy-eight millions.

Sir Arthur says that during his business career Mr. Brassey laid out seventy-eight millions of other people's money, and upon that outlay retained about two millions and a half. The rest of his fortune consisted of accumulations. But this is a defective statement. The sum of two and a half millions earned by professional exertion has little or nothing to do with the capital which may chance to be employed, except as forming a part of the expenditure. On the large capital which he invested in his undertakings Mr. Brassey must have made far more than 3 per cent. In many of his works the contractors accepted a large portion of their payment in shares, finding, to that extent, all the capital required. During the financial crisis of 1866, of which he was, among the great contractors, one of the few solvent survivors, Mr. Brassey was subject to liabilities on the Victoria Docks for 600,000*l.*, on Danish railways for 800,000*l.* He held unsalable bonds of the Lemberg and Czernowitz Company to the amount of 1,200,000*l.*, and he had taken shares, which were for the moment worthless, in payment of works from several other companies. On the Lemberg line he had to pay from 40,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* a month for wages, and interest to shareholders at the rate of more than 120,000*l.* a year. The war between Austria and Prussia added to his difficulties; and one of his agents had once to run the gauntlet on an engine between the sentries of the hostile armies. Nevertheless he contrived to finish the line four months before the agreed time; and consequently he was immediately able to place upon the market bonds of which he held more than a million. A trader who conducts business on this gigantic scale is primarily a capitalist; and the fortune which Mr. Brassey, after many heavy losses, is reputed to have left, was not more than an adequate return for his outlay and for his skill and labour. He was in the habit of expressing his determination not to retire from business, because, as he said, "It requires a special education to be idle, or to employ the twenty-four hours in a rational way without any particular calling or occupation. To live the life of a gentleman, one must have been brought up to it."

Although a punctual and voluminous letter-writer, Mr. Brassey's correspondence naturally related to matters of business, and a few letters which are inserted in the biography are entirely without interest. Sir Arthur Helps has not been able to preserve any record of his conversation, and consequently, notwithstanding all his efforts, the portrait which he has drawn remains vague and indistinct.

Among the biographical works most eagerly hailed this year has been the second volume of Mr. Forster's "Life of Charles Dickens." It has been said that it should more properly be called the history of Mr. Dickens's relations to Mr. Forster. Undoubtedly the Boswell is too prominent, and his Johnson sinks too much into the position of a subordinate in the motive forces of life. For all that would appear, Dickens never took a step in life without consulting Forster as his oracle. Was the matter in question a pecuniary one, a convivial one, or literary one, "Advise, advise, advise," is the constant burden of his letters. And Mr. Forster lets the world see this as much as he possibly can, giving, we presume, a very unfair impression of the degree in which he *really* was Dickens's mentor. Had some proportionate number of the great writer's letters to his other friends been allowed to see the day, we should probably find that the impulsive cry "Advise, advise!" was a sort of mannerism with which Dickens was wont to throw off his burthen of the moment, and that he did not rely wholly and solely on the inspired wisdom of his subsequent biographer. We wish on more grounds than one that Mr. Forster had viewed his task from a less egotistical point of view. The work would have gained so vastly in variety and interest if more sides of Dickens's sympathies than the Forsterian had been elaborated. No doubt it is a fascinating book for the moment, and a very amusing one; and if one friend alone was the prism through which Dickens is to be seen, Mr. Forster is better than any other. Whether, however, owing to the one-sidedness of the aspect, or to the limited nature of Dickens's culture and sympathies, we suspect that superficiality and essential monotony are rather the prevailing impressions which will be left after perusal.

Dickens's anxiety about his own books, the amazing importance which he attaches to them, his apparent conviction that the central figure of this universe is the "inimitable Boz," becomes unduly conspicuous; for Dickens naturally dwells upon such topics to excess in correspondence with a gentleman who appears to have acted as his right-hand man in all literary enterprises. It is amusing to see how thoroughly Dickens remains himself throughout, and how, when sketching with a marvellously quick eye the external oddities of life in Italy or Switzerland—with which much of the present volume is concerned—he always remains the inimitable Boz, and sighs for London streets amidst the palaces of Genoa and under the snows of Mont Blanc. Mr. Forster, as a critic is bound to do, sees the influence of the Alps and Italy in the works written at this time. We confess that our acuteness is not sufficient to enable us to follow him. Everywhere, as it seems to us, Dickens is pursued by the great British public, whose sentiments he expressed with such amazing fidelity, and regards foreigners from the outside as much as Sam Weller or Mrs. Gamp would have done. And everywhere, too, he is thinking, rather more than is good for him, of the tremendous sensations he is going to produce, and of his importance to the general system of things.

However, it is an ungracious task to dwell on shortcomings in dealing with

so popular a subject; and we prefer to direct attention to one or two episodes in Dickens's life, within the period narrated, where the powers of observation or the animal spirits of the great humourist give a peculiar zest to his correspondence.

Soon after his return from America, Dickens, with three friends, Maclise, Stanfield, and Forster, set off for a tour in Cornwall. It was on this outing that "Martin Chuzzlewit" was conceived, and Dickens's first intention was to have made the story open in a lighthouse or a mine in Cornwall, instead of a Wiltshire village forge. "Sometimes we travelled all night," says Dickens, describing the journey, "sometimes all day; sometimes both. Heavens! if you could have seen the necks of bottles, distracting in their immense varieties of shape, peering out of the carriage pockets! If you could have witnessed the deep devotion of the postboys, the wild attachment of the hostlers, the maniac glee of the waiters!" Then, after describing the "old churches," the "strange caverns," "the deep mines," and "the giddy heights" below which the "unspeakably green water was roaring," he goes on to say that they sat up far into the night in the big rooms of ancient inns by bright fires, and ends by declaring that he had never laughed in his life as he did on that journey. "It would have done you good to hear me. I was choking and gasping and bursting the buckle off the back of my stock all the way. And Stanfield got into such apoplectic entanglements that we were often obliged to beat him on the body with portmanteaus before we could recover him. Seriously, I do believe there never was such a trip. And they made such sketches, those two men, in the most romantic of our halting-places, that you would have sworn we had the Spirit of Beauty with us as well as the Spirit of Fun."

Dickens wrote his second Christmas book, "The Chimes," at Genoa, at the end of 1844. It was an uncongenial locality for the working of his Cockney brain, and the effort of writing it seems to have been great. "This book," he says, when speaking of the third part, "whether in the Hadji-Baba sense or not I cannot say, but certainly in the literal one, has made my face white in a foreign land; my cheeks, which were beginning to fill out, have sunk again; my eyes have grown immensely large, my hair is very lank, and the head under the hair is hot and giddy. Read the scene at the end of the third part. I would not write it twice for something." All the time "The Chimes" were in progress the weather was dreadful. "Wind, hail, rain, thunder, and lightning, weather worse than any English November weather I have ever beheld, or any weather I have had experience of anywhere." He owns that he longs for Devonshire-terrace, and that all the fountains in Genoa would not please him half so much as the West Middlesex Water-works.

As soon as "The Chimes" were finished, he declared he would visit London. It was not that he cared to see the proofs and the plates, but he wanted to try the effect produced on a select circle of friends by reading "The Chimes" to them. "Shall I confess to you, I particularly want Carlyle, above all, to see it before the rest of the world, and I should like to inflict the little story on him and on dear old gallant Macready with my own lips, and to have Stanny and the other Mac sitting by. Now, if you was a real gent, you'd get up a little circle for me one wet evening, when I come to town, and would say, 'My boy, would you give us that little Christmas

book—and don't slur it, now, or be too fast, Dickens, please.' I say, if you was a real gent, something to this effect might happen." Of course this desire was complied with. On the 4th of November Dickens writes that "the brave courier was measuring bits of maps with a carving fork and going up mountains on a teaspoon. Now, you know my punctuality. Frost, ice, flooded rivers, steamers, horses, passports, and Custom-houses may damage it, but my design is to walk into Cuttriss' coffee-room, in the Piazza, on Sunday, the 1st of December, in good time for dinner. I shall look for you at the farther table by the fire—where we generally go—and when I meet you what a week we will have!" Dickens parted from his disconsolate wife, as he wrote to Forster, on the 6th of November, leaving her "shut up in her palace, like a baron's lady in the time of the Crusades." Aided by the courier and his own impatience, Dickens used such despatch in the last part of his journey home that he arrived a day before his time, and flashed suddenly on his old friend on that wintry Saturday night. Hardly did he seem to have come than he was gone, but the end of his visit was accomplished. It was on Monday, the 2nd of December, 1844, when "The Chimes" were read to a select circle of friends, of whom all except two—Carlyle and Forster—are now dead. He wrote "Dombey and Son" when in Switzerland, in 1846; and, *apropos* of that work, there is a curious letter of his to Forster on the difficulties he sometimes experienced in composition.

"You can hardly imagine," he wrote on the 30th of August, "what infinite pains I take, or what extraordinary difficulty I find in getting on *fast*. Invention, thank God, seems the easiest thing in the world; and I seem to have such a preposterous sense of the ridiculous, after this long rest (it was now over two years since the close of "Martin Chuzzlewit"), as to be constantly requiring to restrain myself from launching into extravagances in the height of my enjoyment. But the difficulty of going at what I call a rapid pace is prodigious; it is almost an impossibility. I suppose this is partly the effect of two years' ease, and partly of the absence of streets and numbers of figures. I can't express how much I want these. It seems as if they supplied something to my brain which it cannot bear, when busy, to lose. For a week or a fortnight I can write prodigiously in a retired place (as at Broadstairs), and a day in London sets me up again and starts me. But the toil and labour of writing, day after day, without that magic-lantern is *immense*! I don't say this at all in low spirits, for we are perfectly comfortable here, and I like the place very much indeed, and the people are even more friendly and fond of me than they were in Genoa. I only mention it as a curious fact, which I have never had an opportunity of finding out before. *My* figures seem disposed to stagnate without crowds about them. I wrote very little in Genoa (only "The Chimes"), and fancied myself conscious of some such influence there—but Lord! I had two miles of streets at least, lighted at night, to walk about in, and a great theatre to repair to every night."

The volume before us ends with the year 1851, the last of his abode in Devonshire-terrace.

Mr. J. R. Planché, Somerset Herald, gives us, at the age of seventy-six, his "Recollections and Reflections." They belong chiefly to the dramatic world; but Mr. Planché is also an accomplished archaeologist; and his specialty has consisted in bringing archaeological taste to bear on dramatic

subjects, and originating the reformation of theatrical costume so conspicuous in modern theatrical management. Mr. Planché tells us that he was born in Old Burlington-street on the 27th of February, 1796. His parents were the children of French Protestant refugees, and he was originally intended to pursue his father's vocation of watchmaking. This plan failing, he was articled to a bookseller, under whose rule his theatrical propensities were soon developed. He acted at amateur theatres, and, with the view of creating for himself an original part, wrote a burlesque of the old "Bombastes Furioso" school, entitled "Amoroso, King of Little Britain." Falling into the hands of Mr. Harley, this piece, to the surprise of its author, found its way to the boards of Drury Lane Theatre, where it was performed by an excellent company, with great success, in April, 1818, being the first of upwards of a hundred and fifty acted works from the same prolific pen. By this success Mr. Planché did not gain a shilling, but it encouraged him to become a regular writer for the stage, and in August, 1820, his melodrama, "The Vampire; or, the Bride of the Isles," the first piece which gained him a permanent reputation, was brought out at the Lyceum, with Mr. T. P. Cooke as the Monster—a part in which the celebrated actor, who had not yet commenced his nautical career, seems afterwards to have created a *furor* in Paris. In 1822 Mr. Planché was introduced to Mr. Charles Kemble, who had just succeeded to the management of Covent Garden, to which theatre he attached himself for six seasons. Here he produced his first opera, "Maid Marian," to which Bishop composed the music. His acquaintance soon afterwards with Sir Samuel Meyrick formed the commencement of his real antiquarian education. He had long chafed against the existing anachronisms in theatrical costume. He now saw his way to reforming them. In 1823 he superintended the bringing out of Shakspeare's "King John" at Covent Garden Theatre, and applied his new principles with great success. Of the allegation that this reform in the article of costume has caused a subjugation of the drama to its accessories, Mr. Planché is well aware, and he grasps the difficulty with a firm hand. If it is understood that in a dramatic performance, as in a dramatic reading, the costume of a period is not to be shown, then by all means, he argues, let the performers wear modern evening dresses; on the other hand, if there is to be some show of costume, let the representation be correct.

Mr. Planché's originality came out in another department of the stage. We have spoken of his early burlesque, "Amoroso." He afterwards introduced this species of composition in the Christmas performances at the Olympic, beginning with the "Olympic Revels," in January, 1831. Upon this followed a long series of rhymed travesties, either of ancient mythology or of French fairy tales, interspersed with music, and acted by first-rate performers, such as Madame Vestris, Mr. C. Mathews, Mr. C. Bland, Miss Priscilla Horton, and Mr. F. Robson. The burlesque was terribly vulgarized afterwards by tasteless imitators, and has become a nuisance and a mischief; but Mr. Planché is hardly answerable for this deterioration. In 1829 Mr. Planché was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. To his industry and zeal as an archæologist it is chiefly owing that the Tower of London has been cleared of chaos and fiction, and converted into a respectable national museum. We can make only general reference to the many new and entertaining anecdotes which the book contains.

No biographical record this year has been more read, or, we may add, so abundantly reviewed, as the "Memoirs of Baron Stockmar," compiled by his son. The general scope and purport of Stockmar's life may best be summarized by saying that he was the friend of the House of Coburg. When rather under thirty years of age, Prince Leopold, whose acquaintance he had made when acting as a military surgeon in the war, took him to England in the capacity of his body-physician. Both by the Prince and his royal bride, Dr. Stockmar was valued and trusted in a very special degree. He tells circumstantially the memorable tragedy of the Princess's illness and death; but this has been so repeatedly extracted in the current reviews that we shall pass it over. When Leopold assumed the crown of Belgium in 1831, Stockmar went with him to Brussels. He acted as the new king's diplomatic agent in the delicate transactions which resulted in the Belgian Guarantee arranged by England and France in 1833. In 1837 Leopold sent him to England with the special charge of giving help and counsel to his young niece the Princess Victoria, then entering her eighteenth year, and in near prospect of ascending the throne. The anticipated event took place a few weeks later. For the next twenty years Stockmar was attached to the royal household, in the character of confidential friend and counsellor. He had rooms assigned to him in Buckingham Palace, at Windsor Castle, and at Osborne. Prince Albert entertained for Stockmar the same love and esteem as did the Queen and King Leopold. The "Baron's room," indeed, as his apartment was called in the royal palace, was a favourite place of resort, not only for Prince Albert, but for the royal children. In the course of his long residence in our palaces Stockmar dined habitually at the royal table, but by reason of his delicate health he was absolved from much of the rigour of etiquette. He was usually the only person present who presumed to appear without court dress, and soon after the royal party arose from table, he was to be observed sidling off to the privacy of his own apartment, where he spent the rest of the evening. Although there was no subject, great or small, from the weightiest matters of state down to the engagement of a new servant, in which Stockmar's advice was not sought for and listened to by his royal hosts, yet he wisely abstained in politics from anything like personal interference, confining his activity in this respect to the personal and family affairs of the Sovereign, and the interior arrangements of the palace. In the beginning of his residence the organization of an establishment for the children took up a great deal of his time. "The nursery," he says humorously, "gives me as much trouble as the management of a kingdom." Indeed, the whole organization of the royal household, which had fallen into a very confused state, was reformed according to a scheme of Stockmar's devising.

Herr Friedrich Carl Meyer, one of the German secretaries of Prince Albert, for many years one of Stockmar's intimate friends, has drawn a sketch of the Baron's life in the "Preussische Jahrbücher" for 1863, in which a glimpse is to be got of the relations of the Prince with his old confidant:—

"Generally towards evening the Prince, on his return from his ride or from business, came with his arms full of papers and despatch-boxes, running with his peculiarly cheerful abruptness into the room of the Baron, and he threw himself, narrating, questioning, and reposing, on the sofa, while the old friend, at first patiently listening, and then himself discoursing, strode up and down the room and pleasantly narrated a sparkling succession of experiences,



maxims, anecdotes, and adventures, drawn chiefly from his own life. Of the rich materials which furnished the spirit and understanding of the Prince, of the form in which, and the principles by which, he was in the habit of thinking, how much may not have been drawn into him from such conversations, and exist still in thought and action beyond the graves of those present on such occasions—in the intelligences of the royal children ? ”

In his seventieth year Stockmar, in failing health, withdrew to end his days in his home at Coburg. With all his English ties, he had retained his affections and his patriotism as a German, and the consummation of German unity had been not only a dream of hope with him, but an object of endeavour, as far as his opportunities reached. The death of Prince Albert was felt by him with the most poignant regret. His expression to Queen Victoria, when she visited him in 1862—“My dear good Prince, how happy shall I be to see him again ! It will not last long”—has been recorded by the illustrious visitor herself. It did not last long. In quiet contemplation of the memories of the past, and in pleasing, affectionate intercourse with a few neighbours and friends, Stockmar wore on his days till he died by a stroke of paralysis on the night of the 8th of July, 1863, in his seventy-sixth year.

An Oxford scholar of first-rate mark is commemorated in “The Memoir and Miscellaneous Writings of Professor Conington,” by two of his personal friends, Mr. Symonds and Professor Smith, Oxford men themselves. Mr. Conington is best known to the public as a translator of Virgil into English metre, the ballad metre of Scott’s poems. The editor’s statement is no doubt correct when he says that this version (published in 1866) “has been a favourite with the world at large—with the *virgines* and *pueri*—and probably has been read through by some who never did as much for any other original or translated epic.” But Mr. Conington made many verse translations from the classics besides. His translation of the Odes of Horace preceded that of the *Æneid*. In 1868 he published a Spenserian version of the last twelve books of the *Iliad*, having, at the request of Mr. Philip Worsley on his death-bed, consented to finish a work commenced by that scholar. Lastly, in 1869, the year of his death, he published a version of the “Satires, Epistles, and *Ars Poetica* of Horace.”

Conington was a pupil of Dr. Arnold’s, one of the distinguished *alumni* of Rugby when Rugby scholarship was at its prime under the great master. His early successes at Oxford were remarkable. When barely nineteen he carried off the Hertford and Ireland University scholarships, against a host of formidable co-petitors. He was endowed with a most astonishing faculty of memory. “In the long summer walks,” says Mr. H. Smith, “which then as now were one of the chief pleasures of Rugby boys and of Oxford men, he would sometimes, if we pressed him to do so, awaken our admiration by some marvellous display of his powers of memory . . . . but he would much oftener interest us in a discussion relating, it might be, to some incident in our school life, or to some question of literary or poetical criticism, or perhaps to matters of graver import ; and to these discussions his genial wit and pleasant fancies, and above all his varied stores of knowledge, which to us seemed inexhaustible, gave a perpetual charm.”

After his election to a fellowship at University College, Conington had some thoughts of making the law his profession, and, having gained the Eldon scholarship, went up to London. But the trial did not suit him : he returned

to Oxford, and thenceforward his outward life became the life of a scholar simply.

The Latin Professorship, to which he was appointed in 1854, gave him a position of influence; and he took warm interest in all questions connected with the University. He never married, but was devoted to the care of a blind and widowed mother, to whom his death, in October, 1869, after a few days' illness, at the early age of forty-four, was a loss as sudden as it was irreparable. Devoted as he was to the interests of learning in its widest sense, Conington was a man of deep religious impressions. At one time he went through a sort of crisis, when his friends feared he had imbibed a morbid distaste to the world and its concerns: but from this crisis he emerged, cheerful in mind and fixed in his principles; and in his last fearfully sudden illness, found comfort, as his biographer remarks, "not in the remembrance of a life useful and innocent, as his must be accounted among men, but only in the simple teachings of his early childhood."

The miscellaneous writings, published in the present collection, consist of some able essays contributed to the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, the *North British*, and the *Contemporary Review*, on the poetry of Pope, English verse translations of Virgil, Mr. Munro's edition of "Lucretius," Roman Tragedy, early and late, the Fables of Babrius, the Epigrams of Martial, the real value and meaning of a liberal education, and two developments of the Oxford High Church or Anglo-Catholic movement as set forth in the "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," and "Bishop Forbes on the Thirty-nine Articles;" also his public lectures on the "Academical Study of Latin," delivered at Oxford on his first appointment to the Latin chair, and two other lectures, delivered at Boston, upon "King Lear" and "Hamlet," both graceful and discriminative pieces of criticism. The second volume is almost entirely taken up with a prose translation of "Virgil," which was left by its author in a state of semi-completion at his death, being intended by him to form a sort of supplement to his *magnum opus*.

A woman's biography of a man is said to be rarely, if ever, a successful achievement. We are compelled to say that the "Memoir of Count de Montalembert," by Mrs. Oliphant, is no exception. There were reasons perhaps in the nature of things for the faults which are to our mind so conspicuous in this performance. Mrs. Oliphant is a very gushing writer, and has a special attraction for subjects connected with what we may call the romance of theology; and the French statesman-pietist is on one side of his character at all events the very hero to enthral her sympathies. For his inconsistencies, which formed, to speak oddly, perhaps, the backbone of his character, without which, granting his fundamental opinions, it would have had too feminine a structure, Mrs. Oliphant has no discerning eye. All proceeding from him is chivalry, nobleness, imagination, in her rapturous view. But if it was owing to his inconsistencies that Montalembert was a strong-hearted man and not a logical but feeble devotee, it was owing to them also that his life as to practical influence on the affairs of the world was a failure. His steady preference for being always in opposition condemned him to live the life of a politician rather than that of a statesman; and it is doubtful whether he could ever so far have controlled himself as to have been able to act for a considerable time in harmony with any set of colleagues. Only on one point did he ever succeed in making his mark upon French life. In helping forward the great work of

freedom of instruction there can be no doubt that he did not work in vain. During the whole of his subsequent career he never achieved any result which equalled in practical importance his early attempt, in conjunction with Lacordaire and De Caux, to set up a free school of their own, uncontrolled by the despotism of the Paris University, which then held the education of all Frenchmen in its iron grasp. Very tragic is the history of the trial which his loyal obedience to the See of Rome underwent at the close of his life. Early in 1870 he had announced that if the dogma of Papal Infallibility were really proclaimed, he would submit to it, though bitterly against his convictions. Mrs. Oliphant gives, on the testimony of the friend who questioned him as to the course he would follow, the very words that he employed: "You will submit so far as form goes," said his visitor; "you will submit externally. But how will you reconcile that submission with your ideas and convictions?" "I will make no attempt to reconcile them," he replied. "I will simply submit my will, as has to be done in respect to all the other questions of the faith. I am not a theologian; it is not my part to decide on such matters. And God does not ask me to understand." Thus it was to the last; emotion was made supreme over judgment.

Mr. Augustus J. C. Hare gives us the materials of a family history in the "Memorials of a Quiet Life." The central figure of the group is the wife of Augustus W. Hare, so well known forty years ago as rector of Alton Barnes, and author of some of the most popular sermons of his day; part-author also, with his still better known brother Julius, of "Guesses at Truth." The four Hares—Francis, Julius, Augustus, and Marcus—were all remarkable men; "the most brotherly of brothers," Landor called them; and it is pleasing to be admitted into the intimacies of their fraternal intercourse. Closely allied also by the ties of friendship were the wives of three of them, Lucy Stanley, Esther Maurice, and Maria Leycester. The last was the wife of Augustus. She belonged to an ancient family settled at Toft, in Cheshire. Her father, the Rev. Oswald Leycester, was rector of Stoke. By friendship she was closely allied with the Hebers of Hodnet; by relationship with the Stanleys of Alderley. Her sister was mother to the present Dean of Westminster. Her first attachment—her father would not allow it to be an engagement—was to Martin Stow, a most intimate friend of Reginald Heber's, who died early as a chaplain in India. Augustus Hare was another dear friend of Mr. Stow's; and after sharing Maria Leycester's grief at his death, became her husband. They lived for four years and a half in perfect happiness at Alton Barnes. The union was one of devoted affection on both sides. They desired no change; and when the rich living of Hurstmonceaux (the family property) was offered to Augustus by his elder brother, he preferred handing it over to Julius.

A brief time passed, and Augustus, who was sent to Italy on account of his health, died at Rome. The widow, upon this sad disruption of her happiness, took up her residence at Hurstmonceaux, and adopted Francis Hare's child, Augustus, then an infant, and the editor of these "Memorials." At Hurstmonceaux Julius Hare accumulated a noble library, which filled up all the rooms and passages, and thither, allured by his society, came Bunsen and Stirling, who, it will be remembered, was his curate, and Maurice, whose sister Julius married, and Thirlwall, with whom he translated Niebuhr's "History of Rome," and many a man of note whom he had known and loved at Cambridge. Julius Hare's tastes and habits scarcely fitted him for a

country parsonage; but whatever the work in which he was employed, he at once laid it aside at the call of the humblest parishioner. Coleridge never had a warmer or a more judicious disciple than Hare, and it is interesting to read of his ardent admiration of Wordsworth, with whom he maintained a close friendship. "A copy of his works, old and worn with much reading, was never permitted to be put up in his shelves, but always lay upon the ledge of the bookcase, near the door which opened towards the garden, to be snatched up and read in the open air in any stray moment of refreshment." There was never a lack of intellectual life at the Hurstmonceaux rectory, and for a long time before Hare's marriage the presence of his widowed sister-in-law added greatly to the interest of his life. "And in Julius, who was tender and chivalrous to all women, pitiful and sympathizing to all in sorrow, his brother's widow found a tenderness of more than fraternal love—a watchful care, a gentle reverence, which was almost amazing to those who saw them together. . . . He confided in her every anxiety, he consulted her on every duty, he talked with her of all he read, he read to her all he wrote—he considered nothing worth having in which she had no share." Mrs. Augustus Hare was worthy of the love and veneration felt for her by her friends, and her spiritual life, as described in her diary and letters, shows that about many of the difficult problems of life she could think calmly as well as feel deeply. The world will probably pronounce that of her religious experiences too much is given; yet those who feel an invincible attraction to every sincere revelation of a spirit tried in life's searching fires will ponder over her letters and journals with an interest which defies criticism.

Just before the close of the year appeared the "Miscellaneous and Posthumous Works of Henry Thomas Buckle," with a short preliminary memoir edited by Miss Helen Taylor. The memoir, the most interesting portion of which is supplied by Miss Emily Shirreff, is perhaps the only portion of these three bulky volumes that will be much read. The rest, with the exception of two or three reprinted essays, consists of the laboriously compiled notes with which Buckle's commonplace books were filled—dry, fragmentary memoranda of facts and references.

From biographical works we turn to those of an historical character. Mr. Freeman's work on the "Growth of the English Constitution" is a masterly essay. Its three portions were originally delivered as lectures, hence an easy colloquial style pervades it, and makes the volume very agreeable to the general reader, as well as a most instructive one for the student's meditations. The book is so short and is such pleasant reading that we need give only a brief indication of the general line of inquiry which Mr. Freeman has followed. His conception of the Constitution is mainly that of Burke, though it rests on a far firmer and more historic basis. In other words, he looks for the true explanation of our present forms of government to the tradition and progress of the past, and for the mould of our political life to the shape assumed by the earliest English society. He points out that the peculiarity of our own political life is simply this—that while in the original land of the Teutons the old Teutonic institutions have all but vanished, in England they have remained practically unchanged. The old constitution of the English conquerors of Britain, indeed, was necessarily modified by the circumstances of the conquest, by the increase of slavery, the growth of a military aristocracy, the heightening of royal power which the

invasion and the after-warfare of the English amongst themselves brought with them. Still greater modifications followed on the conquest of the Norman, but throughout both the main features of English freedom were wonderfully preserved. The Great Council was the Witenagemot under a feudal name, and the Parliament of Edward was simply an expansion of the Great Council. By a happy fortune the foreign temper and the personal worthlessness of our Angevin rulers enabled conquered and conquerors to rally as one people round the free traditions of the past, and to embody them in the Charter, while the very necessities of the Crown brought about the convocation and development of Parliaments. Much, again, hung on the form which Parliament assumed, and this was in the main determined by social circumstances; by the power of the clergy, which led them to decline acting as an Estate of the realm, and by the absence of any "caste" feeling of nobility, which led to the union of the lesser landowners with the merchant class in the House of Commons. Oddly enough, as Mr. Freeman ingeniously points out, the "bicameral" arrangement, so much praised and imitated by the constitutional doctrinaires of the Continent, is a purely accidental arrangement. With the reign of Edward, though he has briefly continued his sketch as far as the Reformation, Mr. Freeman's lectures practically end. "Our later constitutional history," he says, "rather belongs to an inquiry of another kind. It is mainly a record of silent changes in the practical working of institutions whose outward or legal form remained untouched," and of these changes he has only adverted to a few which illustrate the relations of Parliament to the Crown.

Dean Stanley's "Lectures on the Church of Scotland" are marked by all the picturesqueness of description, liveliness of style, and breadth of sympathy, by which his works are ordinarily characterized. As historical sketches they are charming. In fact it is as a descriptive historian that the Dean always excels most. As a biographer, or portrayer of different styles of character, he lacks nice discrimination. As a religious philosopher, he is deficient in insight. His large charity scarcely permits him to conceive the sterner, deeper antagonisms, not so much of opinion as of fundamental character between man and man, between creed and creed, and therefore we prefer the earlier of these lectures, where the theme is St. Columba, and the traditions and relics of the Celtic conversion, to the later lectures, where the theological differences within the Scottish Reformed Kirk, and the character of its teachers come under review. There is an impression of superficiality as we read his lively description of the hair-splitting divisions of the "Burgher Secession," and the "Anti-Burgher Secession," with its transverse section of the "New Light Burghers, and the Old Light Burghers, the New Light Anti-Burghers, and the Old Light Anti-Burghers;" and though no doubt Dean Stanley has brought out with true historical instinct the curious way in which the spirit of protest and of independent action has pervaded Scotch religionism in its various developments, we feel that either his rhetorical mannerism, or his real proneness to generalize too much, detract from the satisfaction with which we receive his statement of the case. At the beginning of the book there is a point of separate interest, the question whether anything has recently come to light to support the story told by Bede of the relic of Roman Christianity which subsisted for a short time in Galloway under the pastoral supremacy of St. Ninian; and it will be of importance to those who hold that there is such confirmation, to read and consider the Dean's

commentary on some early Christian monuments figured in Dr. Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland." In a very characteristic way his sympathies with the "Old Catholic" movement burst forth, as he tells the story of St. Columba:—"A council of the Irish clergy had met and driven him forth as an excommunicated outcast. In the council—so runs the story—was one of the two mysterious Irish saints who bore the name of Brendan. Saint Brendan, when the excommunicated man appeared in the council, rose up and embraced him. The whole council burst into exclamations of horror. 'You would do as I have done,' said Brendan, 'and you would never have excommunicated him, if you saw what I see.'

"Such excommunicated men have been seen in Scotland and in England often since. They may be seen at this moment in Rome, in Paris, and in Munich. There was a freedom and justice in this old Celtic conception of true greatness, which even at this day we have hardly obtained. Columba is not the only excommunicated man who, to the eyes of the truly discerning, has had beside him angels, and before him a pillar of fire. Brendan was right in thinking, 'a pillar of fire before him and the angels of heaven beside him. I dare not disdain a man predestined by God to be the guide of an entire people to eternal life.'"

"Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century," by John Tulloch, D.D., is an admirable treatise. The author writes with sympathetic appreciation of his subject, and that subject is one full of interest for all who are fond of tracing the manifestations of Christian opinion and temperament. "The noble distinction of the Cambridge divines," says Professor Tulloch, "is that they at once rationalized religion, and vindicated its distinctive reality. The contentions of religious parties had discredited religion altogether. The Cambridge divines found themselves facing not merely exhausted factions, before whom they sought to present a higher ideal of religion—conciliatory instead of sectarian—but facing what appeared to them a new and formidable foe, which struck at the very basis of spiritual life, and left no room for the ideas of God and immortality at all. The exponents and advocates of a comprehensive Church, the purifiers of the national theology, they were at the same time the great champions of the reality of religion, when the excesses of its partisans drove their age to unbelief. They stood in the breach, and fought for the good cause with the weapons of reason, when many of the cowardly fanatics who had disgraced religion were swept away with the new tide, or were silent in their ignorant and irrational isolation."

Dr. Hook has brought out another volume of his "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury." The subject this time is Matthew Parker, the Prelate of all others most closely identified with the Church of the Reformation in England. For under Parker that Church finally took shape, after the shocks and vicissitudes the cause of Reformation itself had experienced up to the reign of Elizabeth. Perhaps the best part of Dean Hook's narrative is that which relates to the early life of Parker. We trace with interest the steps and the influences by which his cautious and moderate character was formed, a character exactly suited to the views with which the Queen took in hand the working of the ecclesiastical problem before her. A more impulsive genius would have been misplaced. No work was more creditable to Parker than that he performed as Master of Corpus Christi or Bennet College, Cambridge,

the famous library of which institution was his creation, while, with the genial munificence of a 16th century scholar, he also added largely to the College endowments out of his private means. In one point of Parker's character, spreading over both periods of his life, we must join with Dr. Hook in doing him honour. Parker had very odd notions of the duty of an editor; but it is owing to him, more than to any other man, that there is anything to edit and anything to read about the early history of England. In this manner his biographer, who has had such opportunities of testing the value of his services, does him full justice. To the great preserver and reviver of English historical learning we can even forgive that, in defending the independence of Canterbury against Rome, he partly rested his argument on the independence of the early British Church. Under a Tudor reign there was perhaps special temptation to do so.

Mr. Spedding has published the sixth volume of his "Life and Letters of Lord Bacon."—The period comprised in this volume is that of the close of the Attorney-Generalship of Bacon, and of the first years when he held the Seals; and it is not one in which his acts are especially open to censure. The time was a brief and brilliant interval between his questionable rise and his melancholy fall, when Fortune seemed to be most propitious to him; and his great powers as a politician and a judge, and his transcendent merits in the sphere of speculation, threw his errors and failings into the shade. Yet if we consider the character of the age, the condition of England and that of Europe, the questions which then were stirring the world, and the part which Bacon played on the stage of events, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that he repeatedly sacrificed for his own interests, or, at best, to gratify a foolish master, what he knew and felt was the true course to be followed by a patriotic statesman. Mr. Spedding, jealous of the fame of his subject, keeps steadily out of sight the circumstances of the time; but the omission is unfair, and in the interests of truth we would caution the readers of this work not to form their judgment of Bacon's character without making a study of the period for themselves.

Mr. Reeve republishes, under the title of "Royal and Republican France," a number of Essays contributed by him at different times to the *Edinburgh* and other Reviews. This fashion of retrospective nomenclature is rather a delusive one. "A common purpose" Mr. Reeve's Essays, when they were originally written, assuredly had not, except the common purpose which induces literary men to exercise their pens on this and that topic as it arises, to stock the pages of a Review and stimulate the world's interest. But as many of Mr. Reeve's topics happened to relate to modern French history, it was tempting to make a selection of them, and give them a title which had some reference to the Philosophy of History. Mr. Reeve is an able and accomplished writer; but he leads his readers to expect rather more of connected interest than his two volumes will give them; and he has not been sufficiently careful to recast his detached Essays into the due consistency of chapters in a work intended for unity and permanence.

"Correspondence and Conversations of Alexis de Tocqueville with Nassau William Senior." Edited by M. C. M. Simpson.—These two volumes consist partly of the correspondence of De Tocqueville with Mr. Senior, partly of Mr. Senior's notes of conversations at which he was present, written out as soon as possible afterwards, and in some cases submitted for revision to De Tocqueville, who added notes modifying any statement which he thought

did not precisely represent his views. Mr. Senior laments that in his version the grace and delicacy of the spoken words evaporate; but their more solid merits at any rate remain—they are admirably clear as well as concise. Throughout the book one is struck by the same qualities as those which make the “Democracy in America” and the “Ancien Régime” models in their kind. We have the same judicial calmness, the same exquisitely fine powers of observation, the same ingenuity in tracing out causes and connecting facts of diverse orders with one another, the same comprehensive grasp of politics and society as a whole, of the relation of social and economical phenomena to the power and working of Government; finally, the same grace, finish, and lucidity of style. Very pleasant, too, are the glimpses we get here and there of his personal character and home-life, which Mr. Senior's daughter, who edits the book, has judiciously kept as a sort of background to the political discussions which form its main theme. That main theme is of course the contemporary politics of France. There are some interesting bits of literary criticism, and some remarks on English affairs; the rest of the book is virtually a running commentary on the Revolution of 1848, the rise of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the *coup d'état*, and the earlier period of the Empire.

“The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below” is always in historical matters a thrilling subject of contemplation. Writing in August, 1847, De Tocqueville says,—

“You will find France calm and not unprosperous, but anxious. Men's minds have been subject for some time to a strange uneasiness. In the midst of tranquillity more profound than any we have enjoyed for a very long time, the idea that our present position is unstable besets them. As for myself, though not without alarm, I am less anxious; I do not exaggerate our danger. I believe that our social edifice will continue to rest on its present basis, because no one, even if he wish to change its foundation, can point out another. But yet the state of public feeling disturbs me. The middle classes, cajoled and bribed for the last seventeen years by the Government, have gradually assumed towards the rest of the nation the position of a little aristocracy, and without its higher feelings; one feels ashamed of being led by such a vulgar and corrupt aristocracy; and if this feeling should prevail among the lower classes, it may produce great calamities. And yet how can a Government be prevented from using corruption, when the nature of our constituencies makes corruption so convenient, and our centralization makes it so easy? The fact is that we are trying an experiment of which I cannot foresee the result. We are trying to employ at the same time two instruments, which I believe have never been combined before—an elected Assembly, and a highly centralized Executive. It is the greatest problem of modern times. We have proposed it to the world, but it has not yet been solved.”

The following vaticination, as to Louis Napoleon's future, is striking, read in the light of subsequent events:—

“What I fear is that when this man feels the ground crumbling under him he will try the resource of war. It will be a most dangerous experiment. Defeat, or even the alternation of success and failure which is the ordinary course of war, would be fatal to him, but brilliant success might, as I have said before, re-establish him. It would be playing double or quits. He is



by nature a gambler. . . War with a Bonaparte means the Rhine. . . . Depend on it this Government can exist, even for a time, only on the condition of brilliant successful war, or prosperous peace. It is bound to be rapidly and clearly victorious. If it fail in this it will sink, or perhaps in its terrors and its struggles it will catch at the other alternative—peace.”

The policy pursued by the British Government in the acquisition and maintenance of its rule in India is a never-failing text for moral disquisition. Mr. W. M. Torrens, M.P., takes up the subject in a work entitled, “Our Empire in India: how we came by it. A Book of Confessions.” His second title reveals at once the spirit in which he deals with the eventful history. Mr. Torrens is one of those with whom it seems to be a positive pleasure to blacken the conduct of his countrymen, and who would rather omit or explain away a justifying circumstance than accept it. It follows that his judgments are often positively unfair, and his narrative of facts distorted. Anybody reading his book might suppose that at the time when the English first appeared on the scene, Indian politics were uniformly peaceful, and Indian princes living quietly on terms of mutual goodwill and amity with each other, under the reign of a settled and recognized system of public law; further, that all the Indian princes we had to deal with were models of honour and disinterestedness. According to him, Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo Sahib were both models of chivalry and good faith; and the fact that Hyder Ali was a usurper to begin with is thus euphemistically put:—“A long series of domestic troubles had unnerved the vigour of the Mysorean Government, and opened the way for the elevation of a Mohammedan soldier of fortune to more than a participation in the power and dignity of the ancient Hindu throne.” Lord Wellesley’s policy in the war against Tippoo is denounced as unscrupulously ambitious; and the same judgment is passed against him for the Mahratta war. The Sikh war of 1845-6 and the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 come in equally for Mr. Torrens’s denunciation. It does not concern him to point out what alternative course it was practicable for the English to pursue in either case, what the evils and dangers of the native rule had become, nor what benefits have accrued to the conquered people since the substitution of British rule. His case is that we have been wrong from beginning to end, and he arranges his evidence accordingly.

Colonel Malleon republishes certain essays of his own, most of which had appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, some—i.e. those on Lord Lawrence—in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 1869, under the title of “Recreations of an Indian Official.” The chapters on Lord Lawrence consist of a thorough-going and somewhat uncompromising panegyric on that statesman. In taking his part against that of his brother Henry in the matter of the Punjab administration Colonel Malleon does but scant justice to those high qualities in the latter, which had already gone far to smooth the steps of any successor in his arduous duties in that newly-annexed province. Again, while appraising by no means too highly the vast momentous services rendered by Sir John at the time of the mutiny, Colonel Malleon rashly overstates his case by denying that his hero ever proposed the abandonment of Peshawur and the trans-Indus country—a fact which, since the essay was written, has been placed beyond dispute by the correspondence published by Sir John Kaye.

In November Mr. Froude published the first volume of his “History of the

English in Ireland," a work on which he had already based a course of lectures delivered by him in America during the autumn. As the work is as yet only partially before the public, special notice of it may be for the present deferred.

In the department of travels we begin by noticing the record by the adventurous American, Henry Stanley, of his memorable expedition to Africa in search of the lost English explorer, embodied in a work which made its appearance in London in the latter part of the autumn. This is the opening paragraph in the *Times* criticism of November 12th:—

"‘How I Found Livingstone’ is a big, thick book, emblazoned on the brown cover with black and gold representations of Lake Tanganyika, and of the meeting between Livingstone and his discoverer. As we look at it, and take it in hand, and feel the weight of it, we admire the more the surprising energy of its writer, for it was only in the first days of August that Mr. Stanley arrived in England. Since then it seems to us as though his name has been in the papers several times each week as attending a dinner, making a speech, or delivering a lecture; yet now, with the first days of November, he gives us this bulky volume of 720 pages. Next to the feeling of admiration comes the fear that such astonishing haste to catch the literary market in the nick of time must infallibly have left its mark behind it. We need scarcely say that this is the case, and that rapid writing and rapid printing stand a good deal in the way of the sympathetic interest and attention with which the reader is prepared. The book is not so much a book as a series of letters from a special correspondent writing against time, and not always consistent with himself. A leisurely revision of the proofs would have corrected this, and, better still, would have smoothed out of the body of the narrative the displeasing egotism which is apologized for in the preface, and the still more displeasing sensitiveness and acrimony apologized for in the postscript. Yet, with all these blemishes, and with a sad taint of bookmaking to boot, the freshness with which Mr. Stanley writes, his real powers of narrative and description, his quick observation and very industrious collection of materials, all going hand in hand as they do with the reader's keen interest in the subject, with admiration of the courage, energy, self-reliance, and ready resource of the traveller, and with the strange, semi-chivalrous, semi-commercial nature of his mission, render the work he has so soon published excellent reading in spite of all its faults."

As the subject of Stanley and Livingstone will find mention in the Science department of our survey, we shall only cite here his account of the famous meeting:—

"About 10 a.m. appeared from the direction of Ujiji a caravan of eighty Waguhha. We asked the news, and were told a white man had just arrived at Ujiji from Manyema. This news startled us all. ‘A white man?’ we asked. ‘Yes, a white man,’ they replied. ‘How is he dressed?’ ‘Like the master,’ they answered, referring to me. ‘Is he young or old?’ ‘He is old, and has white hair on his face, and is sick.’ ‘Where has he come from?’ ‘From a very far country away beyond Uguhha, called Manyema.’ ‘Indeed; and is he stopping at Ujiji now?’ ‘Yes, we saw him about eight days ago.’ ‘Do you think he will stop there until we see him?’ ‘*Sigue*’ (don't know). ‘Was he ever at Ujiji before?’ ‘Yes, he went away a long time ago.’"

Mr. Stanley now pushed on, stealing through the villages by night and travelling through a fine game country. On November 10 the broad waters of the Tanganyika were sighted, and, with guns firing and the Stars and Stripes flying, the *New York Herald* Expedition descended the hill and entered Ujiji. The news of the arrival of a white man's caravan had flown through the town, and the principal Arab merchants, Mahomed bin Sali, Sayd bin Majid, Abin bin Suliman, Mahomed bin Gharib, and others, were discussing the matter with Dr. Livingstone before the verandah of his house. "I pushed back the crowds, and, passing from the rear, walked down a living avenue of people, until I came in front of the semicircle of Arabs, in the front of which stood the white man with the grey beard. As I advanced slowly towards him I noticed he was pale, had a grey beard, wore a bluish cap with a faded gold band round it, had on a red-sleeved waistcoat, and a pair of grey tweed trousers. I would have run to him, only I was a coward in the presence of such a mob—would have embraced him, only, he being an Englishman, I did not know how he would receive me; so I did what cowardice and false pride suggested was the best thing—walked deliberately to him, took off my hat, and said, 'Dr. Livingstone, I presume?' 'Yes,' said he with a kind smile, lifting his cap slightly. I replace my hat on my head, and he puts on his cap, and we both grasp hands, and I then say aloud, 'I thank God, Doctor, I have been permitted to see you.' He answered, 'I feel thankful that I am here to welcome you.'"

Thus it was that Mr. Stanley, on November the 10th, 1871, the 236th day from Bagamoyo and the 51st from Unyanyembe, found Livingstone.

At the beginning of the year there appeared, under the title of "South Sea Bubbles; or, the Earl and the Doctor," an account of a yachting cruise which the young Earl of Pembroke and a companion, Dr. Kingsley it is said, took among the islands of the Pacific during the autumn of 1870. The Earl, though the motive of his voyage seems to have been the search for health in the first instance, writes in a strain of exuberant spirits, with considerable power of description, and a keen sense of humour. But there is an undeniable strain of flippancy in his book, and he takes delight in painting things in their coarsest and strongest lights. Neither from the picturesque nor from the moral and religious point of view does he cultivate the grace of reticence. He is the son of his age in the evident pride he takes in setting at naught whatever he is pleased to consider a "sham." Thus, on leaving a desert island in a small boat after a shipwreck, he remarks that the "proper platitude" on such occasions is "trust in Providence," but that, though meaning "no irreverence," his view is that there is no such thing as what is called a particular Providence—"Two sparrows do not fall to the ground without God knowing it; but the sparrows fall all the same." His description of the manners of the South Sea Islanders is free, not to say voluptuous; and, holding his doctrine of accommodation in morals, he is disposed to look with very lenient eyes on the practices prevalent among the denizens of the cocoa-groves and coral-reefs. Their kindness and superabundant hospitality to him and his friend might indeed not unfairly have inclined him to pass a good-natured judgment on them. The English wanderers led a life as care-free, if not quite as sleepy as that of the lotos-eaters of old. They sailed from fête to fête, through a succession of hospitalities. Kings got up court-dances for them. Queens flirted with them, setting an example to their subjects

which was quite superfluous. They were loaded with presents of pigs, poultry, fruits, vegetables, native cloth, and ornaments. In short, every one seemed desirous to do their utmost for strangers they would never see again. But the dream-life came to an end, and the Earl and the Doctor ended their cruise with an awkward accident. Their yacht left her bones on a coral-reef, and it was only by great good fortune her crew saved theirs. Thirteen in number, they were cast on a desert island, where they remained for more than a week. They rescued some instruments, weapons, ammunition, and provisions; still it was wretched work, and very dangerous. The rain came down almost incessantly. The climate was far from agreeable, for the slightest scratch or wound refused to heal. They were eating up their scanty provisions, and the weather prevented their getting away. They were within sixty miles of "islands flowing with milk and honey;" but those in their immediate neighbourhood were peopled by ferocious cannibals. Should the weather clear and their encampment become visible, they were pretty sure of a visit from a fleet of war-canoes. At last, in their three small boats, they made a start to grope their way towards friendly shores. It literally was groping, for the boats were heavily laden and slightly water-logged, while they had to lie-to in the darkness among the reefs and the breakers. But all hands seem to have shown a cheery resolution beyond all praise, and doubtless it was in great measure owing to that that they all came back to tell their story.

"Try Cracow and the Carpathians." By Alexander H. Hutchinson, Captain Royal Artillery.—Last year Captain Hutchinson bid us try Lapland: he now tells us to try the mountainous region beyond the plains of Poland. The latter tour is hardly less unhackneyed than the first. Captain and Mrs. Hutchinson had some rough travelling. Often the rivers came down in flood, there was no bridge, and the possibility of fording was so much a matter of question that groups of river-bound peasants were gathered on the bank, volubly discussing it. Few ladies, we suspect, would have shown the nerve of Mrs. Hutchinson, who made the passage in an open waggon, with the water rushing over the shafts, and the horses almost washed off their legs, slipping about upon the treacherous pebbles. It is true the scenery of the mountains in a measure repaid them, although we should imagine its chief charm lay in its comparative solitude. There is gloom rather than beauty in the dark uniform tints of the Carpathian fir-trees. Yet here and there you come to smiling mountain-locked flower-gardens, showing a blaze of colour and variety of bloom that would have gladdened the hearts of artist or botanist. At one place, and not very high up either, they found a profusion of the noble edelweis, that coveted flower that grows generally on precipices almost inaccessible. Occasionally the mountain paths were difficult, but not very often dangerous. The fishing apparently should be good in a good season, nor is it jealously preserved as in more civilized countries. But Captain Hutchinson seems to have been unfortunate in travelling in an unusually rainy season, and the rush of water that made the fords so awkward generally spoiled his fly-fishing. The longest stay they made was at the pretty Hungarian bath of Schmeks. There, as English people, they met with the most extreme civility and even kindness. The Hungarians have always a strong sympathy with English habits and tastes, and many of these at Schmeks spoke the language fluently.

"New Homes for the Old Country." By George S. Baden-Powell.—Mr Baden-Powell's new homes all lie in the Southern hemisphere, in New Zealand Tasmania, and the five colonies of the Australian mainland. He describes from personal observation; he writes without much literary skill or philosophic cultivation; but there is a freshness and shrewdness in his mode of treating his subject which makes it attractive. The two divisions of his volume, respectively entitled "Life in the Bush" and "Natural History," are better than those which profess to give statistical information. He has much to say upon many other matters, and especially upon the pastoral life which fills so large a space in the industrial activity of the country. He discourses learnedly upon the rival advantages of "shepherding" and "paddocking" sheep, and points out to what class of country each of these systems is best adapted. Mr. Powell maintains that any reasonably steady man ought to do well as an Australian settler. Year after year the chances in favour of emigrants are multiplying, if the great prizes tend to decrease. Formerly there used to be pretty nearly a single recognized opening for capital, and very considerable capital it demanded. You squatted. You occupied a run in some remote district, and had to hold your own against black fellows and dingoes, and drought and disease, and the chance of ruinously low prices. If all went fairly with you, and wool sold tolerably, your herds multiplied and you made your fortune. But with so many hostile contingencies, if you were not specially cut out for your work, and gifted with rare constitution and resolution, you were likely to go to the wall. Now, as civilization spreads, many of these unfavourable chances diminish. Now the aborigines seldom trouble the settler, and the packs of native dogs are not such pests as they used to be. In places, circumstances have combined with rough science to reduce the likelihood of droughts. There are not only cities but great districts where the settler may find all the advantages of civilization to compensate the drawback of more confined space. Consequently, if his desires be limited to a competency, he can embark on a less speculative career. If he have but very little money and no pride, there are lines in which he may succeed far more rapidly than by sheep or cattle breeding. Townships are springing up all over the country. Now-a-days the old system of promiscuous hospitality has in many places become impracticable, or the settler shrinks from the tax imposed upon him by crowds of "casuals" craving a night's entertainment. Accordingly he encourages the opening of an "accommodation house" in the vicinity of his station, and the landlord has the monopoly of travellers. The man thrives of course, and next he or some one else opens a general store, and a hamlet grows to a town, creating in the process the demands it supplies. The process is going on everywhere, making many openings for small capitalists; and in Australia small capitalists, who are prepared to rough it up country, are by no means common.

"Modern Turkey." By J. Lewis Farley.—Mr. Farley wrote letters to the *Daily News* during the Empress Eugénie's visit to Constantinople in 1869. He reproduces these with additions in the present volume. Mr. Farley is a staunch believer in the power of Turkey to take its place amongst civilized nations. Amongst other Western prejudices there has been a general belief that education has been discouraged by Mohammedanism. Mr. Farley declares that, on the contrary, there is no country in which instruction is

more esteemed, or in which its professors are more respected, than in Turkey. The schools have of course fallen behind those of other European nations in obedience to the causes, whatever they may be, which have prevented those admirable Mohammedans from keeping on a level with us in the general advance of civilization. Still great efforts are being made. The hall of the recently-opened University was filled every evening with an attentive audience eager to hear from Mohammedan teachers the results of the last advances of European thought. Azziz Effendi gave an excellent lecture on chemistry, illustrated by experiments; Tahsin Effendi discussed the scientific properties of water; "Selim Effendi discoursed in a very lucid manner about the planets," and Tahsin Effendi again upon "the immense and the microscopic." The greater part of Mr. Farley's book is occupied with an account of the natural resources of Turkey, which are undoubtedly in many respects enormous. He considers Asia Minor to be an admirable field for emigration. Indeed, there is already a flourishing colony of Germans settled at Amasia, and their success has been so marked that a large body of their fellow-countrymen are about to establish themselves near Angora with a view to agriculture in general, and the improvement of Angora sheep in particular. An isolated emigrant would hardly be able to make his way; but if a co-operative association of English capitalists and workmen should settle in many parts of the country their success would be certain. Another opportunity of growing rich, which is only waiting for somebody to seize it, is in the Black Sea fisheries. There is no doubt, Mr. Farley assures us, that a company provided with proper boats and tackle and experienced managers "would clear cent. per cent. as a minimum of profit." Then, again, there is abundance of mineral wealth still unworked, and Mr. Farley believes that "the time may not be far distant when the flames of the blast-furnace will illuminate the spires of the Anti-Taurus," and Turkey, in less poetical language, again become a great manufacturing country. The want which requires most imperatively to be supplied is that of communications. Hitherto very little has been done in the way of providing the provinces of the interior with railways, or even with direct roads, or in making practically useful the noble harbours which are to be found on the sea-coast. Mr. Farley, however, gives various instances of the success which has been attained in such partial experiments as have hitherto been made. In spite of everything trade is rapidly increasing, and the task of finding outlets for it would naturally be remunerative. To quote his peroration:—"The Pagoda-tree still flourishes in the East. It has, ere now, been shaken by some of our adventurous countrymen, but it still bears golden fruit. I have pointed out where it is to be found."

"Ivan at Home; or, Pictures of Russian Life." By Herbert Barry.—This is a sketchy, desultory sort of book, without plan or method, or much literary merit; but it conveys a good deal of acceptable information about the great Empire, whose commercial and political importance is increasing every day. Mr. Barry speaks enthusiastically of the social and other benefits produced by the present Emperor's reforms. It is certain that no sovereign has done so much for the country since the days of Peter the Great. It is not merely that greater liberty has been given to the press, that political discussion is allowed a far wider range than of old, that travelling within the Empire has been freed from the hindrance of passports, and internal communication facilitated

by the improvement of roads; that the protective system, though still adhered to, has been lightened; that the finances have been brought to a sound balance, and the civil service partially reformed, or that the six hundred miles of railway which existed ten years ago have now grown to nearly ten thousand. It is that, with the emancipation of the serfs, and the growth of commerce consequent on these improvements, the whole conditions of social life have been revolutionized. "Until the year 1861," says Mr. Barry very truly, "there were only two classes of people in the Czar's dominions, nobles and serfs. Now there are four—noblemen, merchants, shopkeepers, and peasants." Of the two orders which specially represent Old Russia, the noble has been quickened into a new energy by the new position in which he has been placed by self-emancipation, while the Church will soon feel the impulse given to it by the abolition of the hereditary character of the priesthood. But it is the rise of a middle class which has necessitated the great reforms undertaken by the Emperor in public administration and justice. A "new law with its simple code, oral instead of written practice, trial by jury, irremovable judges elected by the supreme power instead of by the local nobility," is perhaps the greatest of Alexander's gifts to his people.

The main interest of Mr. Barry's book lies in the insight which it gives into the industrial life of Russia. The mineral riches and undeveloped coal-fields of this vast country are in fact the greatest of her future resources. A drive through the low hills of the Ural range, from the gigantic mountain of magnetic iron to the very edge of the steppe, takes the traveller over a region unsurpassed in the amount and variety of its mineral wealth. "Here are gold, copper, lead, iron in masses; forests in abundance to supply the necessary fuel for the successful working of these minerals; labour sufficient for all purposes; all means and appliances ready at hand; the whole only waiting until a little more activity is instilled into the Russian character;" and, we may add, until the foolish administrative restrictions are removed which now hamper industrial enterprise. Mr. Barry hardly exaggerates in his statement that, were the fetters of the bureaucracy once shaken off, the gold mines of Russia would equal in value those of Australia.

With all the advancing power and prosperity of Russia, it is curious to observe how little is due to the character and genius of the Russians themselves. Foreigners—for the most part Englishmen—manage Russian industrial enterprises, lay down Russian railways, build Russian steamboats. Among the superior officers of the army there are twice as many Germans as Russians. Germans and Poles abound in the higher grades of the Civil Service. It is said, indeed, that this state of things is altering now slowly, to the advantage of the national element, and no doubt in consequence of the abolition of all sorts of absurd restrictions on the liberty of learning, speaking, and writing, a remarkable advance in intellectual activity has taken place in Russia during the present reign.

"An Australian Parsonage; or, the Settler and the Savage in Western Australia." Mrs. Millett, under this title, gives an account of her five years' experience as wife of a chaplain in the region which used to be called the "Swan River Settlement." It is one of the pleasantest books of the kind we have met with. Mrs. Millett has an eye open for observation of all kinds, a keen sense of humour, and a pleasant facility of expression. Her composition betrays, indeed, now and then, that she is not a practised author, but she has

so much to tell, and tells it so agreeably, that we read on with little disturbing consciousness of technical faults. From natural motives of reserve, she tells us comparatively little of the ways and habits of the settlers in Western Australia, but her account of the savages displays much original observation, and her capacity of warm-hearted sympathy is in no way damaged by her quickness in seeing the ludicrous side of things. She gives a far more favourable account of the intelligence and moral qualities of the natives than we have generally been accustomed to hear, and supports her case by some touching instances of their fidelity, and of the kindness which they show to the race before which they are so rapidly vanishing. They have indeed one or two drawbacks. They do not appear, for example, to have any sort of religious belief beyond a vague superstition about an evil power, known as Jingy. Jingy is in the habit of going about at night doing more or less mischief, and it is said that he occasionally requires to be propitiated, though the ceremonies performed in his honour are so obscure that even their existence is doubted. Moreover, the views of marriage entertained by the race are of a very simple character; and it is thought to be highly creditable to acquire a new wife by the summary means of knocking her down and carrying her off by force when a favourable opportunity occurs. Mrs. Millett expresses her disbelief that any woman can under any circumstances really welcome a partner in her husband's affections; but she is forced to confess that the native women whom she had the opportunity of observing did not protest by any means so forcibly as they ought to have done. One of the natives of whom she speaks most warmly is a certain Khouabene, who was a kind of hanger-on to her establishment, and who in earlier times had been in trouble with the English Government for killing a previous wife. This little fact, however, seems to have been forgotten, and at one period of Mrs. Millett's story he had again set up a double family, and was, as she thought, rather henpecked by both his partners. It seems, however, that there is a summary remedy provided by native custom for cases of excessive domestic tyranny over the husband; and accordingly one fine day Mr. Khouabene speared another wife, and again found himself at variance with the English Government. Mrs. Millett appears to have felt sincere pity for his misfortunes, and is glad to be able to tell us that up to the time of her leaving the colony he had not been brought to what we are pleased to call justice for his vigorous assertion of his matrimonial rights.

Captain Burton's "Zanzibar," in two large volumes, is not light reading for an idle hour, but it is a useful repertory of information for those who are bitten with the curiosity for African exploration. The subject is not a new one, however, as it relates to the expedition undertaken by Burton in company with Speke fifteen years ago, of which Burton himself had written an account at the time, and which had also been described or treated upon by Speke and Grant. Burton gives as a reason for his present publication the recovery of certain papers which had escaped from his possession when he first wrote, and also the desire to clear up his relations with his quondam friend and subsequent rival, Captain Speke. This last was an awkward and ungracious task for him to take upon himself. In order to place his own conduct in the best light, he is forced in some degree to asperse that of Speke. He does so indeed not offensively or with vituperation, but rather in the style of Mark Antony *versus* Brutus—"But Brutus is an honourable man." He speaks



warmly of Speke's energy, "temper, patience, single-mindedness;" his "almost heroic determination," &c.; yet in order to justify himself he is forced to dwell on the shortcomings of his colleague, and to lay stress on the wrongs which he conceives himself to have suffered. And on the whole we cannot doubt that he would have done better to "let that flee stick in the wa'," as the Scotch proverb has it, or to leave to others the task of attempting to extract it. Captain Burton is not an agreeable writer. He is long-winded, and delights in eccentric words and idioms. From his description of Zanzibar it would seem to be one of the most detestable places within a traveller's range.

Mr. W. W. Hunter's "Orissa" is a remarkable book. It is an attempt, as he says himself, "to delineate the inner life of an Indian province." He writes with great knowledge, great sympathy with the Indian people, a keen and quick appreciation of all that is striking and romantic in their history and character, and in a flowing and picturesque style—the only fault of his book being a somewhat defective arrangement. Orissa is best known to Englishmen in connexion with the terrible famines by which it has from time to time been visited, the last being that of 1866. They come from two sources—floods and drought; flood, as a rule, being the worst enemy of the two, but not producing the utter and terrible misery which is caused by drought on a great scale. Mr. Hunter enters into the details of these calamities, and the reader will follow with considerable interest his careful description of the engineering means by which it is sought to prevent their recurrence; of these means the principal is the great system of canals, which now stretch in various directions across the delta, forming trade routes to the sea or to the Hooghly river, and irrigating enormous tracts of land.

The second volume of this work is even more generally interesting than the first. In it the author describes the religious history of Orissa, and the traces, first, of the Buddhist dynasty and worship; then of the Siva worship, which superseded it; finally, of the Vishnu worship, which superseded that of Siva. The location of the Temple of Juggernaut, or Jagannáth, in the city of Purí, has always given Orissa a peculiar local importance in the eyes of the native Hindoos. Of this, the most popular deity in India at the present day, Mr. Hunter says, "While on the intellectual and spiritual side of his nature he claims to be identical with Buddha, the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, he stands forth the hero of the warrior caste, as Ráma in his seventh incarnation, and has drawn to himself the sympathies of the pastoral races as Krishna, the eighth appearance of Vishnu upon earth." In this connexion we have a very curious chapter relating to the pilgrimages which form the most striking and characteristic feature of the worship of Jagannáth. The whole of India is divided into districts, which are allotted to the head abbots of the several monasteries which encircle the temple at Purí. Each of these ecclesiastics maintains a staff of pilgrim guides, who go from village to village throughout the district belonging to their chief, preaching pilgrimage as the means of liberation from sin. The monotonous life which the women of India lead renders them especially open to such exhortations. The guide usually visits a house when the husband has gone out to the fields, and by the time he returns the sermon has done its work. Of the bands of pilgrims which are daily arriving at Purí, not more than 10 per cent. are males. The latter part of the journey is usually made on foot, and long before they reach

the Holy City many of the weakest have died upon the road, while the rest are lamed by the rough roads or prostrated by some form of bowel complaint. The guide does his best to sustain their resolution, and to prevent the retreat which would make his labours useless to his employer. Once within sight of Puri their pains are all forgotten. They hurry across the bridge, plunge into one of the sacred reservoirs, and then, after arraying themselves in fresh garments which they have brought with them, proceed to the temple. There the guide makes them over to the priest who employs him, and the round of the various shrines is begun. Every day the pilgrims bathe in one of the artificial lakes, and each evening they rush into the surf on one specially sacred part of the sandy shore. This same spot, the Swarga-Dwara, the Gate of Heaven, is also the burial-place of generations of pilgrims who have died at Puri.

An account of "Unexplored Syria" has been given us by Captain R. F. Burton, late her Majesty's Consul at Damascus, and C. F. Tyrwhitt-Drake. Perhaps the most interesting and novel parts of this work are those which refer to the Moabite Stone and the Hamah inscriptions. Captain Burton has done good service to the cause of truth by his vindication of M. Ganneau, the original describer and almost the discoverer of the Moabite Stone, against the imputations which have been thrown against his character by Mr. Klein and others, who attempted to obtain possession of the precious relic, and who thereby really caused the loss of the stone. Mr. Klein showed himself "in a cosmopolitan sense much below Captain Warren, who frankly and honourably stated that it was to him a matter of utter indifference whether the relic, provided that it was secured intact for the civilized world, adorned the museum of Berlin, of Paris, or of London." It was high time in the present state of the controversy—when, owing to the confusion unnecessarily imported into the subject, the public were almost beginning to disbelieve in the Moabite Stone—that the value of the relic should be once more pointed out. It is senior to Homer and Hesiod, who are supposed to have composed *circa* B.C. 850-76, writing being unknown to Greece before the first Olympiad. It is true that the erudite Sir Henry Rawlinson warns Captain Burton "not to take an exaggerated view of the Moabite Stone." Yet its interest will not diminish now that we have a trustworthy account of its discovery. The Hamah stones, on the other hand, are relics of another and entirely novel description. After Captain Burton and Mr. Hyde Clarke appear to have exhausted all their philological knowledge in deciphering the Hamah inscriptions, no satisfactory solution seems to be given. Captain Burton is convinced that these incised stones of vast antiquity form a link between picture-writing and alphabetic characters, and suggests that the most feasible way of deciphering them would be by comparing them with the "Wusúm" of the several Bedáwi families, tribes, and clans. These marks are still branded on the camels, and are often scrawled or scratched upon rocks and walls, as a notice to kinsmen that friends have passed that way. The origin of these patterns is at present unknown; it doubtless dates from the remotest antiquity, and it has probably preserved the primitive form of the local alphabets.

"The Great Lone Land," of which Captain W. F. Butler discourses, is a region whose existence is scarcely realized, though it is of course more or less dimly recognized, by most Englishmen. It is that vast territory which

intervenes between Canada and the Rocky Mountains to the north of the United States. Captain Butler says, "One may wander 500 miles in a direct line without seeing a human being, or an animal larger than a wolf." And year by year it becomes more lonely. Colonization has scarcely touched it as yet. Agricultural population there is none, except in those isolated settlements in the fertile valley of the Red River to which Riel's abortive revolution attracted a passing interest. The tribes of red men who used to trap and hunt through its vast forests and roam over its wide prairies are fast dying out. Of the great rival fur companies, one has disappeared altogether, and the other, as we should fancy, has been reducing its staff and narrowing its establishments. The herds of buffaloes have been wantonly slaughtered for the sake of their hides, or pounded down into pemmican for trappers and voyageurs till they are nearly extirpated. The fur-bearing animals that first attracted the white man have been thinned until whole districts have almost ceased to be profitable. In short, Captain Butler makes out a matter-of-fact case for the title he has bestowed on his fascinating volume.

He started from head-quarters in Canada as a supernumerary detached from the Red River expedition. He had volunteered for the hazardous mission of reconnoitring the American frontier, reporting the state of feeling there, and endeavouring to communicate with the commander of the expedition in the event of the Fenians menacing it with a flank attack. He was further informed that it would be considered good service were he to pass by Fort Garry and note the attitude and preparations of the rebel leader M. Riel, who had placed himself at the head of the so-called "Provisional Government" of Manitoba. As it happened, the arrival of a British agent had become known beforehand, and M. Riel and his followers were on the *qui-vive* to receive him. As the steamer stopped, in the darkness just before approaching Fort Garry, Captain Butler could see the figures of the expectant rebels lighted by the pine torches they carried. He managed to elude them at the moment, but a few days afterwards he had a formal interview with Riel by special and pressing invitation. Either the devil was less black than rumour had painted him, or, what is more probable, the rebel was growing uneasy as to his fate, now that the approach of an English force was so imminent. Riel is described as "a short, stout man with a large head, a sallow, puffy face, a sharp, restless, intelligent eye, a square-cut massive forehead, overhung by a mass of long and thickly clustering hair, and marked with well-cut eyebrows—altogether a remarkable-looking face." On the whole, Captain Butler's impressions of him seem to have been rather favourable.

After the suppression of Riel, the new governor of Manitoba suggested to Captain Butler to start on a mission to the sources of the Saskatchewan, with the object of investigating the present condition of the country and its motley inhabitants. The country itself is a vast basin waiting to receive the overflowing stream of population which at present expends itself on less remote districts. Captain Butler's report is given at length in his appendix, while it is amplified, illustrated, and commented upon in the personal narrative that fills the rest of the volume. A thrilling narrative it is of dangers manfully faced and hardships cheerfully endured.

It was on the 24th of October that he started from Fort Garry. He returned to civilization about the end of January, so that for the most part he travelled through the severest months of the northern winter. On horseback,

in spring-cart, and in dog-sleighs he travelled to and from the Rocky Mountain House, a trading-post at the foot of the mountains from which it takes its name, and among the head-waters of the Saskatchewan river.

Although the Indian tribes have been fast dwindling of late years, they are still formidable enough to make it necessary that some formal understanding should be come to with them, if white settlers are to colonize in reasonable security. The most numerous tribes, and those whose names are most familiar to the English reader, are the Blackfeet and the Crees. Captain Butler estimates their numbers respectively at 4000 and 2000. The Blackfeet country, however, is generally unsuited for cultivation. Their decrease hitherto seems to have been owing rather to the introduction of disease than to demoralizing contact with the white man. Fifty years ago small-pox first visited the Indian country. Since then its ravages have been periodical and frightful, and none more so than in 1870, when Captain Butler travelled on the track of the scourge. But, putting everything else out of the question, the extermination of the buffalo is likely to be followed sooner or later by the disappearance of the red man, and it is likely besides to exercise a considerable influence on the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company. According to Captain Butler's estimate, of late years their occupation of the Saskatchewan country has annually cost the company some 2000*l.* to 6000*l.* That expenditure repaid them, in a manner, so long as they could draw from the district an unlimited supply of buffalo meat for their pemmican. But now the buffalo is gone and the fur-bearing animals have diminished, it is become a question whether they had not better abandon this Saskatchewan country altogether. Captain Butler believes that they probably will continue their occupation; for if they abandoned it, "it would be speedily occupied by traders from the Missouri, who would tap the trade of the richer fur-producing districts of Lesser Slave Lake and the North."

In his official report, Captain Butler offers three suggestions for dealing with this unsatisfactory state of things. First, the appointment of a civil magistrate, who should make semi-annual tours and hold periodical courts of justice; secondly, the organization of a flying force of 100 or 150 police, partially mounted, the men to be rewarded at the end of a short service with grants of land as military settlers; thirdly, the establishment of two Government stations, and the appropriation of certain fertile districts to be allotted to settlers on good Government titles. Captain Butler foretells a great future for the Saskatchewan valley, when immigration shall have set towards its fertile soil from the bare, burning plains in the half-settled North-Western States of the American Union. Doubtless, when a railway shall stretch across the continent, agriculture and trade will slowly follow in its course and it may throw out remunerative feeders to the south-westward, should our policy court an influx of Americans. It seems evident that, in the meantime, things are very bad there, and steadily tending to worse, and it is highly desirable that some provisional measure should be taken for their amelioration.

"The Switzers." By W. H. Dixon.—Mr. Dixon, full of the interests of the London School Board, of which he is a member, goes to Switzerland, looks into the educational institutions of the country, and gives some useful results of his observations. But instead of doing this in a businesslike, straightforward manner, he deems it becoming to make a sensational book, and flourishes away with introductions and episodes, which have nothing to do with

the kernel of his subject, and which provoke us by their would-be dramatic effectiveness. The book opens with a dialogue between a nun and a civil engineer, who find themselves in company while travelling over an Alpine road, and a third speaker, who is apparently Mr. Dixon himself. The nun and the engineer discourse of all manner of things, viewing them from the sides of old-world piety and modern philosophic enlightenment respectively, Mr. Dixon adding wisdom from his own lucubrations. As the book goes on we have sometimes the three in conference; sometimes Dixon solus. Philology, history, statistics, legendary lore, all matters relating to Helvetia are touched off more or less, and often with a startling lack of accuracy for which the fine writing is by no means a compensation. The author blunders seriously in his account of the growth of the League, and in his description of the Cantonal constitutions; and his confused ratiocinations about the Legend of William Tell convey the impression that he was simply writing in such a hurry as to forget his own sentiments from paragraph to paragraph, or to deny himself the leisure for recasting them.

Miss Eden's "Letters from India" relate to the occurrences connected with her brother Lord Auckland's voyage to India after he had been appointed Governor-General, and with his residence at Calcutta—her previously published volume, "Up the Country," having related to his tour to the North-western provinces. In consequence of the death of the accomplished writer in the interval of time between the two publications, the editorship of these later volumes devolved upon Miss Eden's niece, and the reader has to regret the absence of the former accuracy. Moreover, nearly a hundred pages are taken up with the letters of a younger sister, who, though treating of the same subjects, just wants the grace, the humour, and the lightness of touch which constituted the charm of Emily Eden's writing.

A second series of the "Letters of Miss Mitford" is acceptable. She was a delightful letter-writer, and this simply because she was full of sympathy for almost all varieties of character, and full of interest in a thousand topics. The present collection consists mainly of four series: her letters to Mrs. Hofland, from 1817 to 1837—to Miss Anderson, afterwards Mrs. Partridge from 1837 to 1854—to Miss Harrison, afterwards Mrs. Acton Tindall, from 1836 to 1854—and to Mrs. Ouvry, from 1847 to 1855. Miss Mitford was enthusiastic in her regard and admiration for Miss Barrett (Mrs. Browning), and thus describes her on two occasions:—

"A slight, girlish figure, very delicate, with exquisite hands and feet; a round face, with a most noble forehead; a large mouth, beautifully formed, and full of expression; lips like parted coral; teeth large, regular, and glittering with healthy whiteness; large dark eyes, with such eyelashes, resting on the cheek when cast down, when turned upward, touching the flexible and expressive eyebrows; a dark complexion, with cheeks literally as bright as the dark China rose; a profusion of silky dark curls, and a look of youth and modesty hardly to be expressed. This, added to the very simple, but graceful and costly, dress, by which all the family are distinguished, is an exact portrait of her some years ago."

Then follows the change that ill-health, which secluded Miss Barrett for years from general society, had made:—

"The expression, too, is completely changed; the sweetness remains, but it is accompanied by more shrewdness, more gaiety; the look, not merely of the

woman of genius—that she always had—but of the superlatively clever woman. An odd effect of absence from general society, that the talent for conversation should have ripened, and the shyness have disappeared—but so it is. When I first saw her, her talk, delightful as it was, had something too much of the lamp—she spoke too well—and her letters were rather too like the very best books. Now all this is gone; the free thoughts come gushing and sparkling like water from a spring, but flow as naturally as water down a hill-side—clear, bright, and sparkling in the sunshine. All this, besides its delightfulness, looks like life, does it not?”

Miss Mitford's health was broken by unremitting attendance on her selfish father, whom she survived, however, six or seven years. She bore her sufferings and decay with great patience, and was supported by the consolations of a very fervent piety.

“The Works of Alexander Pope.” New edition, including several hundred unpublished letters, and other new materials, collected in part by the late Right Hon. John Wilson Croker. With introductions and notes by Rev. Whitwell Elwin. Of this elaborate edition, the eighth volume has been published this year, constituting the third of the correspondence. The volume of the correspondence consists almost entirely of fresh material. Of the eighteen letters that passed between Pope and the painter Jervas, fourteen have been already in print. With these letters the book commences. Then follow one hundred and twenty letters between the poet and his coadjutors in the translation of the “Odyssey”—Broome and Fenton. With one exception, these letters are now printed for the first time, wholly or in part, from the manuscripts in possession of the publisher. More than one hundred and fifty letters follow between Pope and Lord Oxford, and these also, with the exception of two or three, are new to the public. A series of letters between Pope and Lord Bathurst possess the same interest of novelty, and a yet greater interest belongs to the final section of the volume, which contains eighty-three letters between Pope and Lord Orrery, &c., for of these letters seventy are not only new, but were unknown to Mr. Elwin until recently, and confirm the evidence already given by him with regard to the Swift correspondence. This volume, therefore, is of considerable value to the student of Pope. It confirms former impressions if it does not reveal many new facts. It adds to the vividness of the picture we have already formed of Pope and his associates, and it confirms the belief of most students of our literature in the eighteenth century, that the age, if it is to be judged by its foremost men, was essentially mean and ignoble.

Mr. Elwin gives this account of the manner in which the letters between Pope, Lord Orrery, Faulkner (Swift's publisher) and Mrs. Whitway, the Dean's cousin, came into his possession:—

“Since the publication of the Pope and Swift correspondence in the present edition, I have been indebted to the kindness of the Earl of Cork for these important letters, which reveal the circumstances attending the publication of Pope's quarto volume in 1741. The manuscript letters of Pope to Lord Orrery are the originals. They form a thin quarto, and at the beginning of the book Lord Orrery has written, ‘These letters from Mr. Pope, containing most, if not all, which I received from him during his life, were bound up by my direction in this volume, May 7, 1746.--O.’ The replies of Lord Orrery are the fair copies which he made in some manuscript volumes

of his correspondence with various persons. I owe these replies to the researches of a friend, Mr. Horner, the rector of Mells, in Somersetshire. He discovered them in going through Lord Orrery's manuscript volumes, where they are scattered among his other correspondence."

"Essays on Cathedrals," by various writers.—The uses of cathedrals and of the deans and chapters, who are their informing spirit, has been one of the most briskly-debated ecclesiastical topics of the last few years. The present essays give the views of various thoughtful writers on the subject. Mr. E. A. Freeman discusses the cathedral idea from its historical point of view. That this idea is not to be regarded as a thing of the past, a device of former ages to meet their own wants, but antiquated now, and incapable of adequately fulfilling any useful purpose in our own, is brought out from various points of view in the other papers which form the bulk of the volume. The Bishop of Carlisle and Canon Norris relate their experience and the lessons which it has respectively taught them about actual cathedral work—the one in his former post as Dean of Ely, and the other as Canon of Bristol. Mr. Beresford Hope writes on the great call and peculiar opportunities of cathedrals in their missionary aspect; in their exceptional relations to the masses, the crowds both in city and country who are so imperfectly within ordinary church influences, and of whom so little is known, except that they are sure to flock to cathedrals where cathedrals do their duty, that they show deep interest in what goes on, that they are more attentive and behave better than the average of regular congregations, and that they can hear things said to them there which they are not likely to hear elsewhere. Professor Westcott takes another great side of this work, complementary to that which has to do with popular instruction and the awakening of conscience and religious ideas in the multitude—namely, the place of cathedrals in the system of the Church, as homes and centres of religious study and thought. Sir F. Gore Ouseley discusses their functions as schools of religious music, and their duties in the education of choristers; Mr. Denham, the Master of the Carlisle High School, writes about what are at present the subordinate, but far from unimportant, questions connected with cathedral grammar schools. Two canons of Lincoln, Chancellor Massingberd and Mr. Venables, contribute to the collection; the first a paper on cathedral reform generally, its history and prospects; the second, an interesting sketch of the architectural peculiarities and changes of our English cathedrals. The Dean of Cashel writes about Irish cathedrals, and Mr. Stewart Perowne, of Llandaff, about Welsh ones. Lastly, Dr. Benson, of Wellington College, takes the exceedingly important, and practically very difficult subject of the relation of the chapter to the bishop; a point on which nothing can be more clear and attractive than the theory, and nothing more likely, under our present circumstances, to prove full of embarrassment than the working. If the *raison d'être* of cathedral chapters now is only that which no doubt originally called them into existence, that they should be the bishop's council, the reason seems an insufficient one. The truth is, that they have grown into a place of their own, with special work, opportunities, and objects; and it is by this standard, whether they fill this place adequately and discharge its obligations, and not by reference to the functions which the earliest chapters had to perform, that the case of cathedral institutions must be judged. Their

real, at least their paramount, use seems to lie in the two directions indicated in the papers of Mr. Beresford Hope and Dr. Westcott; in their "missionary aspect," as great centres and schools of preaching, and in their office as places absolutely unique in our day in their advantages for theological study, religious education, and devotional life.

Mr. Eastlake, in his "History of the Gothic Revival," undertakes to trace in the department of architecture the course of the reaction against the Renaissance which has been so marked a feature of the literary and artistic life of Europe during the present century, and for which preparation existed in those latent traditions of mediævalism which the Renaissance had been unable to extinguish. He points out to how late a date in the more vernacular English styles of architecture the Gothic spirit survived the introduction and admixture of the Renaissance element. To this interesting part of his subject he has scarcely done justice. He might have more distinctly brought out and elucidated such facts as these: that simultaneously, and often in close connexion with, that compromise between the Gothic and Renaissance styles, which goes by the name of the Elizabethan, churches continued to be built whose style is distinctly mediæval; that later than this, about the time of the Restoration, and when the High Churchism of Laud's school was in vogue, church architecture indicated in many instances a "revival" of the middle-pointed style; that cottages and other buildings, which scarcely represent architectural ideas, in many parts of England varied so little from their early character that it is impossible for the ordinary observer to distinguish between the work of the 14th and of the 15th century; that Gothic forms constantly reappear in the furniture of the 18th century, even when classical taste is supposed to give the law of fashion. Thus the history of modern Gothic architecture is partly the history of a *survival*. It is more conspicuously, however, the history of a *revival*; and this revival may be said to have commenced with Horace Walpole, whose name, moreover, at once suggests the most interesting characteristic of the whole subject—the connexion, namely, between the literary and artistic and the architectural movement. To this point Mr. Eastlake has done little justice. Both in the eighteenth and in the present century, in the time of Horace Walpole and of Sir Walter Scott, of Strawberry Hill and the Martyrs' Memorial, the intellectual movements involved were of so vital a character that the change of fashion in any one of the arts can alone be adequately discussed by viewing it in connexion with collateral changes in its sister arts, and further in connexion with the entire range of current modes of thought. In treating each period Mr. Eastlake does not, indeed, ignore the wider range of his subject, but he treats it so inadequately that it is obvious he has failed to appreciate its legitimate extent. He mentions the pseudo-mediævalism of the "Castle of Otranto" as the prototype of Mrs. Ratcliffe, and ultimately of Sir Walter Scott, but makes no attempt to attribute its author's mediævalist tendencies to any current ideas. Of Chatterton he makes no mention, though it might be thought that no history could be more apposite than that of a boy inspired by intimate association with a Gothic building to devote his genius to the creation of fictitious mediæval literature; whose association, too, with Walpole was an obvious link in the connexion of Mr. Eastlake's subject.

In a treatise on "Work and Wages, practically illustrated," Mr. Thomas



Brassey has collected a store of most valuable facts. His own observation and his father's experience have given him opportunities which have been turned to good account. The most interesting chapters perhaps are those which deal with the questions whether increased wages and shorter hours do or do not imply greater cost of production, whether wages have risen more rapidly in England than in other countries, and whether the commercial progress of other countries has of late been greater than that of our own. Upon the first point the result arrived at by Mr. Brassey will perhaps astonish some readers. "Daily wages," he says, "are no criterion of the actual cost of executing works or of carrying out manufacturing operations. On the contrary, experience teaches that there is a most remarkable tendency to equality in the actual cost of work throughout the world." This result is in part due to the superior diligence, skill, and energy on the part of the workmen which usually accompany a higher rate of wages, and in part to the stimulus which dear labour gives to the invention of machinery. To cite a few out of the many instances adduced:—In making the North Devon railway the labourers were at first paid 2*s.* a day, afterwards 3*s.* a day. The work was done more cheaply at the latter rate than at the former. On the main drainage works in Oxford-street the wages of the bricklayers were at first 6*s.* a day and afterwards 10*s.* The cost of construction per cubic yard was actually less after the wages had been raised than it was at first. On the Paris and Rouen railway the cost of a cutting made by English labourers who were paid 5*s.* a day was lower per cubic yard than that of an adjacent cutting made by French labourers at 2*s.* 6*d.* a day. Mr. Brassey repeatedly and emphatically warns working-men not to peril their own prosperity as well as that of their employers by insisting on too high wages or too short hours. It is certain that such demands may be pushed to a point at which they could not be conceded without inflicting serious injury upon trade. A strike would probably never take place if the workmen were aware of the state of trade, and the real position of their employer's affairs. If their demands were shown to be such as the masters could not grant without working at a loss, the men would see the uselessness of urging them. If they were such as might be granted, and the business still carried on at a fair profit, the masters would see the uselessness of refusing them. But then there is the obvious difficulty of determining what is a fair profit. It is to co-operation that Mr. Brassey looks to give the men the knowledge they want. For this purpose it is not necessary that co-operation should supersede private enterprise. All that is required is that it should coexist with it to an extent sufficient to furnish workmen with "a standard by which they can determine the fair rate of wages in their trade. They will know that they cannot expect from their employers a rate of pay exceeding that in the co-operative establishments, where the workmen themselves sit in judgment on the relative claims of capital and labour."

"Essays and Lectures on Social and Political Subjects." By H Fawcett and Millicent Garrett Fawcett.—In this volume Mr. Fawcett discusses various questions connected with pauperism, and explains what is in his view the right thing to be done with the House of Lords. Mrs. Fawcett dilates on the various wrongs of women, and moreover sets forth, with the zeal of a thoroughgoing disciple, the merits of Mr. Hare's scheme of representation. Undoubtedly she has added strength to one favourite argument

of the supporters of female franchise. She can write clearly and argue logically, and there is no fault to find with the style and temper of her performance. Perhaps both Mr. and Mrs. Fawcett are a little too certain of their own infallibility, and too much convinced that the very last word upon political and philosophical questions has been said by Mr. Mill and Mr. Herbert Spencer. A certain confident dogmatism is characteristic of the Radical school, to which both writers belong, and their opponents will be apt to think that it is due rather to intellectual narrowness than to their having completely exhausted all possible objections to their theories. It is wonderful how simple all questions become when you have unhesitatingly accepted the platform of an extreme party.

Mr. W. R. Greg has republished some of his detached essays under the title of "Enigmas of Life." His topics deal with the condition of man both as to his eternal and his temporal prospects. Though not an orthodox believer, Mr. Greg holds to many beliefs which extreme thinkers of the present day have abandoned, and he never speaks offensively of the religious belief of others. His discussions on a personal God and a future life are most eloquent and impressive, and would form a better basis for Christian teaching than much of the cut-and-dried theology of the pulpit. In regard to sublunary matters, Mr. Greg discusses some questions which are likely to occupy the attention of the ablest thinkers for many generations to come. All that the present generation can do is to state them clearly, collect a few facts which may help to elucidate them in future, and hand them on to its successors. What is to be the future of the human race? What are the great obstacles in the way of progress? What are the best means of surmounting these obstacles? Such, in a rough statement, are some of the problems which are more or less present to Mr. Greg's mind; and although he does not pretend to discuss them fully, he makes a great many observations about them, always expressed in a graceful style, frequently eloquent, and occasionally putting old subjects in a new light, and recording the results of a large amount of reading and inquiry. On the whole, his views have a strong colour of optimism. Though pointing out the many evils and discouraging symptoms of human society, he believes that a glorious future is in store for the race.

In "Thoughts for the Times," the Rev. H. R. Haweis shows us that he is truly a son of his Times. He sets his horses to their pace, and delights in showing us how near the edge a modern liberal clergyman can drive. Flourishing his whip triumphantly, he starts with the assertion that there ought to be no fixed dogmas in religion. Doctrine, faith, and morals are all to be progressive. Even if any dogma be true, it will require to be revised, restated, and newly adapted to the wants of each succeeding generation. A certain underlying truth, it is conceded, may be concealed under all religious definitions; but nothing is rigidly or absolutely fixed. The truths of religion are not, as all Churches have supposed them to be, matters of explicit revelation from God to man; but rather matters of human speculation, induction, and discovery. We have "to take the facts of the world, to take the history of the world, to take the knowledge we have acquired about the world and human nature, and then to reason from these obvious standpoints to the Author of the world, and the relations which may subsist between that invisible and mysterious Author, Framer, Co-ordinator—call Him what you will—and the intelligent beings by whom we are surrounded." Accordingly,

Mr. Haweis is at open war with all creeds, articles, and formularies alike; and, so far as concerns his own Church, he draws a humorous picture of the attempts of our ecclesiastical judges and courts of final appeal to "stretch and strain and explain away formulas." "You know," he says, "how the poor judges have been at their wits' end to interpret the doctrines of the Church, and to interpret the laws of the Church, so as to avoid the necessity of excommunicating everybody all round, or coming into hopeless collision with common sense." At the same time, with much inconsistency, Mr. Haweis glories in his pure Erastianism. "I am under the control of the State," he declares in one place; "all the clergy of the National Church are under the State, and therefore they ought to obey the State." It would seem to follow that should Mr. Haweis be dealt with, unfortunately, as Mr. Voysey was, he will have no ground of complaint, on his own showing.

Mr. Sabine Baring Gould belongs to that type of High Church professors whose theological opinions would seem to be matter of fancy, caprice, "play," so to speak, rather than of serious conviction, whether of heart or intellect. He loves oddities and paradoxes; he is combative with all the weapons of a light-skirmisher, and seems to be much more in joke than in earnest in half the propositions he advances. He has a natural and genuine sympathy with the tastes of antiquarianism, which, with what we should call a flimsy quality of imagination, form at least two-thirds of his ecclesiastical composition. His "Legends of Old Testament Characters" consist of a collection of the Talmudic and Mahometan fictions which have clustered round certain Scripture individualities. But the work is carelessly done. Mr. Baring Gould does not set out with any definite plan of treatment; his views are crude and inconsistent. Sometimes he seems to imply that the stories he deals with have a scientific relation to the thoughts and language of the early nations, sometimes he takes them as meaningless, or even literally credible.

Mr. Ralston, of the British Museum, has given us a very pleasant and useful book on "The Songs of the Russian People, as illustrative of Slavonic Mythology and Russian Social Life." His subject has the merit of being a novel one, and it is to be hoped that he will yet make a good deal more of it. The present volume deals chiefly with the lyric poetry of the Russian peasantry. Mr. Ralston's unrhymed translations are accompanied with very learned and interesting disquisitions on mythology and social customs. The Slavonic ideas on the condition of the soul after death are curious, and betray but little sign of being affected by the teaching of the Church. But the most striking point about them is their close approximation to the old Greek superstitions, which are familiar to us through literature, but can be held by the illiterate Russian peasantry only as an heirloom of primitive Aryan tradition. Thus the soul after death has to cross a sea to the spirit-world, and the modern Charon still requires his passage-money as of old. The abode of the dead, when once reached, reminds us strongly of the Elysian Fields and the Garden of the Hesperides; but while the latter are beyond the setting sun in the West, the Russian "Rai" is the abode of the Eastern sun. The trees with golden fruit adorn both alike. The old Slavonian dead prolonged after death the characteristics of their life on earth, just as Ulysses found to be the case with Achilles. Again, the Slavonians very generally regard the butterfly as an emblem of the soul, reminding us at once of Psyche with her butterfly wings. And this coincidence is the more striking because

the emblem is by no means an obvious, but rather an arbitrary, one. Other conceptions also bear a more remote analogy to those held by the Greeks. And as the ethnological connexion between the Slavonians and the Greeks is obvious, so it will probably become more and more clear that the ideas of the ancient Greeks in mythology, politics, and religion have left their mark on Slavonic tradition.

"Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries: their Age and Uses." By James Ferguson, D.C.L., F.R.S.—Criticism has pronounced that this work is shallow and untrustworthy, that the writer is unequal to the investigation he has set himself to undertake; that he has no scholarly discernment of authorities; that he quotes at second-hand, often from ephemeral and futile books, and knows not how to weigh evidence; consequently, that the vigour and acuteness which Mr. Ferguson undoubtedly possesses lead to no satisfactory result; and that the student would gain little useful information from the essay before us, or, at all events, would run the chance of imbibing as much error as truth.

Very different is the verdict passed on "The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain." By John Evans, F.R.S., &c. —Here the author sustains an already high reputation. The critical skill displayed in the treatment of his materials is not less conspicuous than the industry which he has brought to bear upon them, or the wealth of opportunities which the study of years has placed at his command. Though limiting the scope of his survey to the prehistoric remains of the British isles, he has shown that his knowledge and research, far from being restricted to the insular class of objects, include the widest range of prehistoric antiquity, enabling him to illustrate his immediate argument by analogies from every quarter of the globe, as well as by the light of every cognate science. He has even brought his personal experience to bear upon the subject, having taken lessons in the art from the flint-knappers of Suffolk, who to this day, our readers may be surprised to learn, export tons of flints for old-pattern guns, or as "strike-a-lights," chiefly to the East and to Brazil. Mr. Evans goes minutely into the process of manufacture, showing how, even in the absence of metallic tools, the mystery of flaking and chipping from the flint core is to be effected. By dexterous blows from a rounded pebble, flakes could, he found, be produced which it was impossible to distinguish from those made with a hammer of bronze or iron. He has accumulated from his reading abundant notices of the early knowledge and use of flints as the source of fire, from the well-known passages in Pliny and Virgil to the latest reports of voyagers and ethnologists. Classical evidence and the multifarious relics of early art which fill our museums combine to prove the identity in point of manufacture and usage at some time or other which prevailed among mankind all the world over, whether from the independent development of a common instinct, or from ancestral use spreading from a common centre. There is scarce a nook or corner of the earth which has been heedfully explored where weapons or tools of stone approximately like in type have not been found. Not that even identity of form or material is to be taken to indicate identity of age. On the contrary, nothing is more clear than that the various periods of stone manufacture overlap each other in time, some of the most primitive processes remaining actually in use among savage tribes in our day. "The antiquity, then," says Mr. Evans, "that must be assigned to the implements

in the highest beds of River Drift may be represented (1) by the period requisite for the excavation of the valleys to their present depth; plus (2), the period necessary for the dying out and immigration of a large part of the Quaternary or Post-Glacial fauna and the coming in of the Prehistoric; plus (3), the Polished Stone Period; plus (4), the Bronze, Iron, and Historic Periods, which three latter in this country occupy a space of probably not less than three thousand years."

Mr. Evans has been fortunate in engaging the services of a wood-engraver who has shown singular skill in the representation of the various objects of stone, to the number of nearly five hundred, which illustrate the volume. Not only the form, but the nature, of the material is set before the eye with praiseworthy distinctness, the flaking or cleavage of the flint being exceptionally well marked.

We welcome a new edition (the eleventh) of Sir Charles Lyell's "Principles of Geology" as an evidence that that veteran leader of science is able still to interest himself in the researches which have been the occupation of his life. For with Sir Charles Lyell a new edition does not mean a simple reproduction of what has been before the public. Growing in fulness and accuracy with the growth of experience and observation in every region of the world, the work has incorporated with itself each established discovery, and has been modified by every hypothesis of value which has been brought to bear upon, or been evolved from, the most recent body of facts. Its successive editions thus stand as a series of landmarks, indicating the gradual expansion or rise of geological knowledge during a lifetime happily prolonged over at least two average generations. In the impression now before us the veteran geologist might be expected to have comparatively little to add by way of novel matter to the thoroughly revised and largely re-written edition, the tenth in order, which he put forth scarcely more than three years ago, separated as that edition was by an interval of fifteen years from that immediately preceding it. There are, notwithstanding, sundry points of importance which call for notice as contributing to the facts comprised within his general scope, as well as enhancing the unity and force of the argument which runs through the length and breadth of his system. These additions have reference in the main to three large questions which may be said just now to engross among them the most lively and active interest among students of nature. The first of these questions is that of volcanic action, as manifested especially in geysers, or as diversely affected by water. The second is the latest phase assumed by the discussion upon the Darwinian theory. And the third is the existence and distribution of oceanic life at great depths, as determined by recent dredging operations.

The prominent treatises of scientific philosophy for the year have been those of Mr. Darwin and of Dr. Bastian. In his new work, "The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals," Mr. Darwin pursues the bent of his previous philosophy, seeking not so much to confirm the descent of man from a brute prototype, a theorem which to his own mind, he says, needs no further confirmation, as to furnish a new argument in favour of the several races being descended from a single parent-stock, which must have been almost completely human in structure, and to a large extent in mind, before the period at which the races diverged from each other. He holds, for example, that the laughter which now universally among men signifies some kind of

pleasure or enjoyment, must have been practised "by our progenitors long before they deserved to be called human;" before, therefore, it came to have its present significance; and that it evolved itself gradually from the rude grimace as man evolved himself from brutish nature. Apart, however, from all wider range of theory, "to understand, as far as is possible, the source or origin of the various expressions which may be hourly seen on the faces of the men around us, not to mention even domesticated animals," ought, says our philosopher, to be interesting in itself; and, accordingly, those who like the mere record of facts, without entering upon hypothetical inferences to be drawn from them, may read this volume with profit and with pleasure, merely as a study of the various modes of expression which exist in men and the lower animals—a study enriched by the most diversified illustrations and brightened by all manner of curious anecdotes.

During a space of more than thirty years Mr. Darwin has, with exemplary patience, been accumulating information from all available sources. He has observed infants, as exhibiting many emotions with extraordinary force and simplicity; and he has most ingeniously deduced some of our most complex expressions from their earliest cries. He has studied the insane, as being liable to the strongest passions and as giving uncontrolled vent to them. He has been permitted by the kindness of a French physician, Dr. Duchenne, to make free use of some valuable experiments on the artificial production of various expressions by galvanizing the facial muscles. He has examined the expression of emotions in great works of art, but it is remarkable that he has found on the whole that great painters and sculptors subordinate accuracy to beauty, and he has not profited by their aid as much as he expected. He has made most interesting inquiries respecting the prevalence of the same modes of expression among the various races of mankind, especially among those who have associated little with Europeans. For this purpose he circulated a number of queries and has received thirty-six answers from different observers, several of them missionaries, or protectors of aborigines. It follows from the information thus acquired that the same state of mind is expressed throughout the world with remarkable uniformity—a fact, as he observes, in itself interesting as evidence of the close similarity in bodily structure and mental disposition of all the races of mankind. In the last place, he has attended closely to the expression of the several passions in some of the commoner animals, and he believes observation on this point to be of paramount importance, as we may be sure that such expressions are not conventional, and we are less likely to be biased by our imagination.

As the result of his observation, Mr. Darwin lays down three Principles, which he considers account for most of the expressions and gestures involuntarily used by man and the lower animals under the influence of various emotions and sensations. The first he calls "The Principle of Serviceable Associated Habits." Certain complex actions are of direct or indirect service, in order to relieve or gratify certain sensations and desires, and whenever the same state of mind is produced, however feebly, there is a tendency through the force of habit and association for the same movements to be performed, even though they may not then be of the least use. The second Principle is that of "Antithesis." Certain states of mind, according to the first principle, tend to certain habitual actions. Now, when a directly opposite state of mind is induced, there is a strong and involuntary tendency to perform movements

of a directly opposite nature, although these are of no use. The third Principle is that of "Actions due to the Constitution of the Nervous System, independently from the first of the Will, and independently to a certain extent of Habit." More briefly, it is the Principle of the direct action of the Nervous System. When the sensorium is strongly excited, nerve force is generated in excess, and must expend itself in some direction. There is so much superfluous electricity, so to speak, in the machine, and it escapes by the most convenient conductor. Mr. Darwin first discusses these Principles generally, and then applies them in detail first to animals and then to the various emotions of man.

To illustrate these principles, Mr. Darwin goes into a great variety of curious physiognomical and other observations, which to the general reader will make his book extremely amusing, whether or not its doctrines may be considered fanciful. Certainly the bearing of his illustrations upon his principles will, in many cases, by no means pass without challenge. Mr. Darwin is not free from the philosopher's tendency to make the most of appearances in his favour and to ignore opposing evidence. Devoted to the establishment of a materialistic theory, he affords one among the many instances of the present day of the faulty side of great concentrative powers. Man cannot give himself wholly to a double series of observations. If he makes the silver side of the shield the one object of his contemplation, he forgets, or disbelieves, the existence of the golden side.

Let us suppose for a moment that science succeeds theoretically in reducing man to the condition of those "early progenitors" whom Mr. Darwin is so fond of speaking and bringing up on all occasions: let us give ourselves time to assimilate all the consequences of such a theory down to the Atheism which some (not all) suppose to be its consequence. Then turn the tables; dwell on all the moral and intellectual aspects of man's nature, his affection, his imagination, his religious instincts, and apply the spiritual key. Let each solution be judged by its fruits, and shall we not come to the confession that to accept our being as complex and our faculties as limited is, at least, a less straining effort than to attempt an explanation of the marvellous whole on one logical system?

"Our early progenitors" are cited by Mr. Darwin with a persistency which becomes almost tedious, especially as we find them brought in sometimes, even on his own ground, with too much licence of assumption: but the progenitors he deals with in the present volume are a great deal too far down in the scale of existence for the contemplation of Dr. Bastian, whose work on "The Beginnings of Life," following up a treatise he had published some months previously, is the other great scientific publication of the year.

Dr. Bastian, naturally enough from his point of view, chafes a little at the reluctance which some scientific men—who are content to trace the pedigree of man, not merely to apes, but to the simplest conceivable organisms, even to formless protoplasm itself—have shown to accept experiments which carry back the history of life yet another step, and bridge over the gulf between what we have been accustomed to call living and non-living matter.

His experiments have followed three main lines of investigation. One class of observations is directed to the investigation of the transformations which matter actually living or taken direct from a living organism may undergo. A second class deals with the evolution of life from the *débris* of formerly

living plants or animals. A third class is directed to the inquiry whether life can be developed from matter containing the organic elements, after it has been reduced to a crystalline form.

We confine ourselves here to the second class of observations, which brings Dr. Bastian in collision with the theories of M. Pasteur.

Pasteur's theory was broadly this—that in every instance in which life had appeared in an organic solution it sprang from germs which had either been allowed to remain alive in the fluid under experiment, or else had fallen into it from the surrounding air. His experiments seemed at first to go far towards proving his position. He did show, beyond question, that the presence of ordinary air would encourage the formation of bacteria in fluids which produced none when exposed only to air which had been calcined or filtered through wool. This proved, at least, that there was something in the air capable of being burnt or filtered out, which tended to promote the evolution of bacteria. He assumed, not unnaturally, that this unknown something was the bacterium egg or germ, and he explained all the positive results obtained by himself and others, on the hypothesis that these germs had fallen, as in most of these experiments they might have fallen, into the fluid from the air.

The question proposed by Dr. Bastian, as by many previous investigators, was whether such solutions could of themselves evolve life without the presence of extraneous germs. That life will under some conditions appear in some organic solutions has been recognized for centuries. That under other conditions and with other solutions no vital evolution takes place has long been equally well established; and at the time when Dr. Bastian commenced his work it was almost universally believed in the scientific world that Pasteur had succeeded in demonstrating the reason why negative results were obtained in some cases, and positive results in others.

By a careful series of experiments, conducted in a Torricellian vacuum, Dr. Bastian has satisfied himself not only that the panspermic notion of Pasteur is a fallacy, but that the bacteria which he himself saw time after time in his hermetically-sealed tubes were the genuine products of the once living matter which his fluids held in solution: and, accordingly, he claims to have established that once living matter is capable, even after having been boiled down into a solution, of evolving living organisms *de novo*—i.e. without the presence of previously living germs.

The third class of experiments which we have mentioned led to less decisive results. Having satisfied himself as to the capacity of organic solutions to develop life, Dr. Bastian next attacked crystalline solutions in a similar way. The results were remarkable, and the experimenter does not disguise his own expectations that when the subject is more fully worked out, the evolution of life out of crystalline solutions will have to be recognized as an established fact; but at present the actual results are not altogether sufficient to prove it in the face of certain contradictory appearances: e.g. Dr. Bastian ascertained that fungus spores and actual fungi might often be found in the interior of the crystals from which he made his solutions.

From the primordial crystalline solution to the finished faculty of imagination—from Dr. Bastian's Torricellian vacuum let us step into the Poet Laureate's study—from whence have recently issued two more Idylls founded on the "Morte d'Arthur," under the titles of "Gareth and Lynette," and "The Last Tournament." The latter poem, however, having appeared



in the pages of the *Contemporary Review* a year previously, we shall speak only of the first.

Gareth was "the last tall son of Lot and Bellicent;" his brothers were at Arthur's court, and he himself burned to be a knight; but his mother would not let him go, keeping him at home to console her for the loss of her other sons, and to cheer a life dreary with the dotage of his father, Lot, once a stout Baron, but who now

"Beside the hearth  
Lies like a log, and all but smouldered out, . .  
A yet warm corpse, and yet unburiab."

After long and ingenious pleading with his mother, Gareth gets his way; but the conditions she makes are such as she hopes will soon bring him back in disgust:—

"Prince, thou shalt go disguised to Arthur's hall,  
And hire thyself to serve for meats and drinks  
Among the scullions and the kitchen knaves,  
And those that hand the dish across the bar.  
Nor shalt thou tell thy name to any one,  
And thou shalt serve a twelvemonth and a day."

He takes with him two companions from among his father's retainers. Their first view of Camelot, Arthur's famous capital, is finely described:—

"So, when their feet were planted on the plain  
That broaden'd toward the base of Camelot,  
Far off they saw the silver-misty morn  
Rolling her smoke around the royal mount,  
That rose between the forest and the field.  
At times the summit of the high city flash'd;  
At times the spires and turrets half-way down  
Prick'd thro' the mist; at times the great gate shone  
Only, that open'd on the field below:  
Anon, the whole fair city had disappear'd."

When at Arthur's court, Gareth is placed at his own desire in the scullery and does "all kind of service with a noble ease" among the "thralls." His kitchen service had lasted only a month, when his mother, "saddening in her childless castle," released him from his vow and sent him arms, upon which he told Arthur his story and begged to be a knight. The calm and virtuous despot, imposing among other vows that of "utmost obedience to the King," made him a knight in secret, Lancelot only knowing, and promised him the first quest, which was not long in presenting itself, for—

"That same day there past into the hall  
A damsel of high lineage, and a brow  
May blossom, and a cheek of apple blossom,  
Hawk eyes; and lightly was her slender nose  
Tip-tilted like the petal of a flower."

The damsel with the turn-up nose, as we are afraid it must be translated into plain English, is Lynette. Her demand is the release of her sister, besieged in Castle Perilous. Expecting Lancelot to be her champion, she is indignant

when Gareth claims the quest; but his kitchen disguise is soon thrown off, and "Gareth, ere he parted, flashed in arms." The ride of Gareth and Lynette to Castle Perilous is full of Tennysonian description; and of this episode, as of the poem in general, we may say that it is charming in diction, though sometimes extravagantly quaint, and in illustration rich, though often far-fetched. After quarrels and adventures by the way, they come at last to Castle Perilous, and Gareth engages in succession the four knights who besiege it and Lynette's sister, the Lady Lyonors, more beautiful than she. The combats with the knights are admirably related; there is a variety in each of them, and a surprise at last. No one can keep a reader in suspense at the turns of a fight better than Mr. Tennyson, or bring it to a close with more telling effect.

"He drave his enemy backward down the bridge,  
The damsel crying, 'Well stricken, kitchen-knave!'  
Till Gareth's shield was cloven; but one stroke  
Laid him that clove it grovelling on the ground."

Of course Lynette becomes duly enamoured of her "kitchen-knave," but, strange to say, the poet leaves it doubtful whether Gareth wedded her or her rescued sister:—

"And he that told the tale in elder times  
Says that Sir Gareth wedded Lyonors;  
But he that told it later says Lynette."

Here is a touch of evening description which is Tennyson all over:—

"Nigh upon that hour  
When the lone hern forgets his melancholy,  
Lets down his other leg, and, stretching, dreams  
Of goodly supper in the distant pool."

Mr. Morris's production, "Love is enough; or, the Freeing of Pharamond," is, next to the Poet Laureate's, the most conspicuous contribution to verse which we have to record. Mr. Morris has thrown his story into one of the old "moralities," or mystery plays. He treats it in the Middle English unrhymed and alliterative metre, that known to students through the "Vision of Piers Ploughman," relieving it with songs and with occasional dialogues and monologues in heroics or octosyllabics. He epitomizes the "argument" of his poem as thus: "This story, which is told by way of a morality set before an Emperor and Empress newly wedded, sheweth of a King whom nothing but Love might satisfy, who left all to seek Love, and having found it, found this also, that he had enough, though he lacked all else." Mr. Morris's handling of his material is dexterous, his versification is sweet, and he seems to us to have struck a more real chord of emotion in some parts of this poem than in his earlier, pleasing, though somewhat dead-level imaginings. As a specimen, we may refer to the passage describing Azalais watching by the sleeping King until her kiss awakes him, ending—

"Friend, I may not forbear; we have been here together;  
My hand on thy hand has been laid, and thou tremblest.  
Think now, if this May sky should darken above us,  
And the death of the world in this minute should part us—  
Think, my love, of the loss if my lips had not kissed thee.  
And forgive me my hunger of no hope begotten."

To say that "Fifine at the Fair" is perhaps the most enigmatical of all Mr. Browning's poems will warn the reader that no easy task is before him if he attempts to grapple with the volume. Fifine is the dancing-girl of a travelling mountebank's show, which visits a fair at Pornic, on the coast of Brittany, and the reflections which she directly or indirectly suggests to the husband of Elvire occupy the volume of nearly two thousand lines. She and her troop represent, among other things, the lawless or abnormal element of life; and by a natural transition, the inalienable independence of every separate personality. The idea finds expression, if not elucidation, in the following lines:—

"No creature's made so mean  
But that some way it boasts, could we investigate,  
Its supreme worth; fulfils by ordinance of fate  
Its momentary task, gets glory all its own,  
Tastes triumph in the world, pre-eminent, alone.  
Where is the single grain of sand, 'mid millions heap'd  
Confusedly on the beach, but, did we know, has leap'd,  
Or will leap, would we wait, i' the century, some once  
To the very throne of things? Earth's brightest for the nonce,  
When sunshine shall impinge on just that grain's facette  
Which fronts him fullest, first, returns his ray with jet  
Of promptest praise, thanks God best in Creation's name."

The great majority of readers, who may think the discovery of the meaning of "Fifine" not worth the labour, may nevertheless find gratification in the prologue and epilogue, both of which probably bear some kind of relation to the main poem.

Among minor poems, "Olrigr Grange," by Hermann Kunst (an obvious *nom de guerre*), has obtained very favourable critical notice.

We may likewise mention the "Legends of St. Patrick," by a well-known versifier, Aubrey de Vere; "Lady Jane Grey," a tragedy, by Mr. Ross Neil; and "Hannibal," a drama, by Professor Nichols.

Among Professor Conington's MSS. was found an almost finished commentary and prose translation of the "Satires of Persius," together with a very scholarly and valuable lecture on that poet which he had already delivered at Oxford.

Besides this, the most noticeable English versions of the classics published this year have been Lord Ravensworth's "Æneid of Virgil," in blank verse, a not altogether successful effort; and Mr. Cranstoun's "Tibullus," a very creditable achievement, from which we extract the following stanzas, a rendering of a pathetic passage in the heathen poet's First Book, Tenth Elegy:—

"Ah me! why court dark death in war? all round  
It creeps unseen and silent, ever near:  
Below, no crops—no vines—but the fierce hound,  
And the grim boatman of the Stygian mere.  
"And there, with sunken chaps and half-burnt hair,  
By the dark lake the wan-faced tenants roam;  
Far happier he, who with his own may share  
In age and competence the joys of home.

"He tends the sheep, his son the lambs, and aye  
 His loving wife her weary husband cheers.  
 So may I live, and see my hair grow grey,  
 And tell, when old, the deeds of early years."

From among the well-stocked library of prose fiction which the year has furnished, we select a few works only for comment.

"Septimius; a Romance of Immortality," is the posthumous work of the great American writer, Nathaniel Hawthorne, but having passed through the hands of a London publisher, may find mention here. It is based on the longing for a never-ending life on earth, felt by a young man of ardent nature, refined culture, and studious habits. Septimius has all that can make existence grand and interesting. What is the use of dying? "'We live so little while,' said Septimius, 'that (always setting aside the effect on a future existence) it is little matter whether we live or no.' 'Little matter!' exclaimed Rose, at first bewildered, then laughing—'little matter, when it is such a comfort to live so pleasant, so sweet!' 'Yes; and so many things to do,' said Robert, 'to make fields yield produce; to be busy among men, and happy among the women folk; to play, work, fight, and be active in many ways.' 'Yes, but so soon stilled, before your activity has come to any definite end,' responded Septimius gloomily. 'I doubt, if it had been left to my choice, whether I should have taken existence on such terms; so much trouble of preparation to live, and then no life at all—a ponderous beginning, and nothing more.'" Into all the weird fancies with which Hawthorne decks his theme we have not space to enter. Throughout, the story is harmoniously consistent in its wild defiance of possibility and probability. Extravagant as any fairy tale in its conception and details, it is cast in a mould as sombre as anything Edgar Poe ever wrote. Yet, unfinished, extravagant, and mournful as it is, it has a fascination that leads one on from scene to scene, dreading yet almost longing to be shocked or surprised again; and one recognizes the workings of, perhaps, the most original mind of this generation, refining with its innate poetry the strange births of a capricious and almost sinister fancy.

There is fine poetical effect in the following passage, where Septimius is described gazing at the corpse of a young man he has slain in battle. "What a change had come over it since, only a few moments ago, he looked at that death-contorted countenance! Now there was a high and sweet expression upon it of great joy and surprise, and yet a quietude diffused throughout as if the peace being so very great was what had surprised him. The expression was like a light gleaming and glowing within him. Septimius had often, at a certain space of time after sunset, looking westward, seen a certain radiance in the sky, the last light of the dead day, that seemed just the counterpart of the death-light in the young man's face. It was as if the youth were just at the gate of Heaven, which, swinging softly open, let the inconceivable glory of the blessed city shine upon his face, and kindle it up with gentle, undisturbing astonishment and purest joy. It was an expression contrived by God's Providence to comfort, to overcome all the dark auguries that the physical ugliness of death inevitably creates, and to prove by the Divine glory on the face that the ugliness is a delusion. It was as if the dead man himself showed his face out of the sky with Heaven's blessing on it, and bade the afflicted be of good cheer, and believe in immortality."

"Middlemarch" is finished. As a didactic novel its execution is first-rate:

but a didactic novel always implies an effort of the mind thoroughly to appreciate, and to read "Middlemarch" is not the lightest nor the most exhilarating employment for the hour of leisure. The wisdom, the truthfulness, the insight of George Eliot are the same as they ever were: perhaps she is more wise, more true, more keen-sighted than ever, but we miss the humour and the variety of "Adam Bede" and the "Mill on the Floss," in the grave protest carried on in "Middlemarch" against the selfishness of humanity and the hollow respectabilities of society.

A few words as to some of the characters. That of Dorothea is very noble, and increases in charm as the story advances. Dorothea is born with the temper and the aspirations of a St. Theresa; to her the destinies of mankind, seen by the light of Christianity, made the solitudes of feminine fashion appear an occupation for Bedlam. She will not ride, because all people cannot afford a horse. She takes no interest in art, because it is the delight of the few beyond the reach of material want. Her strength of opinions, and her propensity to act on them, thus put her from the first at odds with society, which, we are told, expected women to have weak opinions, "while still finding its greatest safeguard in the security that opinions were not acted on." As a foil to these high sentiments, we have her sister Celia, of whom Dorothea says that she never did anything naughty since she was born, and who really never goes contrary to our sense of what is amiable and dutiful in woman; though, not being in the good graces of the author, we are not allowed to find her attractive. Mr. Casaubon represents learning as opposed to science. Bunyan's Mr. Bat's-eyes is not more a personification of qualities than is Dorothea's first choice, with his lean person, blinking eyes, white moles, and formal phrases; with talents chiefly of the burrowing kind, carrying his taper among the tombs of the past in diligent exploration; his book, the "Key to all the Mythologies," itself a tomb. Altogether he is a striking figure, though now and then the author scarcely shows herself as entirely at home in his surroundings—for example, in his college jealousies and soreness—as we generally find her. Ladislaw, we scarcely know on what reasonable grounds, is a great favourite with the author. He charms Dorothea by qualities exactly the reverse of her husband's; by his passionate prodigality of statement; by his ready understanding of her thoughts, by the sunny brightness of his expression and hair, that seemed to shake out light when he moved his head quickly, "showing poor Mr. Casaubon by contrast altogether rayless;" by his looking an incarnation of the spring, which we must suppose he typifies; by his versatility and quick transitions of mood and feeling. But duty altogether fails in him; he does what he likes to the end of the volume, and is happy by luck, certainly not by desert. Lydgate, on the other hand,—ten times the better man—suffers not only in happiness but in his noblest ambitions, and sinks to the lower level of a good practice and a good income because he marries and is faithful to the vain selfish creature. The characters in the book are so many, and so minutely described, as to furnish forth quite a Portrait Gallery.

Grave didactic protest is certainly not the characteristic of "The Maid of Sker," nor has it in any way to do with the dull respectabilities of ordinary society. Mr. Blackmore in his story transports us for the most part into a world of which we know but little. It is a world where, some ninety years ago, a rough Welsh fisherman, a little girl wafted over the sea, and two wild

Devonshire parsons, combine with a few accessory characters to make an odd hodge-podge of sensational incidents. Nevertheless, let fact or fiction begin or end where they will, the book is exceedingly able, and strikingly original. There is much powerful writing in it, a great deal of dry humour, and some touches of rare pathos. We wonder if society in Devon ninety years ago was really as Mr. Blackmore represents it, and whether such a man as Parson Chowne was a possibility? His conduct throws into the shade the clerical eccentricities of his neighbour, Parson Rambone, who held the champion's belt for wrestling and bruising against all Western England. For Chowne by his crimes makes himself the terror of his neighbourhood, and revenges himself by means equally violent and commonplace on all who were unlucky enough to provoke his resentment. He fired the farmers' ricks, had his enemies maimed or murdered, bullied and outraged successive bishops, kept a pack of ferocious hounds about him, and a gang of naked gipsies on his property. His crimes were notorious; hundreds of times he placed himself within reach of the law; he had accomplices in all ranks; and his coachman admitted, in conversation with Mr. Llewellyn, that he had committed arson repeatedly by his master's orders; yet Chowne was never reached by the law, nor did he greatly lose caste among his equals.

"Lord Kilgobbin" calls for mention as the last published work of the lamented Charles Lever. It is a story partly of Irish, partly of foreign life, a member of that later series of his productions whose characteristics may be summed up as consisting of sparkling pictures of society, with the scenes laid chiefly abroad; pictures filled with statesmen, diplomatists, political and social adventurers, Queen's messengers, and minnows of the Foreign Office fancying themselves Tritons. The dedication to the memory of the writer's wife is doubly touching in connexion with the event he therein anticipates, and which occurred so soon after he had penned it: "To the memory of one whose companionship made the happiness of a long life, and whose loss has left me helpless, I dedicate these volumes, written in breaking health and broken spirits. The task that was once my joy and pride I have lived to find associated with my sorrow; it is not then without a cause I say, I hope this effort may be my last."

In "Hermann Agha," an eastern narrative, Mr. W. Gifford Palgrave tells the tale of a Saxon youth who is carried off by Turkish marauders, and sold to the Pasha of Bagdad. He falls in love with a maiden of the highest Arab lineage, Zahra by name, and seeks to rescue her from abduction. Cruelly enough, he leaves the *dénouement* in suspense. For those who have ceased to race for the "plot" of a story in companion with the accessories of description or of character, it may be enough attraction to observe that Mr. Palgrave is a master of the Oriental picturesque.

Besides these we may enumerate, as stories which have more or less taken the public fancy, "Fair to See," by Laurence Lockhart; "Off the Skelligs," by Jean Ingelow; "Good-bye, Sweetheart," by Rhoda Broughton; "Strange Adventures of a Phaeton," by William Black—all being, according to the modern fashion, reprints from chapters that have already appeared in the pages of some periodical.

Of a somewhat different character are "Erewhon; or, Over the Range," and "Baron Grimbosh, Governor of Barataria." These are not stories, properly speaking, but fictions of ideal satire, whose provocations we may perhaps trace to the "Coming Race" of last year, or, farther back still, to "Ginx's Baby."

What they respectively satirize it is not always easy to say. "Erewhon" is the best of the two. It is well written, and seems to have force here and there; but somehow the humour is laboured, if humour it can be called, and the moral is unfathomable. The favourite idea, which is worked out elaborately, is the "Erewhonian" practice of counter-changing the ordinary methods of treating moral and physical disease. Thus, a man accused of being in a consumption is tried before the judge and sentenced to imprisonment; a perpetrator of felony on an enormous scale is doctored and sympathized with as an interesting kleptomaniac. "Baron Grimbosh," as Governor of Barataria, *alias* England, under the Grand Llama, finds things all wrong, and humbug in the ascendant. He addresses himself to the easy task of making everything perfect and everybody happy. Of course he fails. Each individual, with whom he agrees on the one point which that individual seeks to push forward, looks on the Baron as a sage; but they all consider him an ass in entertaining views of his own for the good of mankind, and on the subject of the rights and wrongs of women. Ultimately, Grimbosh is dethroned by a democratic revolution. The Grand Llama inclines to hang him; but as Grimbosh happened to mix for the Llama a super-excellent salad, his Grandiosity, after eating it, raised the Baron to the higher rank of a Duke. In respect to granting titles, the odd idea turns up of conferring them, for distinction sake, on those who make a figure in practising and upholding various sorts of rascality. The confirmed drunkard is to have the right of being seriously addressed as "Your Beastly Drunkenness;" the miser may be legally written to and inscribed in the "Court Directory" as "Your Meanness;" a slanderer, "Your Villainy;" a man who exceeds his income and cannot pay his debts, is fairly entitled to the distinction of "Your Roguery;" and the adulterator of the people's food, to that of "Your Eggregious Rascality." It is clear that a viceroy who would thus call men and things by their proper names was not likely to give rise to the chorus of "Long to reign over us." Grimbosh, in Barataria, is surrounded by certain counsellors and others, whose identity is transparent through their pseudonyms. Pamfoozle, easy, impudent, good-tempered, and sensible, needs not to be called Palmerston. Benoni, scattering smart epigrams, and his friend and patron in the Upper House, Bamboozle, are as recognizable as Pamfoozle or as Bluff, who, in all questions between Barataria and foreign countries, begins by assuming that Barataria is in the wrong. On the whole, the humour of the book is more commendable in intention than in performance.

## ART.

THE year opened with the Exhibition of Old Masters at the Royal Academy Rooms in Burlington House. The collection comprised; as in former years, specimens from all the great European schools of painting—Italian, Spanish, German, Flemish, and Dutch. The English part of the collection contained admirable portraits by Hogarth and Reynolds, Gainsborough and Romney; landscapes from all the periods of Turner's artistic life; others by Constable, Crome, and Cotman; and specimens of many more deceased members of the

Academy—Wilkie, James Ward, Stothard, Newton, Hilton, Etty, Mulready, and others, making a total of twenty-two.

That 1200 drawings should be found worthy of a place in three high-class galleries may be taken in proof, if proof were wanting, that the English school of water-colour painting has lost little of its ancient repute. It may be impossible to replace such men as De Wint, Turner, Copley Fielding, Hunt, and Cox; and yet, when a vacancy occurs in the Old Society in Pall Mall, the number of candidates well qualified by talent and training for membership has of late years been greatly in excess of all former experience. Sir John Gilbert remains true to water-colours, though elected into the Academy; indeed, we scarcely remember a more completely satisfactory composition from this somewhat slashing and offhand painter than that of "Louis XIV transacting business with his Ministers in the Apartments of Madame de Maintenon." The king turns to the lady to ask her opinion, which she gives with modest diffidence; and yet, looking at the picture, we understand how Madame de Maintenon "had concentrated the kingdom in her chamber; there it was that the councils were held, generals appointed, and plans of campaigns laid down." The artist is, as usual, equal to the occasion; the heads preserve a gravity befitting statesmen; even the wigs are historic; the whole picture is carried out with painstaking assiduity; the composition does not once fall into exaggeration, caricature, or coarseness. Another charming picture was produced by Mr. Pinwell on the romantic story of "Gilbert à-Becket's Troth, or the Saracen Maiden entering London at Sundown." Gilbert à-Becket in the Holy Land gained the affections of a Saracen maiden of high degree, who, not being able to live without him, set out for London town, knowing but two words—"London" and "Gilbert." The picture represents the lady, weary and perplexed, near to the city of her pilgrimage as the sun goes down. The road is pleasantly peopled with other wayfarers, who for the most part are aimless and purposeless save for the ends of picture-making. The artist, as usual, is content to pose his figures in pensive, statuesque, motionless attitudes; to all appearance not a person will reach the city ere the gates are shut. The whole scene strikes the eye as a pleasing impossibility, as a romance beyond the reach of reality; hence perhaps the charm. The landscapes displayed the usual diversity. Some had the merit of being literal and prosy; the greater part, however, tended to such poetic effects as may be educed from atmospheric changes, or gained by an ideal or transcendental treatment of colour. The drawing of the year, "A Channel Tug making up to a Dismantled Ship," is the work of Mr. Powell. Once more the artist shows unsurpassed knowledge of wave-forms, when swelling and sweeping under storm-wind. But the colour is poor. Mr. Powell should remember that colour enters even the darkest shade of tempest, and that Turner saw varied harmony in prevailing monotony.

The Institute in this thirty-eighth year of its existence opened a fairly good exhibition, but a certain pinkiness and prettiness, together with a sickly sentiment and a false ideal, still prevailed on the walls.

The Dudley Gallery deserves a word of tribute. The two societies just passed under review are more exclusive than the Academy, but the "General Exhibition" in Piccadilly, as its name implies, is open to all comers. Thus this year, while the Old Water-Colour Society had sixty contributors, and the Institute sixty-nine, the Dudley Gallery opened its doors to nearly four



hundred. We need not say that this tolerant spirit secured exceptional variety for the collection.

The statistics of the Royal Academy Exhibition of this year yield some interesting data. The works admitted were 245 in excess of the total number of last year; in other words, this 104th anniversary showed a maximum never before approached. The tendency since the occupation of the new premises in Piccadilly has not unnaturally been to augment numbers in proportion to the increase in space; so cruel, indeed, is the disappointment when pictures are crowded out that liberal admission may be deemed an act of mercy. The only danger is lest the standard of excellence should be lowered. We are glad to say that this apprehension has proved groundless; in fact, the collection of this year presented the anomaly that while, on the one hand, the highest talent was exceptional, on the other, good average merit, save with a few Academicians and Associates, was all but universal.

The members of the Academy were more moderately represented than heretofore; the 58 contributors produced 194 works, whilst there were no fewer than 861 non-Academicians admitted to share the walls, who contributed 1389 pictures. Among the historical pictures was one of unusual power by the newly-elected member, Sir John Gilbert. The subject was "King Charles I. leaving Westminster Hall after Sentence of Death had been passed." The King, though not quite up to the Vandyck type of dejected dignity and high-born grace, bears himself nobly and quietly. The story is clearly and compactly told; the situation well seized; the action, specially in the hands, has dramatic intensity. The heads too are firmly modelled and forcibly painted. Yet, taken altogether, this oil picture is inferior to the artist's drawings in the Old Water-Colour Society; the pigments are less transparent and lucent, the draperies are wanting in definition, the execution is ragged. An identical subject, "Charles I. leaving Westminster Hall after his Trial," we owe to Mr. Potts, who a year or two ago in the Academy entered the ranks of historic art. The painter here relies for dramatic effect, which, however, he somewhat too painfully and coarsely intensifies, on the strong contrast between Charles, calm in bearing, and the riotous rabble with clay pipes and leather aprons. Mr. Ward is another artist who makes good capital out of the calamities of kings. But the incident he chooses has the misfortune of being crowded together within the narrow confines of a coach, and want of light follows want of space. The subject is impressive, and the treatment is, in more senses than one, weighty. This "Return from Flight" is the return of the French royal family to Paris after their unsuccessful attempt at escape. Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, the Dauphin, Dauphiness, and Princess Elizabeth are all huddled together in "a cumbrous, top-heavy vehicle, which required six horses to draw it. . . . Henceforth the life of the monarch, of the queen, of his family, the throne, and the safety of France were at the mercy of the caprice of the most capricious people." At the window of the coach are seen a clamorous rabble thrusting on the inmates bayonet, dagger, and the red cap of liberty; but the royal family, though fear-stricken, are calm and resigned. The story is told with clenching power; the handling, though occasionally heavy and dense, manages to unite delicacy with force.

A pleasing and sparkling picture was exhibited by Mrs. E. M. Ward, entitled "Mrs. Delaney at Court; the Queen's Lodge, Windsor, in 1786."

The canvas is spangled with colours like a garland of flowers; the eye finds delight, but no repose. The picture wants unity and tone; the gay pigments are not sufficiently modified by shade. And yet in this home gathering, where are seen pleasantly occupied the king, the queen, and the royal children, there are passages supremely well painted; and as a study of character the Academy does not afford a head more striking and expressive than that of dear old Mrs. Delaney, here seated as much at her ease as if in her own parlour.

"A Dream of Fair Women" pleasantly takes us back to the period when Architecture called in the aid of her younger sister, Painting. Mr. Armitage, in this "design for a frieze," groups in one long panorama "the women of the Old Testament," beginning with Eve nude, and ending with Semiramis robed and crowned. Jephtha's daughter, the Queen of Sheba, Judith, and other Biblical characters identified with beauty, dignity, or heroism, are ranged in processional sequence on an elevated plateau looking down upon palm-trees and distant hills. Symbols and accessories, such as a leopard, a leveret, a lamb, or some flower or leaf, which bespeak a character or define a country, are so placed as to add circumstance to the story and completeness to the composition; the purpose being balance, symmetry, and just apportionment of space, which are conditions essential to mural decoration.

Turning to works of the imagination, the Exhibition of 1872 proves the growing power of a school which for some years past has been struggling into life. Mr. Watts, R.A., Mr. Leighton, R.A., Mr. Poynter, A.R.A., Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. W. B. Richmond, and Mr. Dicey, by choice of subject as well as by treatment, tend to an elevation of thought, an ideality and abstraction, wholly foreign to the realism and naturalism to which the vast majority of our painters were committed a few years back. Mr. Watts, who has justly been considered the father of the movement, exhibited his diploma work, taken from the story of Cain and Abel—"My punishment is greater than I can bear." Abel lies dead on the ground; Cain is driven out a fugitive on the face of the earth; a devouring fire descends upon his head; furies in the heavens pour out vengeance. The picture is something more than time present; it has a past and a future; the imagination is carried forward to the wilderness into which the figure rushes headlong. As to the execution, the painter does not rise above his habitual infirmity; the conception is imperfectly carried out; here and there a figure seems little more than a torso; and altogether the work can only be accepted as a magnificent fragment.

"The Lament of Ariadne," by Mr. W. B. Richmond, is, of its kind, one of the most perfect and satisfactory works we have seen for many a year within the Academy. The grand figure, with head upturned in anguish, with arms impetuously thrown into the sky, and robe tossed by the storm, wanders on the wild shore desolate and in despair. The impersonation is as a statue endowed with life; it stands as nature idealized, as an individual made generic, and thus representative of humanity brought to extreme endurance.

"Columbus at Porto Santo," by Mr. Elmore, R.A., is a striking instance of how imagination may impinge on history, how fancy may play around facts, so that the picture produced is not so much a chronicle as a creation. Columbus, with finely-arched brow made for speculation and forecast of the future, stands with his wife upon the shore. They gaze intently on a

barbarous image which the waves have cast on the beach from some undiscovered continent. The two figures, studiously balanced, tell with brilliant force against the clear sky, and throw off the blue sea into illimitable distance. The picture is as carefully painted as it has been cautiously thought out.

The Old Testament furnished the Exhibition with fewer subjects than might have been anticipated, considering that no other volume has yielded to the painter stores more rich and varied. The work in this department which has been most talked of is "Daniel," by Mr. Rivière. The Prophet is represented with hands bound behind his back; deprived of physical power of self-defence, he relies solely on Divine aid. The figure, it must be admitted, is finely conceived. Taken as a whole, however, the picture is no more a religious work than Landseer's "Van Amburgh, the Lion-Tamer."

Mr. Crowe's chief contribution, "Howard succouring the Galley-Slaves at Venice," has the power of *multum in parvo*. Here is the galley afloat, there are the slaves on board, and in the midst of the misery-stricken crowd moves Howard the philanthropist.

Mr. Hodgson, who bids fair before long to win his way into the Academy, is another painter who appears in unusual force; for dry humour and caustic satire "Army Reorganization in Morocco" is eminently noteworthy.

The best among the many boating parties to be found in this year's Exhibition was undoubtedly "Fair, quiet, and sweet Rest," by Mr. Fildes, an artist hitherto chiefly known by book illustrations. The painter leads the fancy in the sunny summer time to a sylvan river where swans and lilies float; soft music steals upon the waters; a youth and maiden join voice and instrument, while two listeners lend their spirits "to the influence of mild-minded melancholy." The river bark pauses on "the downward stream" in a pleasant place of bowering leaves, and the painter has been at great pains to bring as it were the foliage, the water, the boat, and its inmates into musical accord with the song.

In Mr. Walker's "Harbour of Refuge," which represents a chapel and almshouses, the aged inmates of which are sauntering or reposing in a grass-grown quadrangle, the colouring is fine, but perhaps too hot for ordinary tastes. A pleasing contrast is Mr. Leslie's deliciously cool "Elopement."

In Mr. Long's "Suppliants" the mind is carried back more than two centuries to the famous city of Toledo, at the time when the decree had gone forth for the expulsion of the gipsies from Spain. Like the family of Darius at the feet of Alexander in the great picture by Paul Veronese, the suppliants on bended knee crave for mercy. But instead of the dazzling colour of Venice, we have the sombre shadow and the liquorice hue of the school of Seville at the time when Murillo might be seen in the cathedral-square sketching flower-girls and beggar-boys.

Love of country, clanship, love of home, affection for house and family, continue to yield congenial motives to our painters. Scotch artists, of whom Mr. Thomas Faed, R.A., may be taken as a type, are proverbially strong in home affection, and it is interesting to observe how, in such themes as "God's Acre," a naturalism which otherwise might be rude and common is elevated by emotion and sanctified by religion.

The *genre* pictures in the Academy—compositions of the Teniers, Ostade, and Wilkie type—from the smallness of their size and the comparative

insignificance of their subjects, may scarcely obtain the consideration which their art-merit deserves. In this humble department the number of practitioners is large. Mr. Webster, R.A., Mr. Le Jeune, A.R.A., Messrs. George Smith, F. D. Hardy, C. Hunt, J. Clark, J. Faed, A. Provis, W. Weekes, and E. Mulready have all this year produced compositions of great merit in it. Mr. Webster's "Odd and Even" is an excellent specimen.

Among the portraits it is only necessary to mention Mr. Sant's large portrait of "Her Majesty the Queen, with her Grandchildren, the Princes Albert Victor and George and Princess Victoria of Wales;" Mr. Millais' "Hearts are Trumps—the three daughters of W. Armstrong, Esq.;" "Sir James Paget," by the same artist; and "The Lord Poltimore and Hounds," the great achievement of the President.

In the sculpture-room was a bust of Charles Dickens, by Mr. Woolner, which is, we believe, accepted by those who knew Dickens as rendering completely the look most characteristic of his genius. It is certainly the only likeness which, to those who did not know him, conveys an idea adequate to the impression given by his writings.

One of the most interesting events in the Art-history of the year was the opening of the Bethnal Green Museum, and the exhibition within its walls of the famous Hertford Collection, lent to the public by the liberal owner, Sir Richard Wallace. Over a period of more than a quarter of a century the late Marquis amassed ancient and modern pictures, drawings, miniatures, bronzes, snuff-boxes, furniture, Sèvres and other porcelain. These works are of the worth and magnitude of a national rather than of a private collection; their money value is to be estimated not by thousands but by hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling; their art merit finds a parallel only in the palaces of foreign princes or in the museums and cabinets of the art capitals of Europe. The "Hertford Gallery" in the Manchester Exhibition comprised only forty-four of the seven hundred and nine oil pictures now exhibited. A large part indeed of the collection remained in France; priceless possessions, now safe within British territory, have been subject to the perils of war and revolution; and they have been brought to England only within this year by their present owner.

The collection is strongest in Dutch and in modern French pictures. The masters of Holland and of Flanders are present in the following numerical proportions:—Cuyp is represented by eight pictures, Hobbema by five, Maes by four, Metz by six, Mieris by nine, Netscher by four, Steen by four, Teniers by five, Vanderneer by six, A. Vandervelde by three, W. Vandervelde by eight, Wouvermans by five, Rubens by eleven, Rembrandt by eleven, Vandyck by six. The average merit is unusually high; the number of doubtful or inferior works is small.

The Italian school is scanty; the early masters are absent, but there are some attractive specimens of Da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, Carlo Dolce, Canaletti, and others.

Of the Spanish school are several fine works of Murillo and Velasquez.

The English school is strong only in Reynolds and Bonington; how strong may be judged when we say that Bonington, a master of whom no one has ever seen as he desires, is represented by not fewer than eighteen works, and that Reynolds, who, though ever seen, is never exhausted, is present in such rare examples as "Nelly O'Brien," "The

"Strawberry Girl," and "Love me, love my Dog." Three superb portraits hung in a row show that Reynolds could, when he liked, assume the florid manner of Romney; two of the three are fittingly found in the Hertford Gallery—"Lady Elizabeth Seymour-Conway" and "Frances Countess of Lincoln" are daughters of the first Marquis of Hertford.

But the chief strength of the Hertford collection lies in the French school, as will appear from the following enumeration of the chief masters present. Among the painters of last century Greuze is represented by twenty-two works, Watteau by eleven, Boucher by eleven, Lancret by nine, Fragonard by five. The history of the school is brought down to the present day by numerous examples of the most renowned masters. Thus there are thirty-six works by Horace Vernet, thirteen by Bellangé, four by Pils, thirteen by Delaroche, five by Ary Scheffer, two by Delacroix, two by Robert-Fleury, three by Géricault, six by Prud'hon, twelve by Roqueplan, thirty-one by Decamps, fifteen by Meissonier. Of the famous painter of the Revolution, David, there are no specimens.

Besides this unrivalled collection of pictures, the collection abounds in exquisite articles of various kinds of art—snuff-boxes, more than a hundred in number, bronzes, majolica, Sèvres china, Boule tables, and decorative furniture.

The picture galleries in the International Exhibition of this year do not call for much remark; they showed a decided falling off from those of previous years. From this criticism we must, however, make an exception in favour of the Russian contributions. A class of works for which Russia has hitherto obtained little credit, comprising landscapes, domestic scenes, and *genre* generally, was brought to the knowledge of the untravelled Englishman almost for the first time. The famous landscape-painters, MM. Aivasovski, Bogoluboff, and Lagorio, and the well-reputed *genre* painters, M. Peroff, M. Makowski, and Baron M. P. Clodt, give assurance that Russia does not lag behind other nations in the study of life and nature.

We must not conclude our survey of the Art Exhibitions of 1872 without mentioning the beautiful collections of Jewellery and Personal Ornaments exhibited on loan both at the International Exhibition and at the South Kensington Museum. The exquisite sets of jewels, of inestimable value, lent by Lord Dudley to the former exhibition attracted especial attention.

After ten years of preparation, the great "Albert Memorial," the monument raised in honour of the Prince Consort near the Art institutions of South Kensington, to the foundation of which he gave the first impulse, was opened in the July of this year. The design of Sir Gilbert Scott, the architect to whom the erection of the memorial was entrusted, is that of "a colossal statue of the Prince, placed beneath a vast and magnificent shrine or tabernacle, and surrounded by works of sculpture illustrating those arts and sciences which he fostered, and the great undertakings which he originated." The Memorial is essentially personal; the central idea is the statue of the Prince; the main purpose is to illustrate through sculpture the arts and the sciences to which he devoted a large portion of his life. For the first time Architecture has to do suit and service to her younger sister Sculpture, and herein is one of the characteristic differences between the Eleanor Crosses and the Albert Memorial—works which in motive are analogous. No less than two hundred figures in bronze or marble are here congregated—a

number far in excess of any known precedent. But the general scheme is sufficiently logical to save this crowd from confusion. At four corners, immediately in front of the sustaining columns, are four groups, emblematic respectively of "Agriculture," "Manufacture," "Commerce," and "Engineering." Directly beneath, on the four sides of the podium, are 178 portrait figures, arranged after the manner of friezes or panoramas, and designed to set forth the history of Poetry and Music, Painting, Architecture, and Sculpture. Lastly, at the four farthest points of the enclosure, the composition is clenched by large groups emblematic of the four quarters of the world. Here the link of connexion with the Prince, who was not known as a great traveller or circumnavigator, is scarcely at first sight sufficiently obvious. It would appear, however, that the groups are meant to symbolize International Exhibitions, of which the Prince was the inventor. The statue, unfortunately, is not yet in its place, owing to the illness of Mr. Foley the sculptor.

The monument stands upon a pyramid of steps of grey granite beautifully chiselled. From the upper platform of this pyramid of granite stairs rises the foundation or pedestal upon which rest the four groups of polished granite pillars which support at each of its angles the four main arches of the great shrine, with its golden spire and gables and pinnacles, carved and covered with all the splendid profusion of the richest Gothic ornament. The foundation, or podium, on which rest the grouped pillars of granite, is built of a course of white marble more than 6 ft. wide, laid between two courses of beautifully worked and polished granite. The marble was placed upon the granite in rough projecting blocks, which were then hewn by Messrs. Armstead and Philip into a series of portrait figures, in high relief, of the great artists of all ages. Above the granite pillars, the architecture forms at each side an arch surmounted by a gable sumptuous in its mouldings, with gilt carving, and inlaid with mosaic work, enamel, and polished gem-like stones; the intersecting roofs are covered with enamelled and gilded metal, and crested with gilt metal leaf-work. The spire which crowns the whole structure is in gilt and enamelled tabernacle-work of metal, and finishes in a cross at a height of 180 ft. The dedicatory inscription of the memorial is in blue glass mosaic on a ground of gold, and is written round the four sides of the monument, just above the great arches. It runs as follows:—

"QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER PEOPLE  
"TO THE MEMORY OF ALBERT, PRINCE CONSORT,  
"AS A TRIBUTE OF THEIR GRATITUDE  
"FOR A LIFE DEVOTED TO THE PUBLIC GOOD."

The four great corner groups of sculpture, representing Europe, Asia, Africa and America, were executed respectively by Mr. Macdowell, R.A.; Mr. Foley, R.A.; Mr. Theed, and Mr. John Bell. They are of the hard Italian marble, called *campanella*. The four allegorical groups above are by Mr. Calder Marshall, R.A.; Mr. Henry Weekes, R.A.; Mr. Thornicroft, and Mr. Lawler.

The Exhibition which was opened in Dublin in the autumn of this year presented many points of interest. The "Exhibition Palace," built some years ago, was filled with objects collected under the superintendence of three Committees. One Committee took charge of "Section A—Natural Products."

another of "Section B—Works of Art," a third of "Section C—Industries and Manufactures." These divisions were sufficiently comprehensive; thus the spacious galleries contained, under Section A, minerals, &c.; under Section B, sculpture, oil and water-colour paintings, architectural and decorative designs, photographs, enamels, stained glass, and mosaics; while Section C completed the series with porcelain and pottery of all kinds, textile fabrics, lace, printing, leather-work, metal-work, scientific inventions, jewelry, &c.

One of the most attractive cases in the Exhibition was that which was set apart to reproductions of "Antique Irish Brooches," such as the famous "Royal Tara Brooch," and "the Dublin University Brooch;" there were also copies of ancient gold fibulæ, as well as of the harp of Brian Borhoime.

In the Loan department of the Exhibition were shown the time-worn originals of many of these articles. In studying these subjects in mutual connexion, we are struck with the essential unity of what may be termed the national style of Ireland. Whether the decoration be found on a cross, within a book, or in bronze, silver, or gold, the system of ornamentation is essentially the same. We will not enter on the discussion as to whence this Irish art came, how far it is Scandinavian, and how far a home produce; in Copenhagen we have found the local antiquaries ready to deny the existence of Ireland and her art altogether, and in like manner Denmark is as much as possible ignored in Dublin. For the immediate purpose in hand it matters little what nation first entwined the Runic knot. But in the interest of the present and of all future Exhibitions the material point is that designers and manufacturers should enter into the thought and labour in the spirit of the cunning workers of old. Designs in their way scarcely inferior to Grecian or Etruscan are the heritage of the Irish people; let this old style live, and Dublin may, at least in the arts, prove her right to home rule.

Another exclusively Irish department of the Exhibition was the Belleek Pottery, a beautiful species of porcelain, made of a clay which was first discovered a few years since at Belleek, in county Fermanagh. This ceramic substance has the advantage of lightness, translucence, and hardness. Then the glaze, which is equally fortunate and exceptional, is of the nature of an iridescent lustre shining on a surface of pearl or ivory. The colours reflected, while less golden, are more silvery than in the famed lustre of Gubbio. The translucent material with its silvery cuticle lends itself prettily to the reproduction of nautilus shells, dolphins, and other creatures of ocean, especially those which are coated or illumined with mother-of-pearl.

In the picture galleries there was not much worthy of note, except in the National Portrait Gallery, which was exceedingly interesting. On its walls might be traced the personal history of Ireland in the lives, the physiognomies and the figures of statesmen, lawyers, orators, and dramatists. Never perhaps did a collection bear more unmistakable marks of genius.

A large proportion of the portraits were of persons ennobled by nature, men who have signalized their names by notable work in the service of the State, or in the sphere of philosophy, literature, science, or art.

The "distinguished persons," no less than 627 in number, arrayed in three galleries, were all either Irish by birth, or "connected with the public transactions of Ireland."

Oliver Cromwell, "Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland," was there, with Sir Walter

Raleigh, Edmund Spenser, and many others in the latter category; those in the former are too numerous for mention. Specimens there were of most of the great English portrait painters from the time of Charles I. downwards; but there was also a larger proportion of foreign artists than is commonly seen in English portrait galleries.

## SCIENCE.

THE subject which stands out pre-eminently this year as riveting the attention of men of science, and producing wonder in the minds of those who have but to take the results of investigation and analysis as they are propounded by the skilled experimentalist, is the spontaneous-generation doctrine advocated, and it is said all but established, by Dr. Bastian. Of Dr. Bastian's newly-published work on this subject we have already had occasion to speak in our literary review. He there relates the course of experiment by which he had arrived at his conclusions—conclusions, however, which we believe are to be submitted to further tests by investigators not yet fully satisfied as to the results. What is Life? is the question to which Dr. Bastian's researches point inquiry, and suggest, not indeed the positive answer, but the direction in which an approximate solution may be looked for. Are we to conceive it as springing up at all times and in all places from matter potentially living and capable of evolving actual life whenever the environing conditions are adequate to excite the unknown mysterious molecular actions and properties to which the outward manifestation of vitality is due? Whether or not Dr. Bastian's statements of facts are all capable of verification, it seems to be generally admitted that a great stride has been made in biological science by his investigations, and that a further elucidation has been attained of that unity and continuity of Nature's laws which is so marked a result of modern scientific research. But here natural philosophy is apt to stray into the domain of metaphysical speculation. Granted that the varying modes of physical force run up into one all-pervading impulse, granted that our reason is competent to pronounce on the incompatibility of special creative agency with a scheme of progressive evolution, still are we not as far as ever from determining, by induction, what is the real cause and origin of the primal impulse itself? By a certain school of philosophers, of whom the German Dr. Strauss has lately made himself a noted leader, Law itself is taken as the ultimate fact: Nature, the *Universum*, with its ceaseless but regular evolutions is held to be the only true representative of the religious idea, the equivalent of an Intelligent Will—in other words, the sufficient substitute for a personal Deity.

Against this negative or atheistical view of the structure and economy of the Universe, Dr. Carpenter, the President of the British Association, reasoned in his opening address at the meeting of the Society at Brighton in the month of August this year.

The special theme he chose for his discourse was the position of man as the "interpreter of Nature." "I have," he said, "thought it not inappropriate to lead you to the consideration of the mental processes by which are formed those fundamental conceptions of matter and force, of cause and effect, of law and order, which furnish the basis of all scientific reasoning, and constitute



the *Philosophia prima* of Bacon. There is a great deal of what I cannot but regard as fallacious and misleading philosophy—'oppositions of science falsely so called'—abroad in the world at the present time. And I hope to satisfy you that those who set up their own conceptions of the orderly sequence which they discern in the phenomena of nature, as fixed and determinate laws, by which those phenomena not only are within all human experience, but always have been, and always must be, invariably governed, are really guilty of the intellectual arrogance they condemn in the systems of the ancients, and place themselves in diametrical antagonism to those real philosophers by whose comprehensive grasp and penetrating insight that order has been so far disclosed." As examples of that candour and love of "the truth as it is in Nature" which characterize the true philosopher, he referred to Kepler and Newton. After comparing the various functions of artists, poets, and philosophers in interpreting Nature, Dr. Carpenter entered on a review of the methods of investigation in the "exact sciences," of which he took astronomy as the type, and in which the data afforded by precise observations can be made the basis of reasonings having a mathematical certainty. Having contrasted the different methods pursued in astronomical and in geological investigations, he applied himself to the metaphysical inquiry into the origin of our ideas of matter and force, summing up his argument in the following terms:—"Since it is universally admitted that our notion of the external world would be not only incomplete, but erroneous, if our visual perceptions were not supplemented by our tactile, so, as it seems to me, our interpretation of the phenomena of the universe must be very inadequate if we do not mentally co-ordinate the idea of force with that of motion, and recognize it as the 'efficient cause' of those phenomena—the 'material conditions' constituting (to use the old scholastic term) only their 'formal cause.' And I lay the greater stress on this point, because the mechanical philosophy of the present day tends more and more to express itself in terms of motion rather than in terms of force; to become kinetics instead of dynamics. Thus, from whatever side we look at this question—whether the common sense of mankind, the logical analysis of the relation between cause and effect, or the study of the working of our own intellects in the interpretation of nature—we seem led to the same conclusion; that the notion of force is one of those elementary forms of thought with which we can no more dispense than we can with the notion of space or of succession." He laid down with emphasis the axiom that our confident anticipation in the uniformity of Nature is not justified by any inherent necessity, "but arises entirely out of our *belief* in her uniformity; and this led him, in conclusion, to observe: "Thus, from our study of the mode in which we arrive at those conceptions of the orderly sequence observable in the phenomena of nature which we call 'laws,' we are led to the conclusion that they are human conceptions, subject to human fallibility, and that they may or may not express the ideas of the Great Author of Nature. To set up these laws as self-acting, and as either excluding or rendering unnecessary the power which alone can give them effect, appears to me as arrogant as it is unphilosophical. To speak of any law as 'regulating' or 'governing' phenomena is only permissible on the assumption that the law is the expression of the *modus operandi* of a governing power. I was once in a great city which for two days was in the hands of a lawless mob. Magisterial authority was suspended by

timidity and doubt; the force at its command was paralyzed by want of resolute direction. The 'laws' were on the statute-book, but there was no power to enforce them. And so the powers of evil did their terrible work; and fire and rapine continued to destroy life and property without check, until new power came in, when the reign of law was restored. And thus we are led to the culminating point of man's intellectual interpretation of Nature—his recognition of the unity of the power, of which her phenomena are the diversified manifestations. Towards this point all scientific inquiry now tends. The convertibility of the physical forces, the correlation of these with the vital, and the intimacy of that *nexus* between mental and bodily activity which, explain it as we may, cannot be denied, all lead upward towards one and the same conclusion; and the pyramid of which that philosophical conclusion is the apex has its foundation in the primitive instincts of humanity. By our own remote progenitors, as by the untutored savage of the present day, every change in which human agency was not apparent was referred to a particular animating intelligence. And thus they attributed not only the movements of the heavenly bodies, but all the phenomena of nature, each to its own deity. These deities were invested with more than human power; but they were also supposed capable of human passions, and subject to human capriciousness. As the uniformities of nature came to be more distinctly recognized, some of these deities were invested with dominant control, while others were supposed to be their subordinate ministers. A serene majesty was attributed to the greater gods who sit above the clouds, whilst their inferiors might 'come down to earth in the likeness of men.' With the growth of the scientific study of nature the conception of its harmony and unity gained ever-increasing strength. And so among the most enlightened of the Greek and Roman philosophers we find a distinct recognition of the idea of the unity of the directing mind from which the order of nature proceeds; for they obviously believed that, as our modern poet has expressed it:—

“ ‘ All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul.’

The science of modern times, however, has taken a more special direction. Fixing its attention exclusively on the order of nature, it has separated itself wholly from theology, whose function it is to seek after its cause. In this science is fully justified, alike by the entire independence of its objects and by the historical fact that it has been continually hampered and impeded in its search for the truth as it is in nature by the restraints which theologians have attempted to impose upon its inquiries. But when science, passing beyond its own limits, assumes to take the place of theology, and sets up its own conception of the order of nature as a sufficient account of its cause, it is invading a province of thought to which it has no claim, and not unreasonably provokes the hostility of those who ought to be its best friends. For whilst the deep-seated instincts of humanity and the profoundest researches of philosophy alike point to mind as the one and only source of power, it is the high prerogative of science to demonstrate the unity of the power which is operating through the limitless extent and variety of the universe, and to trace its continuity through the vast series of ages that have been occupied in its evolution.”

Passing over some subjects of minor interest which were discussed at the Association meeting, we must notice the special attraction of the Geogra-

phical section, under the presidency of Mr. Francis Galton—the incident which gave greater general interest and excitement to the meeting than any other. Mr. Stanley, the American traveller, just returned from his romantic African expedition, gave an account of his adventures in search of, and afterwards in company with, Dr. Livingstone. After describing his first meeting with the great explorer, whose probable loss the world had been lamenting, he continued, “The connexion between the Tanganyika and the Albert Nyanza lakes was a subject of interest to all geographers before I went to Central Africa. I recollect the very many hypotheses raised upon this subject. Livingstone, even, was almost sure that the Albert Nyanza was no more than a lower Tanganyika; and, indeed, he had a very good reason for believing so. He had perceived a constant flow northward. All the Arabs and natives persisted in declaring that the Rusizi ran out of Lake Tanganyika. . . . Before I arrived at Ujiji he had never been to the north end of the Tanganyika; but as soon as I mentioned the interest and importance attached to it, and offered to escort him thither, he lost no time in preparing for the journey.” In the end the travellers discovered that they had been mistaken as to the outlet from the northern end of the lake: the Rusizi proved to be a large river flowing into the lake, and not from it. “The alluvial plain through which the river makes its exit into the lake is about twelve miles wide, and narrows into a point after a length of fifteen miles, or a narrow valley folded in by the eastern and western ranges, which here meet at a distance of a couple of miles. The western range, which inclines to the eastward, halts abruptly, and a portion of it runs sharply north-westward, while the eastern range inclines westward, and, after overlapping the western range, shoots off north-westward, where it is lost amid a perfect jumble of mountains.” Dr. Livingstone’s theory that the Albert Nyanza, the lake to which Sir Samuel Baker has traced the White Nile, is fed from Lake Tanganyika, is thus disproved; but he still hopes to show that the true source of the Nile is to be found in the great chain of lakes between the 5th and 10th degrees of S. latitude, and west of Tanganyika, some of which he has himself discovered, while he has heard of others from the natives. In this district he now remains, bent upon establishing the truth of this grand discovery. “He told me to tell you,” Mr. Stanley concluded, “that he wants no companion now; that he requires no more stores; that when he has satisfied himself of the sources of the Nile, he will come home, and give you such reports as will satisfy you. With plenty of stores, and over seventy good men well armed and equipped, he is now *en route* to Ufipa, healthy and strong, and as enthusiastic as ever.” Some extracts from Dr. Livingstone’s despatches were then read, which gave rise to an animated discussion.

The enterprising traveller’s belief that he is on the point of solving the great mystery of the Nile is not shared by geographers at home, as will be seen by the following extracts from Sir Henry Rawlinson’s Address to the Royal Geographical Society, delivered in November. He thus described the discoveries of Dr. Livingstone:—“The accessions to our knowledge of African geography obtained during Livingstone’s wanderings in the Manyema country are very considerable. He had in his previous journeys identified but one single river, which he traced through a chain of lakes and under the various names of Chambezi, Luapula, and Lualaba, from the Muchinga Mountains,

north of Nyassa, past the capital of Cazembe to the borders of the Manyema country west of Tanganyika; and all our speculations were, therefore, directed to the settlement of the question whether this lacustrine river, which, as we supposed, drained all Central Africa, was really the head-waters of the Nile—entering the Nile system either through Tanganyika or Albert Nyanza—or whether it turned to the west as an affluent of the Congo; but the question has recently been much enlarged, and, if I may be allowed to say so, at the same time simplified; for Dr. Livingstone has now discovered that there is not one but three Lualabas, all rivers of the first class, running through lakes in nearly parallel courses, and commingling their waters a few degrees south of the Equator, where they form a gigantic stream about two miles in width, and of such depth and rapidity that its flow of water in the dry season has been calculated, at the very lowest estimate, at 124,000 cubic feet per second. Of this triple water-system, which, running north and south from 12 degrees south latitude to the Equator, drains an area of nearly 10 degrees of latitude, the central river, named the Lufira, had been already named and described by the Pombeiras, who crossed it in a canoe near its source, while the third or more westerly stream, the Kassabi or Loké, called lower down the Lomamé, and well known to the Portuguese, had been visited by Livingstone himself in 1855, though, strangely enough, he does not seem to have recognized his old friend of the mountains in the magnificent river to which he gave the name of Young's Lualaba. It may here be noted that, although the head-streams of the Lufira and Kassabi were discovered years ago by the Portuguese, to Livingstone, at any rate, belongs the credit of connecting those head-streams with the great basis of Equatorial Africa. Livingstone's farthest point on the Lualaba was ascertained by him to be in about 4 deg. south latitude, but the longitude of the position was not so easily determined. He had estimated by dead reckoning that he was 5 deg. west of Ujiji, or in longitude 25 deg. east; but a lunar observation, which he seems to have worked out at a later period, placed him two degrees farther to the east, or in about longitude 27 deg. There can be no reasonable doubt that this great water-system of Central Africa belongs to the Congo and not to the Nile. The proofs of the identity of the Lualaba and the Congo, derived from a comparison of height-measurements, of volume of water, of the periodical rains and rise of the rivers, &c., have been put together very clearly in a paper by Dr. Behm, which has just appeared in the current number of Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, and many arguments arising from local information, as well as from coincidences of natural history and ethnology, might be added in corroboration. The only impediment, indeed, to a full and clear understanding on this point is the remarkable fact that, although Livingstone had followed down the gradual slope of the Lualaba from the high plateau where it rises, 5000 feet or 6000 feet above the sea level, to a point where the barometer gave an elevation of only 2000 feet—that is, to a point depressed 1000 feet below the parallel Nile basin to the eastward; and although the constant trending of the waters to the west haunted him with misgivings, still he clung tenaciously to his old belief that he must be upon the track of the Nile, and speculated on the possibility of the great river he was pursuing debouching by the Bahr-el-Ghazal. It must be borne in mind, however, that Livingstone in his African solitude had no knowledge of Schweinfurth's discoveries. He had no idea that one

or perhaps two water-sheds intervened between the Lualaba and the head-waters of the Bahr-el-Ghazal; nor does he seem to be aware that his great river at Nyangwé contained nineteen times the volume of water contributed by the western affluent of the White Nile. When this revelation breaks on him it is not too much to suppose that he will abandon his Nile theory and rest satisfied with the secondary honour—if indeed it be secondary—of having discovered and traced the upper course of the Congo, which is emphatically called by the natives ‘the great river’ of Africa.”

In accordance with this theory, Sir Henry proceeded to state that an expedition has been set on foot among Dr. Livingstone’s friends—to be called “The Livingstone Congo Expedition”—which is to ascend the Congo and endeavour to penetrate to the Equatorial lake where Livingstone’s rivers are lost, and in the vicinity of which, towards the close of next year, the great traveller ought to be found. It is also proposed to send an expedition from Zanzibar, under a young naval officer, Lieutenant Cameron, to take stores and supplies to Livingstone by way of Tanganyika, and also “to examine the geography of the lake region of Equatorial Africa, which is now one of the chief African problems remaining unsolved.”

Whilst on the subject of geographical research, we must briefly notice the publication this year of the “Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai,” by Captains C. W. Wilson and H. E. Palmer, R.E. The project was first started in 1867 by the late Rev. Pierce Butler, in conjunction with Captain Palmer, and the “Sinai Survey Fund” was set on foot with the patronage of the Geographical Society. Mr. Butler died before the undertaking was fully organized, but his place was filled by a learned Biblical geographer, the Rev. George Williams, and in the autumn of 1868 a well-equipped expedition, so composed as to represent all the necessary branches of research, left England for Sinai, where they spent about six months in active and arduous work. The results of the labours are now before us in the above-named splendid work, consisting of a folio volume of letterpress and plates, three volumes of photographs, and a portfolio of maps, plans, and sections.

The interest of the work centres mainly on the identification of Scripture topography attempted in it. Great attention was devoted to fixing the locality of the Mount of the Law, which, notwithstanding the arguments of some comparative geographers to the contrary, must clearly be held to lie within the limits of the Peninsula. It would seem that five mountains have been severally named for this honour: of these three have been set aside, and of the remaining two, Jebel Musá and Jebel Serbál, the explorers have unanimously fixed upon the former as the true locality. We have not space to follow the interesting investigations into the probable localities of the Red Sea crossing, the Wilderness of Sinai, and other topics. The surveys and maps, which were executed with the greatest accuracy, were divided into two branches—namely, special detailed surveys, on the six-inch scale, of Jebel Musá and Jebel Serbál, and a general geographical survey, on the half-inch scale, of the country between those mountains and Suez, “so extended as to embrace all possible routes by which the children of Israel could have approached from Egypt,” and covering an area of about 3200 square miles.

An interesting paper was read at a meeting of the Society of Biblical Archæology by Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum; the subject was a

Cuneiform Inscription, containing, as is asserted, a Chaldean account of the Deluge, inscribed upon some of the clay tablets discovered some fifteen years ago in the site of the old palace of Nineveh, which have been deposited in the British Museum. The Cuneiform account, Mr. Smith said, agrees with the Biblical narrative in making the Deluge a Divine punishment for the wickedness of the world; but the minor differences in the details show that the inscription embodies a distinct and independent tradition. Sir Henry Rawlinson supposed the tablets themselves might date from the time of Sardanapalus in the sixth or seventh century B.C., and might be copies of much more ancient documents. We understand, however, that subsequent consideration has induced Sir Henry to suspend his judgment as to the correctness of the meaning put upon the inscription.

An expedition was fitted out by Government, at the suggestion of Dr. Carpenter, for the purpose of making a scientific inquiry into the physical and biological conditions of the Deep Sea. The vessel set sail in December of this year, and her mission was thus described by Admiral Richards, hydrographer to the Admiralty, at a meeting of the Geographical Society. The "Challenger," he said, was a vessel fitted out to make a voyage of discoveries and scientific research. One great object of the expedition was to investigate those mysterious regions which lie beneath the surface of the sea. In that respect the voyage of the "Challenger" would be different from any other that had ever been undertaken either by this or any other country. Twelve months would possibly be occupied in investigation in the Atlantic Ocean, and the ship would then, he believed, go down to that great ice-barrier at the edge of the Antarctic Continent, and endeavour to abstract the secrets which lie hidden there. It would afterwards proceed to Australia and New Zealand, and then to the Coral Sea; subsequently to Japan, the North Pacific Ocean, North-west America, and the South Pacific. He hoped the "Challenger" would return to our shores in about three years.



## PART II.

### CHRONICLE

#### OF REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

IN 1872.

#### JANUARY.

3. LION-TAMING.—A shocking occurrence took place at Bolton day, when a lion-tamer, named Massarti, was worried to death in den of lions. Massarti was going through a performance, about half-past ten, with five male lions, when one of the lions struck him with its paw, and he fell upon one knee. He turned round and struck at it with a sword he had in his hand, when another lion placed its paw upon his legs, holding him down, and tearing the leopard's skin from his breast. Four of the lions then attacked him, but Massarti kept cool, and struck at them with his sword. They carried him to the other end of the caravan, when Massarti fired his revolver, which was loaded with blank cartridge, three times among them. While this was going on the greatest excitement prevailed among the spectators, who greatly retarded the authorities in their efforts to rescue the lion-tamer. This was an extra performance, and it had not been deemed requisite to prepare hot irons, as is customary, before Massarti entered the den. Irons were heated, however, but nearly ten minutes elapsed before the man could be got out. He was frightfully mangled, the back part of his scalp being torn away, and lumps of flesh bitten out of his thighs. He raised his head to show that he was still alive, and remarked on his way to the infirmary that "he was done for." He died almost directly he was admitted to that institution.

4. THE PRINCE OF WALES'S CONVALESCENCE is so well established that Sir William Jenner was enabled to leave Sandringham yesterday, and Sir James Paget to-day. Drs. Gull and Lowe continue in attendance, but their services are not so unremittingly required.

5. ASSASSINATION OF JAMES FISK.—This day, in New York, James

Fisk, of Erie fame, was murdered in the corridor of the Grand Central Hotel. The American papers were full of the story for days, and no such scene of excitement had been witnessed since the assassination of Lincoln. Three years ago Mr. James Fisk, jun., who was then in the midst of his first struggle with the representatives of the English owners of the Erie Railway, fell in love with Josephine Mansfield, a woman of extraordinary personal beauty, destitute of education and accomplishments, a married woman, who had separated herself from her husband and resumed her maiden name. Fisk, although a married man, fell madly in love with this woman. She accepted his addresses, and placed herself under his protection. He confided to her all the secrets of the numerous intrigues in which he was engaged, took to her house his fellow-members of the Ring, entertained them there with sumptuous banquets, and discussed with them in her presence the various schemes then on foot for the completion of the plan concocted by the Ring. The *liaison* continued without interruption till a few months ago, when Mansfield, wearied of her lover, supplied his place in her affections by a Mr. Edward S. Stokes, a Wall-street broker, and a quondam friend of Fisk's, who, wounded by this ingratitude and treachery, found relief in a number of querulous and quaint epistles, addressed to the faithless Josephine, which, however, received no reply until a few weeks ago, when Mr. Fisk received a missive informing him that not only these, but all the other letters written by him to Josephine, would be returned to him upon the payment of 25,000 dols., but that if this sum were not immediately forthcoming, the letters in question would be published, accompanied by a full and authentic exposition of the whole of the information concerning the Erie Railway Company and the Erie Ring, which Josephine had acquired during her intimacy with its Head Centre. Mr. Fisk indignantly refused to comply with this demand for black mail, and immediately afterwards was summoned to answer a complaint instituted by Mansfield and Stokes, alleging that he had publicly accused them of a conspiracy to extort money. This case came on for trial at New York. Mansfield and Stokes both appeared; some preliminary evidence was taken, but an adjournment was suddenly effected, and it was presently announced that the case had been abandoned in consideration of Mrs. Mansfield receiving 25,000 dols. Immediately afterwards, however, it was stated that this money was paid, not by Fisk, but by certain Boston bankers of high standing, who themselves had been parties to some of the more disreputable intrigues of Fisk, and who feared the disclosures which it was in the power of Mansfield and Stokes to make. The truce thus patched up was of brief duration, for a fortnight afterwards the libel suit was revived, and Stokes, appearing upon the witness-stand, stated that although the originals of the criminatory letters had been delivered up to the Boston bankers on payment of the 25,000 dols., certified copies of them had been retained, which he then proposed to produce. Mr. Fisk, as is well known, had among his retainers a



certain judge of New York whose authority was superior to that of the court in which these proceedings had been instituted; and he now produced an injunction from this judge, forbidding the production of the certified copies. Meanwhile Fisk had gone before the grand jury and obtained an indictment against Stokes for conspiracy to extort money. To-day Fisk and Stokes met in the corridor of the Grand Central Hotel. Fisk had entered the vestibule, and was going up the stairs which led into the hall. When he reached the last step Stokes, above him, standing near the balustrade, rested a revolver on the rail and fired at Fisk. The shot struck him in the left arm; another immediately followed. It struck him in the abdomen, and Fisk cried out, "For God's sake, will anybody save me?" Stokes glared at him fiercely, fired two more shots, and then turned and ran up the stairs. Fisk sank and died in a few hours. Stokes was arrested, but it need scarcely be added, in conclusion, that so "sensational" a murderer as Mr. Stokes escaped capital punishment upon his trial.

7. A BABY HIPPOPOTAMUS.—At the Zoological Gardens this strange little animal expired. It had lived but eighty-four hours. The dam had plenty of milk, and frequently coaxed her young one to suck; but it could never find its way to her teats, and tried in vain at her ears, snout, and paws. It was requisite that the calf hippopotamus should be taken away from its mother, in order that it might be fed by hand, or suckled by two she-goats. It would not suck at all till its eyes were blindfolded, and it was necessary to preserve absolute silence. The sight of people or sound of their voices frightened the shy little creature too much. It lived only six hours after being removed from the mother, and imbibed three pints of milk. The most probable opinion is that it was born with some internal organic disease, like its brother, which died three days after its birth, in February of last year.

11. A TERRIBLE COLLIERY EXPLOSION occurred in a colliery situated in the Lynvi Valley, about three miles from Maesteg and nine miles from Bridgend, by which many lives were lost. The pit where the accident happened is 130 yards deep. The explosion was heard over the whole country. The underground blast had swept through all the works, and there had been a great destruction of life. Eleven men and six horses had been killed.

16. A JURY OF MATRONS.—The scene that was enacted at the Old Bailey on the occasion of the conviction and sentence of Christina Edmunds was one of rare occurrence. There was a profound sensation among the bystanders at the unexpected announcement that the prisoner claimed to be with child, which was not diminished when the words, "Let the Sheriff impanel a jury of matrons forthwith," were heard. Such is the law from ancient times, and in obedience to the injunction the Under-Sheriffs sallied into the court in quest of matrons. After about twenty minutes a dozen well-to-do and respectably-dressed women were captured and directed to enter the jury-box. Mrs. Adelaide Whitlaw, the fore-

woman, was sworn separately, and the rest in a body. It was arranged that they should see the prisoner in the Sheriffs' parlour. They retired, and the prisoner was removed. After an hour's suspense, the verdict was spoken by the forewoman in the single word, "Not!"

17. REVELATIONS OF THE RACE-COURSE.—In the Court of Exchequer Mr. T. H. Masterman, a trainer of race-horses at Middleham, in Yorkshire, brought an action against a jockey, named Cameron, to recover the sum of 82*l.* 6*s.*, the balance of an account in connexion with the turf. The transactions out of which the present litigation arose extended over the years 1868 and 1869, the defendant being the rider of several horses, and the plaintiff the owner of some of the animals taking part in the races. The whole account of the plaintiff against the defendant comprised a vast number of items, amounting to 331*l.* 11*s.*, from which were deducted certain sums for which the defendant was credited, leaving the balance as above. Cameron had repeatedly promised to pay, but having frequently urged excuses for his omission to do so, plaintiff felt himself compelled to bring this action. In his cross-examination, plaintiff said, "The defendant rode a horse for me at Newcastle. I did not find fault with him for winning that race. I had certainly backed Algeria in that race against my own horse, Honesty. Defendant asked me to back Algeria both for himself and myself." In answer to the judge, plaintiff said that the defendant could have "pulled" Honesty, and so prevented him from winning the race, if he pleased. "He won that race, however," he added, "against his own interest as well as mine, because he was drunk. He said he could not help it. If he had been in his sober senses both he and Honesty would have been in the background." (Laughter.) Cameron was called to contradict the plaintiff's case, and to show that the balance was really in his (Cameron's) favour; but after he had been examined for some time, his counsel said witness gave such a different version of the affairs between him and the plaintiff from that which he had been instructed to urge, that he felt it hopeless to proceed further, and concluded his observations thus, "I am afraid he is riding 'Honesty' to-day, at all events." Verdict for the plaintiff, 82*l.* 6*s.*

23. AT A MEETING held at Exeter in support of the Permissive Bill, at which Bishop Temple presided, a most uproarious scene took place. His Lordship was greeted with the most offensive epithets, and the mob charged the platform. Severe fighting took place. One person had his ribs broken, and several others were wounded. Resolutions in favour of the Permissive Bill were carried in dumb show. On the Bishop declaring one carried, a bag of flour was flung at his Lordship, covering him and Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

— AN IRISH WORTHY.—An inquiry into the death of "Master M'Grath," the famous greyhound, resulted in the discovery that the heart weighed nine ounces and a half. This is rather more than the

<sup>1</sup> See Report of Trials.

average weight of a man's heart. Master M'Grath's running weight was 54 lbs., from which it appears that the celebrated "black" possessed three times the heart-force of a man. Professor Haughton believes that this was the real cause of his extraordinary running powers.

24. **TERRIFIC GALE IN THE METROPOLIS.**—This morning London was visited by the heaviest gale that has occurred in the south of England for many years. Its force was greatest between four and six o'clock in the morning. In all parts of London houses have been unroofed and chimneys and garden-walls blown down, but no fatal accidents are reported. At half-past five o'clock one of the pinnacles of the buttress of the central tower of the Houses of Parliament, weighing two tons, fell with a tremendous crash, carrying away with it a large portion of the roof, and breaking down the iron girders. A large piece of stone, weighing several hundred-weight, bounded off and dashed through the roof of the telegraph office in the central hall. Fortunately no one was there, or there must have been loss of life. The damage done amounted to several hundred pounds. On the Thames several casualties occurred through vessels breaking from their moorings, and some barges and other small craft sank.

28. **DESTRUCTIVE FLOODS.**—During yesterday and to-day the waters of the Thames at Windsor and Eton rose rapidly. The view of the inundated country from the viaduct of the Great Western Railway is very striking. The western suburb of Eton is inundated. On the south side of the Thames the water has covered the roadway and penetrated some of the houses, a punt having to be used to reach the flooded domiciles.

In the neighbourhood of Reading the ordinary route between the town and Lower Caversham is quite impassable; and the Kennett Valley presents a vast lake.

On the Weymouth and Portland Railway, near the Old Castle, about 100 yards of the bank sank entirely below the level, and for a considerable distance the rails, with the sleepers attached, were suspended in mid-air.

The Severn has overflowed its banks from Montgomeryshire to the Bristol Channel. Yesterday the river had fallen about eight inches at Worcester. It had reached a height only about four feet below the highest point of the memorable flood of 1795.

Late last night, as a luggage-train from the Midland Station, Northampton, was passing over the Nene-bridge, near Castle Ashby, the bridge gave way, owing to the floods, and the tender and a number of carriages, some laden with timber, fell into the river, others across the line, and the traffic generally was stopped.

On the 29th an extensive landslip occurred on the Great Western Railway near the Victoria and Paddington Junction, by which upwards of fifty tons of earth were displaced. The embankment, which is here about thirty feet above the level of the surrounding land, gave way, completely destroying the down metals, and forcing

the earth and large blocks of timber used in the construction of the bridges into the adjoining meadow.

The floods in the valleys around Oxford have not been so high since the great one some twenty years ago. The banks of the Isis and Cherwell, as well as the adjoining villages, are in many places so swamped that the occupiers of houses are precluded from living on the ground floor.

All the low-lying parts of the county of Surrey, it was stated a few days later, are much flooded, especially along the valley of the Wey. Pedestrians, to get from Godalming to Shalford, require to pass through Guildford, and thus go four or five miles round. At Esher several cottages are completely surrounded by water, and the only access to them is by boat, while the inmates have had to take refuge in the upper stories.

31. RAILWAY ACCIDENT NEAR NICE.—The Nice correspondent of the *Swiss Times* says, "The omnibus train for Grasse left Nice at 5.50. The bridge over the Brague measures 105 feet in length, having a span of three arches and piers on either side. The swelling of the torrent by six days of incessant rain had flooded the ground near the bridge, so when the tide rose to high-water mark the bridge was submerged. At the turn of the tide the current was so great that the central arches and the pier on the Nice side of the river were carried away—in fact, the whole of the bridge except the pier near Antibes. Towards this dreadful chasm the ill-fated train came dashing along at a fearful rate, the engine, tender, a luggage car, and two of the carriages leaping down the precipice into the torrent, left the rest of the train upon the bank, one of the carriages, held by the coupling chain, hanging over the abyss. Of the carriages which fell over, only one was seen floating out to sea with a woman therein; the rest were crushed to atoms or covered by the waters at the bottom of the ravine. The engine has never since been seen. Twelve persons perished upon the spot."

## FEBRUARY.

8. ASSASSINATION OF LORD MAYO.—This day the Governor-General of India was assassinated by a convict at Port Blair, in the Andaman Islands. The Viceroy, on his way in H.M.S. "~~Glasgow~~," arrived at Port Blair at nine o'clock in the morning, and inspected the whole of Ross Island. A strong guard of native infantry and police accompanied the Viceroy, who even objected to their care as being excessive. He returned on board ship at two o'clock. At half-past two o'clock the Viceroy returned on shore with the Superintendent, Mr. Ellis; Major Burne, private secretary; Captains Lockwood and Gregory, aides-de-camp; Colonel Jervois, Count

Waldstein, and Mr. Allen, and also a native body-servant. The precautions for guarding the Viceroy were greater than before, when he visited Viper Island and Chatham. Till five o'clock nothing of moment occurred to give cause for fear. The programme ended here; but the Viceroy proposed a visit to Hope Town and Mount Harriet. Mr. Ellis, being lame, remained behind; also Captain Gregory, on business. All the others, and some of the armed escort, accompanied the Viceroy. The Viceroy rode and walked up the hill, the others on foot close round. They reached the top near sunset, and stayed ten minutes.

The following account is from one of the party of eight who ascended Mount Harriet:—

“As we commenced the return journey, two or three convicts attempted to address the Viceroy with petitions, but were told to submit them on the morrow, through the Superintendent. Lord Mayo had always liked the people to approach him, and was in the habit of inquiring personally into their appeals. I remember an old crone falling at his feet, outside the Rangoon gaol, not many days before, and hugging him round the ankles with such vehemence as almost to topple him over. Descending the hill we kept close order, more, however, from necessity than design; the guards and free-labour escort, twelve or fourteen in all, pressing so close on our heels and around us as more than once to provoke our protest.

“Watching our approach from the head of the pier sit Captain Lockwood and Count Waldstein; they see a small working party carrying water to the launch, but no sign of any loiterer sneaking near. At last we have reached the journey's end; the party breaks into somewhat looser order; the Viceroy, a conspicuous mark from his commanding figure and light coat—the glare of the torches throwing every other object into dense gloom—quickens his pace towards the boat, now but a few yards distant, thus spreading the escort, when, with extraordinary rapidity, a native, who had either been crouching amidst a heap of stones hard by, or insidiously mingled with the following, at those last moments hustles aside the nearest guard, leaps upon the Viceroy from behind, throwing his left arm round him, and stabs him twice. It is the work of one brief moment. Colonel Jervois sees the blow struck; Lieutenant Hawkins half draws his sword upon the striker; a convict chuprassi seizes the assassin red-handed, who is instantly, amid shouts of “Kill him! kill him!” (*Maro, maro*) pinned to the earth. He would be torn to pieces but for the multitude of his struggling assailants, and in the wild tumult the torches are almost extinguished. The Viceroy staggers beneath the force of the blow down the sloping side of the jetty into the shallow water below, and then, with a little help, totters, faint and bleeding, to a truck on the other side of the pier, saying to the secretary, ‘They’ve hit me, Burne.’ We gather round him bewildered, and for the moment utterly unnerved, and strive in vain to stanch the only wound visible. He sits, supported for one or two minutes, quite un-

conscious, gasps a few half-articulate words, falls rigidly backwards, swoons, and dies.

"The sailors of the 'Glasgow' carried him on board the launch, and we seated him on the bench, one of the party pressing close against him as supports on either side. Whilst this was being done Captain Lockwood runs back to secure the prisoner, who was pitched into the farther end of the launch, bound hand and foot, just as she was pushing off. With him we brought away the weapon, a common native domestic knife, in shape very much like a game-carver, but rudely sharpened at both edges."

A funeral service over the body of Lord Mayo took place in Calcutta. The remains were conveyed on board H.M.S. "Daphne," all classes of the population being present along the line of route. The Calcutta Volunteers, numbering 500 men, formed the escort. After the body came the chief mourners, followed by the personal staff of the Viceroy, the Acting Viceroy, and members of the civil and military services, deputations from all the public bodies, and an immense number of the general community, all on foot. From the "Daphne" the corpse was transferred to the steamer "Glasgow."

The news was received in London, on February 12, with a thrill of horror and astonishment. In the House of Commons, where for twenty years, as Lord Naas, he occupied a seat, Mr. Gladstone, in announcing the sad event, paid an emphatic tribute to his memory; and Mr. Disraeli, who spoke with some emotion, remarked that the country had lost a faithful servant, and those who had enjoyed the noble Lord's friendship might be pardoned for being silent under this overwhelming calamity. In the House of Lords, too, the Duke of Argyll and the Duke of Richmond each spoke of the great loss both to India and this country, and paid high tribute to his personal and official character.

In Ireland the news was received with deep and very wide-spread regret. The deceased was widely known and highly esteemed in that country, where his aptitude and capacity for business had secured for him, during his official career there, the highest respect.

The assassin's name is Shere Ali, a resident in foreign territory beyond the Peshawur frontier. He was convicted of murder by the Commissioner of Peshawur in 1867, and sentenced to transportation for life. He was received in the settlement in May, 1869. The connexion of the assassin with the murderer of Justice Norman and the sect called "Wahabees" was strongly suspected, and as strongly denied. In any case no proof of it could be obtained, and Shere Ali died without implicating any one. Asked if he had any accomplice, he said that he had none but God. His trial took place on the 9th March, on board H.M.S. "Glasgow."

— DANGEROUS PASSAGE.—News has been received of the arrival at New York of the "Britannia," one of the Anchor line of steamers, after a voyage of thirty-two days. It is generally conceded by nautical men that the passage is the longest on record from port to port. On the 23rd of December the steamer left Glasgow with a

full cargo and ninety passengers, and encountered such terrible weather, that she did not reach New York till the 23rd of the next month.

17. MURDER IN LAMBETH.—A shocking crime was perpetrated in the Belvidere-road, Lambeth, between one and two o'clock this morning. The victim was George Merritt, a stoker, employed at the Lion brewery. He was stopped by a man whom he did not know, and fired at with a revolver twice, the second shot taking effect in the back of his neck, and proving fatal. The murderer is an American physician named William Chester Minor, thirty-seven years of age. A police-constable heard the shots fired, and, making his way in the direction of the report, met Minor. He went over to him and asked him who it was that had fired. He said he had; and asking him whom he had fired at, he said, "A man. I should not be such a coward as to shoot a woman." The constable seized hold of him, and took a revolver from his right hand. He then took him to the station, where a bowie-knife was found concealed under his coat. The prisoner was very cool and collected. He had been a surgeon in America, serving in that capacity in the army during the war. On being brought to trial he was proved to be hopelessly insane.

— A VERY EXTRAORDINARY STORY.—Messrs. W. Blews and Son, of Birmingham, write as follows:—"On the 18th of January we received a letter written at Riga, dated the 12th of that month, from the manager of our magazine at Moscow, Mr. L. R. Bauer, stating that he desired to see us personally on business affairs, and that he would leave for England on the 14th of January. He was a passenger on board the 'Libra,' from Hamburg, on the 23rd of January, reaching London on Thursday, the 25th. He stayed at the Charing-cross Hotel, and on the following morning had an interview with the managing director of the City of Moscow Gas Works, who was on a brief visit to England from Moscow. He telegraphed us at 10.20 he would leave Euston-square for Birmingham by the noon train. At 12.5 a telegram was sent us from the office at Euston-square, stating that he had missed the noon train, but would leave at three. From that time to the present moment nothing has been seen of him. The only information we have received is contained in this letter, dated the 27th of January, addressed to the senior of our firm:—

"DEAR SIR,—As a special grace permission has been granted to me to address these lines to you; they will be the last, because in a few hours I shall be dead. In good faith of doing a good deed I joined some people a few years ago. Alas! it was a sad error into which my youth and want of experience had led me. About a year since I discovered my great mistake, because I was not bad enough to carry out some consequences of my vow—the very point of my misunderstanding, and ever since I lived in dread, although I was not prepared for this when one of these devils in the shape of men preposterously stopped me from leaving London yesterday noon. I

was not even aware of being so closely watched. Having no choice left but either to do things against which my whole soul revolts, and which I find utterly impossible to do, or to die myself, I have chosen death, and shall die in some hours hence. It is a very hard thing, I feel, to go thus suddenly for ever without seeing anybody whom I loved once more, and my heart breaks when I think of my family and my poor girl in Russia; but it cannot be helped. I know but too well my fate is sealed, and I am quite composed now. How could I write these lines were it otherwise? My luggage has already been destroyed, I believe, for they will make sure work about me. On account of the trouble that will arise to you, dear sir, through my sudden death, I am exceedingly sorry, because a good many things I had in my mind only to explain; but I hope you will grant me pardon when you see that I am thus cut off from all, O God! everything that could have made me happy. Farewell, dear sir; I am punished hard for my mistake of men, but I have the knowledge, at least, which gives me strength to endure all—I shall, at least, not die a villain!—Farewell, for ever,

“‘L. R. BAUER.’”

The above letter was enclosed in the following:—

“SIR,—The foolish author of the enclosed brief has informed you right; he is dead. Our safety forbids us to send your property—to wit, some papers, which have been burnt.—We are, sir,

“A SUFFICIENT NUMBER.”

Up to the present time no trace has been found of Mr. Bauer.

27. THE NATIONAL THANKSGIVING.—The day set apart for the National Thanksgiving for the recovery of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was not only a national holiday, but a brilliant and successful one. The weather was all that could be desired, the crowds in the streets more dense than ever previously, and the decorations along the line of route such as were never before seen in London. Every householder and all the public bodies vied with one another in doing honour to the occasion, more especially in the city proper, and the spectacle, looking eastward from Temple Bar, will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

Soon after twelve o'clock the band in the inner court of Buckingham Palace struck up “God save the Queen,” and at the same instant the Speaker’s coach was driven out to the semicircle in front of the Palace, and placed in position to head the procession. The carriage of the Lord Chancellor followed, and in a few minutes the order to proceed was given. As the first of the royal carriages emerged from the central gate, the centre window of the state room over the portico was opened, and the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugenie stepped out on the balcony. When the carriage conveying the Queen and the Prince and Princess of Wales came out from the courtyard, the Emperor took off his hat, and both he and the Empress bowed more than once to her Majesty and their Royal Highnesses. As the procession reached the Mall, the masses on either side of the line raised a cheer, which was instantly taken up



by those who as yet could not get even a distant glimpse of the Queen or the Prince. Without the interval of a second the cheering continued, and grew in strength till the illustrious personages entered St. Paul's. Nothing could have been better than the conduct of the people. From every inch of standing room came incessant cheering and cries of "God bless the Queen!" "God bless the Prince of Wales!" but there was no rushing, and without a halt the procession turned from the Mall out to the front of St. James's Palace. The route thence was by Pall-Mall, the Strand, and through Temple Bar to St. Paul's, and thence back by Ludgate Hill, the Holborn Viaduct, Oxford-street, Hyde Park, and Constitution Hill. The service, held in St. Paul's, was simple but singularly striking; and a magnificent display of illuminations closed the day.

Three rows of coloured lights studded the vast roof of the dome of St. Paul's like gems, and were composed of ships' lanterns fitted with most powerful lenses, and calculated to be visible at the distance of three miles. They were placed in position by a party of twelve seamen from her Majesty's ship "Fisgard." The lamps were lighted about seven o'clock, and burned themselves out. Then, from an opposite house and from the top of a church, lime-lights lit up the west front of the cathedral—that is, as much of the front as came within the rays of the light. But the great display of all was one of coloured fire—red from the dome, and many colours from the area in front of the western door. These lighted up the whole façade most brilliantly and vividly, with an effect which had never been produced before. The result was really grand, and was highly appreciated by all who could get into the churchyard to witness it.

Temple Bar presented quite a new and cleanly appearance, independent of the gilding and other decorations. The illumination was of a very novel design, and embraced the words "Thanks be to God" in large letters, and over the side arches "God save the Queen and the Prince," also in Roman characters. There was a beautiful display of rows of lights along the principal lines of the pediment and over the arches of the bar. There were also a number of globes of lights on both sides of the bar, which had a very novel effect in reflecting the gilded lines.

But probably the most costly, and certainly the most beautiful and brilliant display exhibited at the West End was at the establishment of Mr. Poole, tailor to the royal family. The effect of the illuminations and the decorations of the long line of road from the Marble Arch to the Oxford Circus was superb. The whole line of roadway on each side was lined with Chinese lamps, which had a beautiful effect. The Strand was not so continuously lighted up as Fleet-street, but a large quantity of gas was burnt in Pall-Mall. The flambeau lights in front of the Carlton Club, and of other clubs, too, were like so many beacon-fires.

29. EXTRAORDINARY ATTACK ON THE QUEEN.—Her Majesty had taken a drive in the park, and a few minutes before half-past five o'clock returned down Constitution Hill, amidst the acclamations of

a considerable crowd. Driving along by the Palace wall, the royal carriage entered the north gate, and, crossing the courtyard, passed through the garden-gate to the entrance of the palace at which her Majesty usually alights. The carriage having halted, and before anybody had begun to descend, a lad suddenly rushed to its left-hand side, and, bending forward excitedly, held out a pistol in his right hand and a paper in his left. Having remained for an instant in that posture, he suddenly, and with a gesticulation of disappointment, as though he had recognized his mistake, rushed round by the back of the carriage to the other side, and threw himself into a similar attitude there, holding the pistol and the paper at the full stretch of his arms towards the Queen, who was then seated to his right. She was quite calm and unmoved.

The lad was immediately disarmed of the pistol, which proved to be unloaded. It is an old-fashioned weapon, with a flint and steel lock, which was broken, and in the barrel a piece of greasy red rag was found. He had also a knife in his possession and the paper to which reference has been made, which on examination was found to be a petition, written on parchment, for the release of the Fenian prisoners. He was taken forthwith to the King-street Police-station, Westminster, where he gave the name of Arthur O'Connor, and stated his age to be seventeen, adding that he was a clerk to Messrs. Livett and Franks, oil and colour manufacturers, 72, Blackman-street, Borough, and that he resided with his father and mother at 4, Church-row, Houndsditch. He is in appearance rather tall for his age, and slender. He wore a black felt hat, and was ordinarily well-dressed in other respects for a person in his condition of life. He had managed to scale some iron railings, about ten feet high, at the point where the garden-wall abuts at a corner upon the palace on its northern side, and had passed through the garden-gate into the courtyard unperceived, and therefore unchallenged.

He stated after his apprehension that he bought the pistol at a shop in the Borough, and that he is a grandson of the late Mr. Feargus O'Connor.

O'Connor was brought up the next day before Sir Thomas Henry, at Bow-street, and was committed for trial.

The following is a copy of the document found upon the prisoner :—

“I, Victoria Queen, by the grace of God, do make the following declaration :—Whereas there are at the present moment confined in various prisons throughout the United Kingdom a number of men, Irish by birth, who are known and celebrated as the ‘Fenian prisoners;’ and whereas the said prisoners have been in prison and kept in durance by order of my Government, and with my sanction, for the crime of high treason, the said Fenians having rebelled and conspired against my Crown, endeavouring by various unlawful means to weaken and destroy my power and authority over the Irish nation. And whereas it is a well-known fact that the sympathizers of the Fenian prisoners and the nation have at various

times humbly petitioned for their pardon and release—notwithstanding which they are still deprived of liberty. Now I, the said Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies, do hereby, with the consent of my Parliament, grant a free pardon to each and every one of the said men known and celebrated as the Fenian prisoners who are now suffering imprisonment for the crime of treason against my Crown. And I, the said Queen of Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies, do solemnly pledge my royal word, and swear to keep and see carried out the following five clauses:—Clause 1. That all the men known and celebrated as the said Fenian prisoners shall be restored to liberty without any delay whatever. Clause 2. That all the said Fenians shall be allowed free and entire liberty for the remainder of their lives. Clause 3. That for the remainder of their lives the said Fenians shall be as free from the police supervision and restraint with the rest of my subjects. Clause 4. That the said Fenians shall be allowed to return to their native country, or any other country, town, or place which they may choose to visit, without any interference whatever from my Government. Clause 5. That notwithstanding the fact of my agreeing to the above conditions only through fear of my life, I will not attempt to depart from any of them on that account, nor upon any other reason, cause, or pretext whatever will I depart, or attempt to depart, from any of them; neither will I listen to any advice which my Ministers may wish to give towards causing me to depart from my word, or towards the violation of anything above stated, but shall adhere strictly to everything. So help me God.

“Signed this 27th day of February, in the Year of Grace 1872.

“Witnessed by

“Whereas, a person named Arthur O'Connor, residing at 4, Church-row, Houndsditch, in the City of London, having committed an outrage against my royal person, has surrendered himself into my hands, he, the said Arthur O'Connor, being perfectly willing to suffer for such offence—Now I, the said Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, do solemnly pledge my royal word to the effect that if the said Arthur O'Connor be found guilty of death by my judges, after a just and fair trial, he the said Arthur O'Connor shall not be strangled like a common felon, but shall receive that death which is due to him as a Christian, a Republican, and as one who has never harmed a human being—that is to say, he shall be shot, and after death his body shall be delivered to his friends to be buried wheresoever they may choose.

“Signed this Twenty-seventh day of February, in the year of grace One thousand eight hundred and seventy-two.

“By me

“Witnessed by

“R. J.”

The Queen, who had contemplated instituting a medal as a reward for long or faithful service among her Majesty's domestic servants, inaugurated the institution by conferring on Mr. John Brown, the Queen's personal attendant, a medal in gold, with an

annuity of 25*l.* attached to it, as a mark of her appreciation of his presence of mind and of his devotion on the occasion of the attack made upon her Majesty.

## MARCH.

13. THE TWISS LIBEL CASE.—On this day an extraordinary case, which had been the town-talk for a fortnight, was brought to an extraordinary conclusion.

At the end of last month, at the Southwark Police-court, Mr. Alexander Chaffers, an elderly man, who described himself as a solicitor, residing in York-road, Lambeth, was charged with maliciously publishing a libel upon Sir Travers Twiss, her Majesty's Advocate-General, and Lady Twiss, with intent to extort money. Mr. Poland, in a lengthy opening, occupying nearly two hours, said the charges against the defendant were of a very serious nature, inasmuch as the libels were obnoxious, false, and malicious, and published with intent to extort money from Sir Travers and Lady Twiss, who, he thought, would not seek redress in a court of justice. Sir Travers Twiss married Lady Twiss at the British Legation at Dresden, in the presence of her family and numerous witnesses, on the 29th of August, 1862. Previous to that the lady had known the defendant in business transactions, and when Sir Travers and his lady returned to London in 1863 they met defendant in the Botanical Gardens, when he congratulated her ladyship on her marriage. After that began the defendant's persecutions. He wrote to Lady Twiss in 1864 for money, demanding 150*l.* Sir Travers' solicitor paid him 50*l.*, and he gave an acknowledgment in full of all demands. He sent other letters, and brought sham actions against Lady Twiss for alleged slanders. In 1863 Lady Twiss was presented at St. James's by Lady Rutherford Alcock, and in 1869 was again at her Majesty's Drawing Room. On the 29th of April of that year the defendant wrote to the Lord Chamberlain, complaining of Lady Twiss, stating that she had misconducted herself in London previous to her marriage with Sir Travers Twiss. The Lord Chamberlain made inquiries, as he was bound to do under the circumstances, the result of which was satisfactory to himself and Sir Travers and Lady Twiss. On the 4th April, last year, the defendant, determined to carry on his malicious persecutions, made a statutory declaration at Bow-street Police-court to the effect that Lady Twiss had led an immoral life under the name of Marie Gelas.

Every one of his allegations were specifically and distinctly contradicted by Lady Twiss, who was before the magistrate on March 2. She denied that she was Marie Gelas. She stated that

she was the daughter of Major-General Van Lynseele, of the Polish army; that she was educated at Brussels, and subsequently at Cracow. At the latter place Marie Gelas was her governess. Marie Gelas came to London in 1859, and Lady Twiss lodged with that person at No. 11, South-street, Brompton, paying her 30*l.* a month. While at this house she was taken ill, and Marie Gelas sent for the defendant to make her will; for this Marie Gelas paid him. She was married with her father's consent to Dr. Twiss at Dresden, in August, 1862, and Dr. Twiss received 5000*l.* English money as her marriage-portion. She met the defendant some years afterwards, in 1863, in the Botanical Gardens at the Regent's Park, when he congratulated her on her marriage. In 1864 she received a letter from the defendant, stating that he had paid 6*l.* out of pocket in connexion with the making of her will, and that 40*l.* was due to him. This letter was not answered, and he subsequently demanded 150*l.* Lady Twiss consulted her husband about these letters, and by her husband's desire went to the defendant's office.

On Tuesday, March 6, Lady Twiss entered the court shortly before one, and took her seat near the chief clerk. On being sworn, the defendant, who, as a solicitor, conducted his own case, asked for all witnesses to be out of court. He then proceeded to cross-examine Lady Twiss in support of the statements contained in his declaration, and continued to do so for a considerable time in a most painful and extraordinary manner.

In re-examination by Mr. Poland, Lady Twiss said, "There was never any misconduct or familiarity between me and the defendant. All the questions he has put to me are a tissue of falsehoods."

M. Felix Jastreuski was then called on Lady Twiss's behalf, and stated that he formerly carried on the business of a pianoforte manufacturer in Brussels, and that he and his wife, having no children of their own, adopted the infant daughter of his cousin, M. Van Lynseele. The little girl, who was always treated as his own child, was the present Lady Twiss. Her father left 100,000 francs with witness for her use. The witness narrated the steps he took to educate Miss Van Lynseele. His wife engaged Madame Gelas as governess. Every inquiry was made about her before she was engaged, and the witness believed she was a widow. Asked to describe her, he said she was a little dark woman, with a turned-up nose. It was impossible to mistake her for Miss Van Lynseele. In 1859 Miss Van Lynseele went to England, accompanied by an English maid named Louisa. She made a short stay then, but subsequently returned to England, and the witness paid Madame Gelas, with whom she lodged, 30*l.* a month. The witness and his wife in 1860 came over to England with Miss Van Lynseele, and stayed at the house of Madame Gelas. "While there," he said, "we visited Dr. Travers Twiss, Miss Anderson, and Dr. Twiss's mother."

Other witnesses were called, who flatly contradicted Chaffers' story, and as he declined to cross-examine them, there was a general

belief that his abominable charges were entirely fictitious. But to-day (the 13th), at the time the case was to come before Mr. Benson, Mr. Poland, after some delay, entered the court and said, "Since I was here yesterday Lady Twiss has determined not to appear again in court" (sensation), "and she has, I am informed, left London. I am therefore regretfully compelled to abandon this prosecution, as it would be useless to proceed without her evidence."

The public curiosity was not destined to be satisfied by further definite revelations. But Sir Travers and Lady Twiss did not reappear in London, and shortly after this date the former resigned all his appointments, holding, amongst others, that of Advocate-General.

Mr. Benson animadverted severely on the conduct of Chaffers, who was further charged with a similar attempt to extort money from one Henry Williams, by accusing him of bigamy. But this charge too was abandoned.

22. THE ABERDEEN ROMANCE.—The House of Lords sat this morning as a Committee for Privileges, Lord Redesdale in the chair, to decide on this claim. The fifth Earl of Aberdeen had issue three sons—first, George, born in December, 1841, whose death, without issue, was now in question; James Henry, born in October, 1845, who died in consequence of an unhappy accident at Cambridge in 1868; and John Campbell, the petitioner in the present case, born in August, 1847.

George was a young man of remarkable but of a singular and romantic turn of mind, desirous of seeing the world. Under these circumstances, in spite of his rank and station, he went abroad in the year 1866, sailing from Liverpool about the end of January in that year, and he never afterwards returned to this country. He went to New Brunswick, and then to the United States. It was in May, 1866, while staying at Boston, that he last used his real name, with the exception of one occasion in February, 1867, when he drew two cheques for 100*l.* each, at New York, upon his banker in Scotland. After the latter date he never drew upon his funds in Great Britain, preferring to live on his own wages on a perfect equality with those with whom he was associated in his seafaring life, for which he qualified himself by passing the regular examinations in the United States. He took regular service in small ships belonging to American owners, first as mate, and then as captain. He passed as G. H. Osborne, a name which he appears to have assumed as early as the 22nd of May, 1866, and by which he was known to all persons with whom he came in contact. He kept up a correspondence with his mother, who was residing in this country from the time of his departure until 1869, since when all communication with him had ceased. The correspondence not being continued, the family became alarmed, and his mother requested a Mr. Alexander, who had been chaplain and tutor in the family since the year 1861, to go to America, to follow up his traces, if it were possible to do so. It was

not until Mr. Alexander had been in New York for six months that he obtained the clue. The young man had sailed from Boston for Melbourne in a small sloop called the "Hera," on the 21st of January, 1870, and on the 27th of that month he was washed overboard by a wave which struck the ship.

The evidence established beyond a doubt the truth of this singular story.

23. THE UNIVERSITY BOAT-RACE.—It is impossible to imagine a more hopelessly wretched day than this, and perhaps the weather was at its very worst just as the University Boat-race was taking place. Fog, sleet, snow, and hail all struggled their hardest for the mastery. Fortune had steadily set her face against the Dark Blues throughout. They had an inferior boat, a comparatively fresh stroke, within the last three or four days they were compelled to put a new man at No. 2, and, to finish their catalogue of misfortunes, they lost the toss, which on this occasion, owing to the bad mooring of the stake-boats, gave the winners an advantage of nearly half a length. Cambridge had only to paddle in front for the latter part of the journey, and won by two lengths (which might have been twelve at pleasure) in 21 min. 16 sec. The steering in the Cambridge boat was bad, and would have lost the race had the crews been evenly matched; but in all other respects the Dark Blues were terribly inferior to their rivals.

A novel experiment in telegraphic reporting was made in connexion with the race. Arrangements were made by the proprietor of the *Central News* to pay out a cable from one of the steamers which followed the racing boats. There is no novelty in telegraphing through cables as they are being paid out; but there is no precedent for performing such a work at the pace of the racing boats. The difficulties of the work were much increased by the fact that the whole of the final arrangements and reporting had to be done in the midst of an unusually severe snow-storm; but, in spite of this difficulty, all the leading facts connected with the race, including the varying positions of the crews and the times at which they reached well-known points, were telegraphed before the race was concluded. By this means it became possible to transmit throughout the kingdom, and to place before readers hundreds of miles distant, more information respecting the race than was known to the spectators on the banks of the Thames.

27. THE FARNHAM STABBING CASE.—At the Kingston assizes William Rodway, described as a labourer, of the age of fifty-two, was indicted for feloniously and maliciously cutting and wounding Rose Helen Carrington, at Farnham, in August last, with intent to murder her.

Mrs. Carrington is a woman of personal attractions, but of low origin, and she avowed that she could not write. She had become acquainted with the prisoner some years ago at Bristol, where she lived, and they afterwards lived together. In March, 1868, Mr. Carrington, a gentleman of property, became enamoured of her, and

she lived with him about a year, the prisoner passing as her brother. The prisoner was then without means of support, and she supported him out of the money she received from Mr. Carrington. Mr. Carrington becoming very much attached to her, and having no idea of her connexion with the prisoner, proposed to her to marry him, and promised to make an ample provision for her. To this she assented, and in August, 1869, they were married. The prisoner was well aware of this, but continued to use the hold he had over her to coerce her at different times. Thus, on one occasion, when she was about to follow her husband to Scotland, he caused her, she said, to miss the train, and then positively refused to leave her and compelled her to stay with him that night at an hotel. They had been accustomed to meet at a public-house, and on one or two occasions she met him there. Mr. Carrington at length became aware that the prisoner was not her brother, and was of course desirous to prevent any further intercourse between them; and, upon her husband going to live near Farnham, though at first she continued occasionally to see the prisoner when she came to town, yet by degrees she ceased to send him money or have communication with him. Two days before the event the prisoner wrote a letter in these terms:—

“This is to certify that Rose has taken all my money, and that I could not bear her deceit longer. May God bless her and me.”

He then, on August 18, went to a public-house not far from Mr. Carrington's, and there put up for a night. Next day, August 19, he went to the house. He knocked at the door, and Mrs. Carrington opened it. After a few words he turned as if to go from her, but turned round again and stabbed her in the arm. She turned and tried to run away, but he followed her, and stabbed her again in the back, and she fell, the knife sticking in her back. He raised her and took out the knife, saying to her, “You've been a bad woman to me.” She seized the knife and tried to take it from him. He began to cut himself with it. She said, “Don't! don't! throw it down.” He said, “It will soon be over, and we shall meet in heaven.”

The suspicions of the servants had been aroused, and one of them was watching and listening, and saw the struggle, but though her mistress turned round and begged her to go for help, the woman did not do so. She saw the prisoner stoop over her, and heard her say, while he was over her with the knife, “Forgive me!” and he said, “I will, and God bless you.” The servant stood there passively during the struggle, intent upon seeing and listening to all that passed. Mrs. Carrington at this time, bleeding from her wounds and covered with blood, finding no help in the house, rushed away towards the public-house. On her way she was met by a man, who assisted her there; and while he was supporting her, the prisoner, who had followed her, passed them, and they both went into the public-house and sat down. She begged the men present to go for a doctor. The prisoner asked her to take some brandy, and said,



"I have done all there is to be done, and if I have injured her I am very sorry for it. I never intended to hurt her; but she treated me with such contempt that I resolved to kill myself before her eyes."

The jury found the prisoner guilty, and he was sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude.

28. COLLIERY EXPLOSION AT BOLTON.—An explosion of gas, attended with the loss of twenty-eight lives, and severe injury to eleven men and boys, took place in the Lover's Lane, or Old Chain Pit, at Atherton, near Bolton. Immediately on the alarm being given, Messrs. R. and H. Fletcher, the proprietors, accompanied by a large party of miners and volunteers, descended into the mine, and carried on their work until all those who were injured were brought out; and they did not cease from their dangerous task until the last man was brought out of the pit.

## APRIL.

1. EXECUTION AT LINCOLN.—On Easter Monday William Frederick Horry, a young man, aged twenty-eight, was executed at Lincoln for the murder of his wife, Jane Horry, at Boston, on January 15 last. The prisoner was married in 1867, and for some time he and his wife appear to have lived together on affectionate terms. Last year, however, the prisoner became so jealous of his wife that he broke up his business at Burslem and separated from her, and she, with her children, went to live at the house of the prisoner's father at Boston. On January 14 the prisoner went to Boston, having previously purchased a revolver at Nottingham. He was allowed to see his wife on the following day, and had no sooner come into her presence than he shot her dead. The prisoner, it is stated, had fallen into intemperate habits, and he had suffered from delirium tremens. His wife's friends assert that there were no just grounds for the suspicions which the prisoner had formed respecting her.

He left behind him for publication a lengthy homily on the subject of his crime, and so impressed were his townspeople with the amiability of his character, that they issued the following "memorial card" after his execution:—"Sacred to the memory of William Frederick Horry, late of Burslem, Staffordshire, who was born Dec. 17, 1843, and died April 1, 1872. His native place was Boston, in Lincolnshire, and he dwelt in Burslem for six years and upwards, where he was held by his fellow-townspople in the highest respect for his sterling qualities and excellent talents. He died as a man, a Christian, and a martyr. He was more sinned against than sinning. Peace be to his manes."

2. JUSTICE'S JUSTICE.—A charge of alleged assault on a young woman, tried at the Ashford Petty Sessions, has created great excitement both in that town and Folkestone. The defendant was Mr. George Braham, landlord of the Market Hotel, Ashford, and the complainant was Ellen Kingsland, of Canterbury, one of his barmaids, who had been in his service only nine days. On the part of the defendant it was contended that the girl's statement was false, and that the case had been got up to cover her own improper conduct, she having been reproved by her master the same evening, and told that she must leave his employment for disgraceful conduct with a young man in the fields. It was also affirmed that an attempt had been made by her parents to extort money, and the following letter was read in support of the allegation:—

"SIR,—I have been counselled by Mr. William Kingsland, of this city, wheelwright, as to your conduct towards his daughter Ellen. You well know the nature of the offence you committed towards her; and I am instructed by him to inform you that, unless you forthwith make arrangements in the matter, he will take such proceedings as he may be advised.—Yours obediently,

"G. PAYN."

The girl's parents denied attempting to extort money, but admitted placing the matter in the hands of Payn. The evidence disposed of the charge in the clearest manner, and on the second day the complainant's agent refused to act, as he was not likely to be paid; whereupon Colonel Groves, one of the justices, said "the Bench would protect her." He examined and cross-examined the witnesses at considerable length, threw doubt on one man's evidence, and finally told him, in a loud voice, to "Stand down," and "Get out of the box." At the close of the evidence Colonel Groves said the Bench had decided to convict the defendant under the Aggravated Assaults Act, and to sentence him to two months' imprisonment with hard labour. On hearing the sentence defendant, whose face marked in the strongest manner the intense mental agony he was suffering, said, "My God! oh, my God! my poor wife! Is there no appeal? nothing that I can do or say to convince you that I am innocent? Won't you allow me to appeal?" In answer to a question, Colonel Groves said, "We have considered whether we should send this case before a jury or not; we feel bound to deal with it on its merits; we feel bound to do as we have done." The prisoner was then removed, exclaiming, "Oh, my poor wife! I am innocent. Is the character of a lifetime to go for nothing?"

After the conviction meetings of the inhabitants of Ashford and Folkestone were held, and a memorial to the Home Secretary was agreed to. Some days later the defendant's agent made a statutory declaration that the complainant had stated to him that her evidence on the trial was false. The case came under the notice of Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P., who took it up warmly. He wrote to a friend:—"I am anxious that you should know that at least one member of the Bench, though not present, was not content that

such a case should be presented to the public without instant inquiry into it; and also that I urged immediate action and expressed myself ready to bear all the responsibility and odium, if, action being taken upon my letter alone, I had been found to be mistaken. I feel sure that the conviction could not have the concurrence of any one acquainted in any degree with the ordinary rules of English law and capable of duly administering the latter."

The result was that, a few days later, an order was sent from the Home Office for the release of Mr. Braham.

3. THE EARTHQUAKE AT ANTIOCH.—The Rev. W. Brown Kerr, late harbour chaplain at Bombay, thus describes the recent earthquake at Antioch. His letter is dated Antioch, April 4:—

"A severe shock of earthquake was felt here yesterday, precisely at 8 a.m., English reckoning, or shortly before two in the day, Turkish time. The house in which I was was shaken violently to and fro for four or five seconds, or, as one gentleman thinks, even more. A stove weighing nearly a hundredweight was overturned; the walls of stone and plaster, with woodwork and beams, were cracked, and the plaster fell on all sides. Books were thrown from the cases, and a clock hurled from a bracket on the wall into an armchair, a few feet distant, without breaking the glass case or the clock-works. Outside the house walls fell, the narrow streets (only about twelve or fifteen feet wide, and some less) being literally blocked up for long distances with the ruins of fallen houses, and a dense cloud of dust arose on all sides. Men, women, and children ran hither and thither wailing their own hurts or the loss of relatives. I went down to the bridge, south-west of the city, about two hours after—at ten o'clock a.m.—and saw many dead persons brought out of the city and laid out for burial. Later, I counted fifteen new graves, all close by each other. Looking towards the town, ruins could be seen in all directions. Several aqueducts were broken, and telegraph-poles were thrown down and the wires broken. The Greek church, a strong stone-arched structure, built only a few years ago, and capable of holding 500 or 600 persons, was utterly ruined—one side and the entire roof are gone. The American Protestant church and premises are also greatly injured, and four persons of their small community were killed, though the Mission families are all safe. The number of killed and injured cannot be ascertained with any approach to accuracy, and, of course, flying rumours are abundant; one man saying that he thought there must be 1000 killed, while another said 500, and a third 250, which is, perhaps, within the truth. The city contains from 12,000 to 15,000 persons, it is said, but no accurate census exists. There was time from the beginning of the first shock to its close for many to escape the falling houses or walls, and during its continuance two or three persons in the house where I write walked across the room and (not very quickly) down-stairs while the shock lasted. Several smaller and lighter shocks occurred for an hour or two afterwards, but not sufficiently strong to shake down buildings. These shocks

have continued at intervals through the night, and another, more distinct and wavelike, was felt to shake the house, with a loud, hollow, rumbling noise, about half-past six this morning. The first shock yesterday was immediately preceded by a rumbling and creaking of the joints of the window and door-frames, to which a louder noise, like thunder, succeeded, and then walls and buildings fell. Several minars are cracked, but all yet stand, though some of the arched caravanserais and baths near them are fallen. The old Roman bridge of four arches is rent in several places, until the water can be seen through it from above; a part of the parapet wall has also been shaken off, and the arch above the city door at its east end has been hurled down and lies almost whole. Much damage has been done to houses in the lower part of the town, and many of the inhabitants are now to be seen encamping around in the fields or plain."

7. MURDER IN PARK-LANE.—A dreadful murder was committed at No. 13, Park-lane, London, the victim being Madame Riel, forty-two years of age, mother of Madlle. Riel, a member of the French Dramatic Company performing at St. James's Theatre, the murderer being the cook, Marguerite Dixblanc, a Belgian<sup>1</sup>. After the murder she disappeared from London, but was arrested in Paris.

13. MR. DISRAELI AT MANCHESTER.—The visit of Mr. Disraeli last week to the metropolis of the cotton-manufacturing district was made the occasion for extraordinary demonstrations of Conservative political sentiment. The spacious dancing-saloon of the Pomona Gardens had been hired for the assembly of local deputations to present addresses of political fealty from all parts of the country. The deputations were arranged in fourteen groups. They represented about 300 different bodies, with the Orange lodges, and presented 124 addresses. Each association was represented by a deputation of at least the leading members, comprising many magistrates, clergymen, and persons of influence.

15. MURDER IN MARYLEBONE.—A family of the name of Nicholls had been living at 16, Capland-street, Edgware-road. The husband had been working for Mr. Moore, a boot and shoe manufacturer in the Edgware-road, up to Saturday night, when Nicholls received notice that he would not be further required. On Monday morning the wife of the unhappy man left her home for the purpose of doing a little work as charwoman at a house in the neighbourhood. In the course of the afternoon the father sent the two eldest children, aged respectively eleven and eight, to play in the street, the other four remaining in the house with him. Shortly afterwards the neighbours heard a noise like screaming in the house, but, thinking nothing of the sounds, they took little notice of the same. About half-past five in the evening a boy, who resided with his parents in the same house as Nicholls, noticed a small stream of blood issuing from beneath the door leading to the rooms in which the murdered family lived, or rather starved. Horrified, he told a woman named

<sup>1</sup> See Report of Trials for the full account.

Selina Hills, living in the same street, who at once informed the police that a murder had been committed. The police quickly forced an entry into the room, where they found three children lying on their backs on the floor with their throats cut. On entering the second room the body of another child was found, and close by the dead body of the father, a fearful gash in the throat revealing but too clearly the cause of death. The mother was at once sent for, and the agony of the poor woman is better imagined than described. The body of the murderer was found lying on the shoemaker's stool. In each case the wretched father inflicted a deep cut in the neck under the ear with a common shoemaker's knife, which had evidently been sharpened for the purpose. After killing his offspring, he, apparently in a most deliberate manner, killed himself in precisely the same way. Nicholls and his wife are spoken of as steady, industrious people, and there seems to be no reason for doubting the accuracy of the prevalent belief that the mind of the murderer had become unhinged from the pressure of poverty. For some time past he had been in a very desponding state.

17. MR. EDWIN JAMES, the once celebrated advocate, made his re-appearance in this country as a lecturer at St. George's Hall, his subject being "America," where he has resided for eleven years. He was received with a burst of applause and cries of "Welcome back."

18. HOMICIDAL PECULIARITIES.—An inquiry relative to the death of Cecilia Hurry, aged seven years, which had been adjourned from the previous week, was concluded at Plumstead. The parents of the deceased belonged to the sect known as the Peculiar People, the father being one of the elders, and one of their articles of belief is that medical assistance in times of sickness is unnecessary. A number of witnesses connected with the sect proved that the deceased was attacked with smallpox; that the elders laid hands upon it, prayed over it, and anointed it with oil in the name of the Lord, according to Scriptural teaching; and that they never thought of sending for a doctor, relying entirely upon divine interposition. They said they saw the child gradually getting worse until she died on the eleventh day after the first symptoms appeared. The deceased had not been vaccinated. The Peculiar People declare that they believe neither in vaccination nor contagion, consequently there have been several cases of smallpox among them. The coroner, Mr. C. J. Carttar, in summing up, remarked on the frequency of these cases among the sect at Woolwich and Plumstead, where they only number about fifty members. The people belonging to the sect, to the number of about forty, attended at the inquest and sang hymns at the back of the house while the jury were in consultation, and they afterwards accompanied Hurry in a body to the police-court, encouraging him with the assurance that the Lord would be with him and sustain him. He was afterwards brought up at the Woolwich Police Court and committed to Newgate for trial at the next sitting of the Central Criminal Court, to which

place he was conveyed at four o'clock. He received only a nominal sentence, on promising to obey the law in future.

19. TRADE UNIONISM IN THE KITCHEN.—This evening a meeting of domestic servants resident in Dundee and neighbourhood was held. Two girls addressed the meeting at some length, contending that the domestic servants were entitled to a half-holiday weekly and a free Sabbath every fortnight. They stated that they saw nothing to prevent such an arrangement being carried out; but if there really was anything to prevent all the servants getting away on one day, a full holiday once a fortnight might be substituted. Then it was considered that if the servants got up at six o'clock in the morning and went to bed at ten there would be sufficient time to do all the work required of them, while it was strongly argued that no labour should be performed on Sunday except what was absolutely necessary. A long and animated discussion afterwards was held as to the restrictions which were placed upon the wearing apparel of the servants. It was contended that if they were compelled to wear what was generally known as a "flag" it should be at the expense of the mistress. The opinion was, however, that it ought not to be worn at all. The stipulations as to what should be worn in the way of dress and jewellery were also considered, and it was thought the mistress had no right to interfere with their apparel in any way, so long as it was paid for. Some humorous remarks were made as to the stringency with which mistresses inquired into the character of their servants. It was pointed out that they were perfectly omnipotent in their control of their servants' career, and it was urged that it was high time that the domestic servants should form themselves into an organization whereby they would be enabled to secure information not only regarding the characters of those who might become their employers, but also respecting their general temper and conduct. It was agreed to form an association.

20. EXECUTION OF LORD MAYO'S ASSASSIN.—The papers from India by the last mail give detailed accounts of the execution of Shere Ali, the murderer of Lord Mayo. During his confinement he twice made violent attacks on his guards, in one instance doing serious harm to a soldier, who was still in hospital. The soldier kept guard in the prisoner's cell, for Shere Ali so courted death that there were fears that he might defeat the ends of justice by suicide. He struck down the European sentry one night with a stroke of his handcuffs, and getting hold of the bayonet wounded him slightly, and would certainly have killed him but for the arrival of help. On another occasion he got one hand free, and made a similar attempt to injure a corporal. On the day of his execution he produced a stone, which he had managed to hide, with the intention of committing some further violent act. Shere Ali revealed nothing at the time of his execution. There are several new features in the case worthy of note. It appears that the murderer had threatened to avenge the death of Abdalla, the assassin of Mr. Justice Norman; that he had spoken of receiving

good news from India three months before, being about the time that the contemplated visit of the Viceroy became known; that he had prepared the knife specially for the act; and that he had given a feast to Mussulmans, and distributed sweets to Hindoos, the Sunday before the Viceroy's arrival. He says that for ten years he has contemplated killing a Governor-General, and once went to Simla to find Lord Lawrence, but could not get a chance. He also boasts of being the hero who killed a colonel in the Khyber Pass. The police-officer who came down to investigate the affair, as he ascended the steps leading up to the scaffold, asked him a question. He shook his head with a smile as he said, "*Nahin, sahib.*" As soon as he got up he asked the hangman to turn his face towards Mecca, and then began to pray very loud and quickly. He said two prayers, and kept on repeating the Mussulman's Creed. The *Times* correspondent at Calcutta remarks that luckily at the execution the face, which had been politely turned to Mecca, was by a freak of chance and a twist of the cord turned round again in the opposite direction. Although the assassin would not himself know in what direction his face was turned, his co-religionists would; but that was his only punishment; the execution was a triumph to the assassin. "He went to his fate as to a feast, which would begin on Viper Island and end among the black houris of paradise."

22. FALL OF A FEMALE ACROBAT.—During the performance of the troupe of Japanese known as "The Great Dragon" troupe, at the Gaiety Theatre, West Hartlepool, a woman who performs on the high slack wire and inclined rope was ascending the latter, which stretches from the stage at an angle of 45 deg. to the top of the gallery front, when, only two or three strides from the top, she became so startled by a thoughtless man striking a vesuvian immediately before her eyes that she lost her balance and fell into the pit, a depth of about forty feet. A wild scream from the audience bespoke the terror caused by the accident, but, marvellous to add, she was seen to rise almost unhurt, and walk to the stage to continue her performances thereon; and equally singular as it may appear, none of the occupants of the pit upon whom she fell received any greater injury than a shaking and a few bruises.

23. A FRENCH MURDER.—A fearful tragedy has taken place in the Rue des Ecoles, Paris. It appears that the Count Arthur Dubourg, being suspicious of his wife's fidelity, caused her to be followed, and thus became assured of her culpability. On Tuesday last the Count, being perfectly aware that his wife had repaired to the apartments where she was to meet her paramour, M. Sylvain de Précorbin, a clerk in the Prefecture of the Seine, followed her, asking the porter to show him to M. Dutertre's apartments, saying that he had a telegraphic message to give him. The porter, after a moment's hesitation, accompanied him to the door of the apartment. Arrived there, the Count knocked and called for his wife. On hearing the voice of the injured husband, Précorbin, at the instance of the Countess, made his escape by the window looking

on the tiles. After having reached this height, at the risk of being precipitated into the street, he succeeded in reaching the window of an adjoining apartment. At the very moment he left the room the Countess opened the door to her husband, who drew a sword from his stick and inflicted several wounds upon his wife. He then constituted himself a prisoner, and narrated every detail connected with the crime. The victim expired on Thursday. M. de Précorbin, it appears, had formed an attachment to the poor lady, which she reciprocated; neither having any fortune, she was forced by her parents to marry the Count Dubourg. She appeared reconciled to her fate, and bore a child to her husband some eighteen months since. They were living as happily together as could be expected, when she met her first love in society, and an intrigue was commenced which terminated in the dreadful manner described. On his being brought to trial the jury found "extenuating circumstances," and the murderer was only sentenced to a term of imprisonment, against the injustice of which he exclaimed vehemently.

— A BRUTAL WIFE-MURDER has formed the subject of a coroner's inquiry at Charterhouse, a small and secluded village situated on the slope of the Mendip Hills. A man named William Lease, who is a miner in the employ of the West Mendip Mining Company, came home on Tuesday evening and accused his wife of having been seen on the Hundred Acres with a hundred fellows, and on her asking him what he meant he knocked her down. She had a baby in her arms at the time, and the infant was taken away from her by one of the children who was present when the assault was committed. The poor woman ran to the houses in the neighbourhood, but she did not receive the protection she required. At the last house she went to, the door was locked against her, and she was dragged thence to the garden in the rear of the house. Lease there knocked her down, and then lifted her up with one hand and knocked her down with the other. While she was on the ground he kicked her several times in various parts of the body. This brutal conduct he repeated four times, and eventually dragged her round the corner of the house into the porch. He was subsequently seen to fetch several buckets of water from a brook which runs close by, and from the condition in which the corpse was subsequently found it is presumed he flung the liquid over her. A special feature of the sad affair is the cowardice and apathy displayed by the neighbours, some of whom stood looking out of their windows watching Lease murder his wife. Several men were appealed to by the children of the deceased to interfere, but they declined.

24. A DESTRUCTIVE BOILER EXPLOSION occurred this morning at the ironworks at Prince's End, South Staffordshire, owned by Messrs. William Millington and Co. The guide and merchant mills are worked by an engine which obtains its steam from two long tubular boilers. The largest is perhaps 38 ft. in length, and this burst yesterday. One portion, weighing about two tons, fell 500 yards off, while a lighter piece fell in the new works, 1000 yards away,



and dropped through the engine-house, where it destroyed a portion of the engine. In and around the two mills the devastation was complete. The second boiler was hurled from its bed, the tall stack was demolished, the mills became a heap of builder's rubbish and shattered iron castings. The engine-driver was near the boiler at the time, and he was hurled into the arm of the canal close by. He fell into deep water, but, happily, could swim, and, as he was not stunned, got safely to shore. On the other side of the canal was a workman's cottage. A portion of the riven boiler struck a wall of this building with so much force that it stove in the wall. Unhappily, the concussion happened at a point behind which two children were in bed asleep; the brickwork fell upon them, and both were sadly hurt; one, it was feared, mortally. A square piece of the boiler struck a sitting-room window of the rectory broadside on, and took in windows and frame as cleanly as if it had been designed to remove both without disturbing the surrounding masonry. The clergyman and his family were all safe in bed. A stack, 70 ft. high, in the forge part of the works, had a hole shot through it within 5 ft. of the top as though with a cannon-ball. Windows were broken in all directions, and the high road was heaped with bricks ejected from the works.

25. FUNERAL OF LORD MAYO.—The state ceremonial in connexion with the funeral of Lord Mayo took place in Dublin. From an early hour the city was astir, and people came streaming in from every side to the streets through which the procession was to pass, and swarmed in every direction and every public place.

No element was wanting to make the ceremonial worthy of the occasion and of the country. The result was a grandeur and solemnity befitting its imperial character and the public sentiment which it embodied. The military element preponderated, but there were other features in the demonstration which made it a touching tribute of popular esteem and personal friendship, as well as a magnificent display of national sympathy.

The funeral was originally fixed for Wednesday, April 24, and the "Enchantress," the vessel containing the body of Lord Mayo, was expected at Kingstown on the morning of the 22nd. But in consequence of the non-arrival of the ship the ceremony was inevitably postponed.

The "Enchantress" was brought up on the Thursday to the North Wall, where the disembarkation of the body of the late Viceroy took place. The process took some time. The enormous weight of the coffin (nearly two tons) made especial machinery necessary in order that it might be lifted safely into the gun-carriage which was ready to receive it. Slowly the huge burden was put into its place on the gun-carriage, made secure, and covered with the Union Jack, and in a short time the procession was fully marshalled.

The tenantry walked eight abreast at the head of the procession; and as they moved slowly on, arrayed in their white scarves, they

contrasted strikingly with the brilliant scarlet and blue uniform of the military and the dark masses of the civilians on each side of the lines in the distance. They were followed by the Marines, who marched ten deep in three bodies, and then came the sailors ten deep, preceded by their officers in full uniform. The banners of the Orders of the Star of India and of St. Patrick were borne in charge of the knights in single file, and stood out conspicuously. The cavalry numbered ten abreast, and the lines were kept with wonderful compactness and precision. The deputation from the India Office was conveyed in an open carriage at the head of the state equipages of the Lord-Lieutenant, in official uniforms. The external coffin contained the following simple inscription:—

“Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Baron of Naas, K.P., G.M.S.I. Born 21st of February, 1812. Died 8th of February, 1872.”

After the public part of the funeral the escort of the King's Dragoon Guards took charge of the funeral car, and the *cortége* was almost immediately on its way to Palmerston.

The interment took place from Palmerston House, on the 26th, in Johnstown churchyard, in the presence of a large assemblage. The Union Jack served as a pall, and on it were some beautiful flowers and ferns.

26. RELEASE OF THE TICHBORNE CLAIMANT.—This afternoon the Claimant to the Tichborne estates was released on bail from Newgate. An immense crowd had assembled in front of the gaol as early as eleven o'clock, in the hope of seeing “Sir Roger.” About half-past two a private carriage and pair, which had been driving leisurely round the adjacent streets for some time, came slowly down the Old Bailey from the Holborn end, and, passing the front entrance to the gaol, stopped at the door of the Sessions House. The Claimant and his friends immediately came out and jumped in. This was soon perceived by the people, who, with a tremendous roar, came surging down the street. They were, however, too late to catch anything but a passing glimpse of the Claimant, as the coachman immediately drove off, amid cries of “Bravo Tichborne” on all sides, mingled with hisses. The party drove off to the private address given by the Claimant.

27. ERUPTION OF MOUNT VESUVIUS.—“Yesterday morning, about seven o'clock,” writes Mr. E. L. Knight, from Naples, “I went out to get a carriage to go up Mount Vesuvius, and on my way I was asked if I had heard the news of the night. I was then told that hundreds of people who had gone up the night before to see the burning lava in the Atrio di Cavallo were dead. I had seen the mountain the night before, when there was a stream of lava running from the top of the cone into the Atrio—that is, the valley between Vesuvius and the adjoining hill, the Somma, where there seemed to be a lake of fire. Later in the night there was a tremendous eruption, a large crater opening suddenly between the Observatory and the Atrio di Cavallo, across the path of the

visitors, it is said, of a mile diameter. We started from Naples at eight o'clock. I could see the lava rushing from several openings to the right of and above the Observatory, but below the cone. The lava was still flowing from the cone into the Atrio, but no ash or dust was thrown up. We drove on to Resina, where the population was in fearful excitement, not knowing what to do, and apparently apprehensive of instant death. A few minutes afterwards we met a cart bringing down a dead body, and as we went on we saw other bodies, at least twelve, of which one only appeared to be living. They were frightfully burnt on the face and hands, and some which were carried on chairs in a sitting position were very ghastly objects. We ascended on foot with the guide by a path straight up the mountain side. At length we stood on the edge of the flat ground sloping to the foot of the cone. Currents of lava were running down on both sides of us far below, but the craters from which they flowed were hidden by the smoke, clouds of smoke were ascending from the top of the cone, and the lava still pouring down to the Atrio. The roar of the mountain, which we had first heard at Portici, was now tremendous, continuous, and like millions of peals of thunder rolling at the same time, when suddenly, about noon, there was a cessation with a low rolling sound, and one heard the clicking and rippling of the lava currents pouring down the hill-sides below. Then, in about a minute, came a deafening roar, shaking the ground under our feet, and a new crater burst forth just on the farther side of the Observatory, as it seemed to us, and dense clouds of ashes and stones were thrown up into the air on the left hand of, and mingling with the great white cloud, making a great contrast with the dark brown dust and ashes which rose perpendicularly to an immense height. The roaring continued and kept on increasing till it became deafening. When we had gone down a short distance the same phenomena again appeared. All this time the sun was shining in an Italian sky without a cloud. When we reached Resina it was curious to see the congratulations for what they thought our escape on the faces of the people. The uncertainty and the panic were gone, and they were steadily packing up their beds and the few things they could carry and starting with every sort of conveyance to put their guardian saint, St. Gennaro, between them and the danger. When I started from Naples I expected to find all the world at the top of the mountain, but, to my great surprise, there was not a single stranger there—only the few persons employed in bringing down the dead. The awful roaring of the mountain continued and increased till midnight, when it ceased, and only roared for a short time about four o'clock. To-day the mountain is quieter, and the Neapolitans are a trifle less pale. The view of the mountain at midnight was grand in the extreme."

— THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—The International Exhibition for this year, 1872, in the Galleries erected around the Gardens of the Royal Horticultural Society, at South Kensington, is now open to the public. It comprises, first, the annual collection

of works of Fine Art, painting and sculpture, decorative pottery, furniture, metal ware, glass ware, mosaic, carvings, and embroidery; secondly, the select samples of particular branches of manufacture appointed for display upon this occasion, which are the cotton manufacture, jewellery, musical instruments, paper, books, printing, and engraving.

30. DEATH OF A STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.—Mr. George William Manuel Dasent, Junior Student of Christ Church, was drowned this afternoon while bathing in Sandford Lasher, near Oxford. The deceased had rowed down the river with two friends, and was bathing in the deep and dangerous pool at Sandford, already notorious for various fatal accidents. Mr. Dasent was in all respects of the very highest promise.

— CYCLONE AT MADRAS.—On Wednesday night and Thursday morning the cyclone with its full force broke upon Madras. The night was dark, and one was hardly able to see what damage was being done, but the frightful gusts of wind that now and again shook every house sufficiently prepared one to see signs of great destruction in the morning. The sights that were everywhere witnessed therefore did not take any one by surprise. Many houses had been damaged, some having their walls blown down, and others having their windows and doors carried away. Substantial structures were thrown down and shattered. Almost every vessel that had been riding at anchor in the roadstead on the previous evening had suffered severely. About half a dozen vessels were wrecked, and others were in great distress and were fast drifting towards shore. It would seem that the fury of the tempest acquired very great vigour at about three o'clock in the morning, and at this time signs of distress were communicated by some of the ships to the authorities on land. The marine officials at once rendered all the assistance possible, and at an early hour a large crowd of persons were assembled on the beach ready to do what they could to assist the unfortunate people in distress. By eleven o'clock many English ships were found to be wrecks.

## MAY.

1. THE TWO-THOUSAND DAY.—The great trial race of the year was won by Prince Charlie, the "roarer," a feat which many believed impossible, but which the public had anticipated by making him the first favourite. The three first horses were thus placed:—

Mr. Joseph Dawson's Prince Charlie, by Blair  
 Athol, 8 st. 10 lb. (J. Osborne) . . . . 1

Mr. Savile's Cremorne, 8 st. 10 lb. (Maidment) . . . 2

Lord Falmouth's Queen's Messenger, 8 st. 10 lb.

(T. French) . . . . . 3

The betting was 2 to 1 agst. Prince Charlie, and 3 to 1 agst. Cremorne.

3. A MEMORY OF GREтна GREEN.—Simon Lang, the last of the Gretna Green priests, died at Kelling, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, and was buried in Gretna churchyard. The united careers of the two Langs, father and son, as priests, extend over fully eighty years. David, the father, was born and brought up in the parish of Gretna. He donned the priest's ceremonials in the year 1792, and continued in the wedding line till the time of his death, nearly forty years after. The greatest achievement of his reign was the marriage of Thomas, Lord Erskine, in his old age, to his mistress, Miss Sarah Buck, of York Buildings, Marylebone. For this event, it is said, he netted the sum of 100 guineas. David succeeded in joining several scions of noble and powerful houses, including the Villiers, the Beauclercs, the Coventries, and others of almost equal standing. He was cut off rather suddenly in 1827, in his seventy-second year, from the effects of a severe cold, caught while attending at Lancaster the great sensational trial of Wakefield, for the abduction of Miss Turner, a rich heiress, fifteen years old. After this event Simon Lang at once entered upon the duties of the priestly office; and as his father's fame was full in the land he naturally fell into a lucrative branch of business at once. In spite of unfair opposition, Sim flourished abundantly, following closely his legitimate occupations of marrying and weaving, and occasionally varying the tone of these by doing a little smuggling on the quiet. He long outlived all his competitors and saw the decline of the golden days of old Gretna; but still he continued in harness to the last. About twelve months since he went through probably the last marriage ceremony he ever performed, in complete *déshabille*, having nothing on but his shirt and drawers. The reason of this unwonted exhibition was that the parties reached Gretna from Dumfries by the midnight train, and the old priest was aroused from his slumbers to do duty at a moment's notice.

— A PROMISE NOT TO MARRY.—A case, which caused great amusement to everybody concerned, came before the judges sitting in Banco in the Queen's Bench. The declaration set forth that in 1868 Miss Crowdy, aunt of the plaintiff, Mr. Creswell, from her care and affection for her nephew, who was twenty-three years of age, conditionally on his not marrying a certain young lady, a widow with three children, whom he had lately met on board ship on a voyage from the Cape of Good Hope, agreed if he should continue unmarried to the young lady to allow him 300*l.* a year during his life. For some reason or other, however, the defendant had intermitted her payments, and in 1871 this action was brought to recover some arrears. The aunt demurred on the ground that the contract was not legally valid and was revocable at will, there

having been no legal consideration. The judges held, however, that the fact of the plaintiff having foregone the domestic happiness he had promised himself was a sufficient consideration to make the agreement good in law. It was further urged that a contract to refrain from marrying was against public policy. Mr. Justice Blackburn pointed out that this was not a contract to refrain from marrying altogether, but to refrain from marrying a particular lady. But (said the defendant's counsel) if a man does not marry the woman he loves, the likelihood is that he will not marry at all. Mr. Justice Blackburn held that that was too romantic for a court of justice. The demurrer was overruled.

9. A CHURCH SET ON FIRE BY LIGHTNING.—During a thunder-storm this day the tower of the parish church of Rainham, in Kent, was struck by lightning, which had run down the shaft of the vane and set fire to the beam in which it was fixed. It thence passed to the bell used for tolling the death-knell and was conducted by a wire attached to it into the church, where it displaced a stone in the wall near the west porch and passed out into the graveyard. It melted the lead on the roof of the tower, and did so much damage that it was found necessary to remove the vane to make the requisite repairs. On Thursday night all was considered safe, but about five o'clock on Friday morning smoke was seen issuing from the church. The tower being ascended without loss of time, it was found that the woodwork of the belfry was burning. The fire was discovered just in time; had it gone on for another half-hour serious injury must have been done. As it was, the belfry was so filled with smoke that those who assisted in extinguishing the fire were greatly hindered in their work; but the flames were eventually extinguished by the exertions of the villagers. The tower of this same Rainham church, one of the most imposing in the neighbourhood, was struck by lightning on October 20, 1791. The church, which is eight centuries old, is one of the most handsome of the parish churches of Kent.

10. AN EXTRAORDINARY SCENE took place in the Central Criminal Court. Sarah Murray and Mary Lynch were indicted for assaulting Susan Snellgrove and causing her grievous bodily harm. In the beginning of March a notoriously bad character, named Daniel Harris, was committed for trial at the Surrey sessions for a street robbery. There was some difficulty in establishing the identity of Harris, and Snellgrove, who appeared to have seen him running away after the robbery, was subpoenaed by the police to give evidence. The trial was to come on at the March sessions, and as the prosecutrix was going there, the prisoners followed her and declared that if she gave evidence against Harris they would settle her before night. On the same evening the prosecutrix went out, and when she had gone a short distance she saw the prisoners. Lynch struck her a violent blow, which turned her round, and Murray then struck her a blow on the eye, which was knocked completely out of the socket. The clothes of the prosecutrix were

torn entirely off her by the prisoners and some of their companions. At the hospital the remains of the wounded eye were removed, and for some time it was feared that she would lose the sight of the other. The jury found both prisoners guilty of the entire charge, and added that they were of opinion that the act was done with the intent to take the eye out. Baron Bramwell, in indignant terms, remarked upon the savage nature of the act committed by the prisoners, and sentenced them to be kept in penal servitude for life. The moment the sentence was pronounced the prisoner Lynch rushed at Murray and seized her by the hair, and it was with difficulty she was rescued from her. She was then about to commit some other violence, but the warders seized her, and they were both removed, shrieking, from the dock. The prisoner Lynch was under the impression apparently that Murray had given the information that had led to her apprehension.

13. THE EMPRESS OF GERMANY concluded a visit to England by leaving Windsor Castle this morning. The Empress's last day in London was spent in a round of farewell visits.

14. MURDER OF TWO OFFICERS IN INDIA.—A deplorable occurrence is reported by the mail from India. A private named John Butler, of the 108th Regiment, stationed at Deesa, a man of bad character, in a determined manner watched all night for Captain A. H. Laurie, of his regiment, and on his going out in the morning for parade fired at him two or three times. Lieutenant and Adjutant Albert Munro, hearing the shots and the screams of Mrs. Laurie, who witnessed the occurrence, rode to the spot and was shot dead by Butler. The wretch then fired again at Captain Laurie, who was fearfully wounded, and at two other officers, who fortunately escaped, and when pursued he managed to blow his own brains out, firing in all eleven shots from his gun in a few minutes. Captain Laurie died shortly after.

— THE "CLAIMANT" AT ALRESFORD. — This afternoon the "Claimant," upon the invitation of a number of the tenants of the Tichborne estates, and of the townspeople of Alresford, which is distant some three miles from Tichborne Hall, paid a public visit to the little village of Alresford, where he was received with every demonstration of enthusiastic welcome. The "Claimant" has been stopping for the last few days at The Grove, Ropley, the seat of Mr. Guildford Onslow, M.P. for Guildford. At the villas and houses of the well-to-do people of the neighbourhood ladies appeared at the windows or at the gates and waved handkerchiefs, "Sir Roger" acknowledging the compliment repeatedly. When the outskirts of the village were reached a band met the party, and there was on the ground a large body of respectable-looking men wearing blue silk rosettes. The horses were taken from the waggonette and, amidst the most enthusiastic cheering and shaking of hands with the "Claimant," the vehicle was drawn into the yard of the Swan Hotel, where the people assembled to the number of about 2000 and constituted a meeting. After Mr. Onslow had made a

speech expressive of his entire belief in the "Claimant's" virtues and identity, the party adjourned to the Swan, where the "Claimant" himself made another to the same effect.

15. EFFECTS OF LIGHTNING.—A severe thunderstorm which occurred this afternoon was experienced with peculiar severity at a farm occupied by John Nuttall, of Pilsworth, about two miles from Bury. The chimney on the western gable of the farm was struck, the chimney-stack completely demolished; the roof was smashed through, and nearly one half of the thick brickwork of the gable end was ruinously demolished or shaken. An aperture some yards in extent was broken through the brickwork in the region of the flue into a bed-room, the fireplace, fender, &c., being broken into pieces, a large wardrobe on the opposite side of the room broken from top to bottom, and the large-paned window utterly demolished, some of the pieces being blown forty yards away. The destruction was continued through the thick hearth-stone, which was split up, and down into the parlour below, where the flue was smashed out, the fireplace and grate broken into fragments, the window-panes blown out, pictures and frames shattered to pieces, several square yards of the flooring and Brussels carpet torn up into shreds, the door split, a sewing-machine whirled down and broken, chair-legs and backs smashed off, and several hundredweights of *débris* deposited on the hearth. At that moment five persons were taking tea in the kitchen, about twelve yards away, but not one of them was hurt.

17. EXPATRIATED COMMUNISTS.—Twelve Communists landed at Dover this afternoon. How these poor fellows suffered after being landed on our shores is well described by an eye-witness of a scene which occurred at Bexley Heath, on the high-road between Dover and London, on Tuesday night:—

"I was seated at home, about half-past ten o'clock," he writes, "when the door was opened in response to a loud knock, and, standing outside, accompanied by a policeman and surrounded by a throng of people, was a band of about a dozen of the most *triste* and wretched-looking wayfarers I ever saw in my life. They were haggard, travel-stained, and utterly broken down, some of them being almost shoeless, and one poor fellow groaned aloud from the excruciating agony he must have endured. His feet were literally raw, and his companions were in various stages of a like condition. They had applied at the police-station; but, as they were unable to speak a word of English, and none of the officials there could understand French, they were brought to me with the view of ascertaining who they were and what they wanted. One of their number, an exceedingly intelligent and handsome young fellow, who satisfied me at once, by means of books and papers, that he was of the respectable *ouvrier* class, said that he and his companions had been indiscriminately seized, together with many hundreds of others, who, like him, had had nothing whatever to do with the Communistic insurrection, and thrown into prison; that now, the principals of



the rebellion having been executed, or otherwise dealt with, the Government were at a loss what to do with the great mass of untried prisoners, and that the latter were being hurried off out of the country in batches; that they (my suppliants) had been taken from their confinement at Cherbourg, driven through Paris without being permitted to communicate with any of their friends, conveyed to Calais, and sent across the channel to Dover, where they landed on Saturday without a *sou* in the world; that they had walked thus far on their way to London, were sinking from fatigue and starvation, and wanted some shelter, no matter how lowly, in which they could *coucher pendant la nuit*. We found it impossible to accommodate them in that way in such a quiet out-of-the-way place at such an hour, and, collecting several shillings for them, giving them a couple of loaves, and providing them with some instructions, written in French and English, as to how they had better proceed on arriving at Woolwich, five miles distant, we set them off, fervently expressing their *mercis beaucoup* between their groans from pain and their protests against the heartlessness of the Government of their country.

21. A MEETING OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS, at which about 1000 were present, was held at Yaxley, a village in Huntingdonshire, and ended in a serious riot between the labourers and the farmers. A chairman, being appointed from the men present, proceeded to address the assembly, when a number of farmers, their sons, and friends, marched on to the green, having in each hand bird-clappers, and drowned the voice of the speaker. The disturbance was patiently borne until the labourers had taken the measure of the farmers present, when a message was sent to them that they had better leave the men alone, or it would fare badly with them. The answer to this was a renewal of the clapper din. As soon as speech could be heard a stalwart labourer shouted, "Nolls, we can stand this no longer," and with one action the "Nolls" made a furious charge on the farmers. The young farmers stood the fight bravely, many of the labourers not desiring to hurt their masters; but the strangers from the other farms were not so mercifully disposed, and the bird-clappers were most unsparingly used on the heads, backs, and legs of the young and old squires. The women who were engaged in the affray gave their husbands some trouble to quiet them and prevent a further attack on the farmers in their homesteads.

27. IRISH MURDER.—The sense of security which the public generally were beginning to feel received a rude shock by the report of a savage murder perpetrated in one of the most populous suburban districts of Dublin. There can be no doubt that it is agrarian, and it therefore excites the more alarm. Mrs. Harriett Neile, the lady who was murdered, resided with her husband and two sons at Sydenham-terrace, Brighton-road, Bathgar. It is a rather retired part of a populous locality. She is reported to have possessed some landed property in the King's County which she was desirous to

sell, and before disposing of it she wished to clear it of some tenants. For this purpose she lately served with her own hand the necessary notices to quit, and she was to have attended to day at the Quarter Sessions of Tullamore to prove the service. Last evening, about nine o'clock, two men, dressed in frieze coats, apparently of the peasant class, were observed loitering about the place, but no particular notice was taken of them. Mrs. Neile and her husband were seated at a window, when one of them entered the little garden in front and walked up to the hall-door. The servant happened to be out, and Mrs. Neile went to the door to open it. The man was observed to hold up a paper to her, and while her attention was directed towards it he pulled out a pistol and shot her through the heart. She uttered a cry and fell dead immediately. Her husband rushed out, and some of the neighbours were alarmed, but the two men walked off, crossed a wooden palisade into a field, and went off in the direction of a district known as "the Quarries," lying at the south of Rathgar.

28. MUTINY AT THE NAVAL BARRACKS, SHEERNESS.—During the last six months the service has apparently grown distasteful to a large number of the men, and the desertions during that period have been without parallel since the formation of the Sheerness Steam Reserve. The number of men who are at present under stoppages is something considerable. It appears that on Sunday two seamen were made prisoners, and as the cells were, as usual, all filled with occupants, they were placed in the dead-house adjacent to the jetty. The last body placed therein was that of a black sailor who died from fever. The building in which the sailors were placed, in the language of the sailors, "reeks with all kinds of disease." It is in the immediate neighbourhood of the closets, which emit a most offensive effluvia, and is infested with rats. The idea of placing two men in such a place was obnoxious to the majority of the seamen, but on Sunday discipline appeared to prevail over feelings, which were stifled till Monday afternoon, when, after frequent consultations, some of the messmates of the prisoners were appointed to wait upon the officer of the watch, and respectfully request the transfer of the men to more suitable quarters. This they did. The answer was that, it being by the order of the commander that the men were placed there, nothing could be done in the matter until that officer came on duty. A regular mutiny followed, but was soon suppressed.

— A DREADFUL CASE OF WIFE MURDER, the details of which were not discovered till several days after its perpetration, has just been committed at Dapen, near Llanelly, Carmarthenshire. The prisoner, Henry Brice, was "on the spree," and his wife having gone to look for him, a man who lodged in the house went to bed. About eleven o'clock he heard a terrible row down-stairs, and on dressing and going down he saw Mrs. Brice crouched down on the floor, seeking refuge behind a chair, her hair all hanging down, her clothes torn, and Brice himself was kicking her with a "span new

pair of draining boots," and hammering her with a poker. The lodger seized Brice and tried to stop the attack, but Brice told him with an oath to leave the house, as nobody should stay there that night but himself. He threatened the lodger with the poker, and then turning to his wife again dragged her by the hair and kicked her till she was in another corner. The lodger was then turned out, and when outside he heard the victim "screeching" for mercy. Nevertheless he went and quietly slept under a haystack all night, without giving any alarm. Two poachers also passed, and heard the woman begging her husband for God's sake not to murder her, but they did not interfere. The next night Brice would not sleep alone—he got the lodger to go to his old bed, and the men slept together. Two days after the murder Brice was seen, at four o'clock in the afternoon, carrying his wife's body, with one leg under each arm and her head thrown over his shoulder. He tried to throw her down an old coal-pit, but it was arched in. He then hid her under some bushes, and was beginning to dig a grave, when he was discovered and arrested. The body was fearfully bruised.

29. THE DERBY STAKES of 50 sovs. each, three-year-olds; colts 8 st. 10 lbs., and fillies 8 st. 5 lbs.; about a mile and a half, starting at the new high-level starting-post. 191 subs.

Mr. H. Savile's b. c. Cremorne, by Parmesan (Maidment) .	1
Mr. J. Astley's br. c. Brother to Flurry (Chaloner) .	2
Lord Falmouth's br. c. Queen's Messenger (T. French)	3

Betting:—5 to 2 agst. Prince Charlie, 3 to 1 agst. Cremorne, 6 to 1 agst. Queen's Messenger, 8 to 1 agst. Wenlock, 25 to 1 each agst. Drummond and Marshal Bazaine, 33 to 1 agst. Almoner, 40 to 1 each agst. The Druid and Laburnum, 50 to 1 agst. the Makeshift colt, 66 to 1 agst. Helmet, 100 to 1 each agst. Vanderdecken, Statesman, and Condor.

The issue hung in the balance to the last stride, the verdict of the judge being recorded in favour of the popular favourite by a head. The time by Dent's chronometer was 2 min. 45 sec.

On the return home, about seven o'clock, the occupants of a four-horse drag, who had been amusing themselves on the return journey by pelting the pedestrians with bags of flour, peas, and other missiles, pulled up in the Clapham-road for refreshments, leaving three of their number in charge of their vehicle. These, left to themselves, recommenced the flour-throwing game, and one of the bags happened to strike the wife of a railway porter, whose husband (unfortunately for the trio) was standing by her side. He thereupon called upon the crowd for assistance, which was readily given; the drag was stormed, and after a short resistance carried, the offenders dragged from their seats and carried to a horse-trough, which was conveniently handy, where they were soundly ducked. They were then rolled in the mud, and afterwards the contents of some twenty

bags of flour, which had been discovered in the drag, were liberally sprinkled over them. The whole affair did not occupy more than four minutes, and on the return of their friends the whole party drove rapidly away, evidently glad to escape further attentions from the mob.

31. THE OAKS STAKES of 50 sovs. each, for three-year-old fillies, 8 st. 10 lb. each; the owner of the second filly to receive 300 sovs., and the third 150 sovs. out of the stakes. About a mile and a half. 170 subs.

M. Lefevre's Reine, by Monarque—Fille de l'Air (Fordham) . . . . .	1
Mr. Cartwright's Louise Victoria (Custance) . . . . .	2
Sir R. Bulkeley's Guadeloupe (J. Snowdon) . . . . .	3

Betting :—5 to 2 agst. Reine (t.), 3 to 1 agst. Louise Victoria (t.), 6 to 1 agst. Catherine (t.), 9 to 1 agst. Georgie (t.), 11 to 1 agst. Chance (t.), 20 to 1 agst. Violetta (t.), 25 to 1 agst. Beehive (t.), 25 to 1 agst. Landlady (t.), 30 to 1 against Merry and Wise (t.), 33 to 1 agst. Milliner (t.), 35 to 1 agst. Guadeloupe (t.), 40 to 1 agst. Madge Wildfire (t.), 50 to 1 agst. Arethusia (t.), 100 to 1 agst. Smoke (t.).

Reine won easily by half a length. Time, as taken by Benson's chronograph, 2 min. and 52 sec.

— TWO PICTURE SALES.—At very nearly the same time there died, in England and America, two men who left to be disposed of at their deaths two of the largest private collections of pictures ever sold at public auction. Mr. Le Grand Lockwood and Mr. Joseph Gillott were both architects of their own fortunes, and each achieved the means of stocking his picture-gallery with many of the best-known works of the foremost modern masters. In Mr. Lockwood's collection such names as Verbeekhoeven, Kraus, Schenbach, Van Schendel, Schrader, with the best of the American artists, were well represented. In Mr. Gillott's the bewildered connoisseur had to choose between masterpieces of Turner, Etty, Muller, Webster, and David Cox by the score. But the fates of the two collections were curiously unequal. While Mr. Lockwood's collection—of the two, perhaps, originally the more expensive—brought under the hammer prices in the aggregate far below the original cost, Mr. Gillott's was sold at an enormous advance, amounting, it is said, in many cases to ten or twenty times the sums he paid. Bierstadt's "Domes of the Yosemite," the pride of the Lockwood gallery, bought for \$25,000, was bid off for the comparatively paltry sum of \$5100—to the minds of some harsh critics a much closer approximation to its true value. On the other hand, Webster's "Roast Pig," a picture painted on commission for the great penmaker for 700 guineas, was sold for 3550 guineas—more than five times its original cost, or nearly \$20,000. Mr. Lockwood's pictures were said to have cost originally some \$300,000; they brought a trifle over \$70,000. Two days' sale of the Gillott collection brought more than as many

pounds, or nearly \$365,000. On the first day, for eighty-nine pictures, 30,000*l.* was bid, an average of over \$1600 a picture. Nor was the Webster spoken of exceptional in its price. A little water-colour by David Cox fetched close on 4000*l.*, nearly as much as Mr. Lockwood paid for the acre or so of painted canvass in the "Domes of the Yosemite."

## JUNE.

1. THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES have returned to London from a Continental tour of some length undertaken for the re-establishment of the Prince's health. In the afternoon the Prince and Princess drove out into Hyde-park, where their appearance was welcomed by one of the largest assemblages ever remembered. The Prince, who was everywhere received by respectful demonstrations of loyalty, looked the picture of health, his continental tour having apparently thoroughly reinvigorated his Royal Highness. The Princess of Wales exhibited equally gratifying indications of health; and their Royal Highnesses returned the hearty salutations of the spectators with genial frankness.

Their Royal Highnesses were present at the Royal Italian Opera in the evening, and met with a reception every whit as cordial as that which had greeted them in the park. On their entrance the entire house, band and all, rose, and cheered most enthusiastically.

4. THE DUBLIN EXHIBITION.—The Duke of Edinburgh arrived in Dublin to open the Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures. As far as the people were concerned, his reception may be described as respectful rather than warm. The Exhibition itself is an unquestionable and unique success. Such a gathering of interesting objects has seldom or never been seen in one building.

— THE BURMESE EMBASSY, sixteen in number, arrived off Dover this evening, in the King of Burmah's steam-yacht, "Tyeska Yeen Byan." The yacht is a shapely, though not remarkably handsome craft, of about 400 tons burden, and she is to take half a dozen guns on board in London before she leaves England. She carries at her main the Burmese flag—a crimson peacock on a white ground—and a British ensign at the stern. She is commanded by an Englishman (Captain Brown), and her officers are English, but the crew, numbering about eighty, are Hindoos and Burmese.

On being introduced to the Queen at Windsor, the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary delivered to the Queen a letter from the King of Burmah, which was translated as follows:—

"From his Great, Glorious, and Most Excellent Majesty King of the Rising Sun, who reigns over Burmah, to her Most Glorious

and Most Excellent Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.—Madam, my Royal Sister,—Prompted by a desire to act in accordance with the duties incumbent on independent Sovereigns who rule over great countries, which leads them to establish friendly relations with each other if they do not already exist, and to cement, strengthen, and confirm royal friendships which have already been established, I have taken into my most earnest, careful, and deliberate consideration the best means to cause the great friendship that exists between Burmah and England to be placed on a secure, lasting, and firm basis; and having also an earnest desire for the confidential intercourse which independent Sovereigns should have with each other, I have appointed an Embassy, consisting of Wongyee King Wongyee Maha Saythoo as Envoy Extraordinary, Woondouk Paden Won Maha Menhla Kyaw-den, and Woondouk Pangyet Won Maha Mongyau Raza as Envoys of the Second Rank (Attachés), and Saraydawgyee Menhla Zayathoo, as Secretary to the Embassy, and have entrusted them with a royal letter to your Most Gracious Majesty. On arriving in England the Envoys will have an opportunity of bearing personal testimony to the feelings by which I am actuated in regard to the friendly relations which I am anxious to promote between the two countries. I pray to Almighty God that He will ward from you all that is evil, and that He will vouchsafe to shed His benign influence over your Gracious Majesty, the Princes and Princesses (your Majesty's sons and daughters), and other members of the Royal Family, as well as over your Majesty's nobles and officers of Government.

“Given at the Royal Palace of Ratnabon (Mandalay), in Burmah, this 8th day of the Waxing Moon Taboung, 1233, Burmese Era; corresponding with the 5th of February, 1872, of the Christian Era.—I am, Madam, my Royal Sister, your Great and Most Glorious Majesty's Good and Royal Brother, THEEREE PAWARA WEEZAYA NUNTA YATHA PUNDEOTA MAHA DUMMA YAZADE YAZA, his Great, Glorious, and Most Excellent Majesty, King of the Rising Sun, who reigns over Burmah.”

The Envoy also laid at her Majesty's feet a casket containing presents from the King of Burmah.

8. DOG SHOW AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE.—During four days of the present week the Crystal Palace has been the scene of an exhibition of sporting and other dogs, which, both for quality and quantity, far surpasses any such exhibition ever seen in England. The entries numbered over twelve hundred, and the prizes amounted in value to 1000*l*. Every conceivable breed of dog is represented, from the stately bloodhound, true and tender as Gelert, of Welsh story, to the British beagle; dogs, giant or dwarf; dogs of every hue, whole coloured or curiously marked and spotted, with hair long or short, and ears cocked or drooping; dogs of the parlour, of the kitchen, of the stable, of the moor, and of the farmyard. The toy class particularly attracted a vast amount of attention, while the magnificent specimens of the mastiffs elicited warm and universal admiration.

Punch, the winner of Class II., is one of the finest specimens ever exhibited.

10. THE INTERNATIONAL BOAT-RACE.—There was an enormous crowd of spectators both afloat and along the banks of the river to witness the race between the London Rowing Club and the Atalanta Club from the United States.

In consequence of the wind it was determined to row down with the ebb from Mortlake to Putney, instead of from Putney to Mortlake, as originally intended.

In accordance with previous arrangement the crews were started by report of pistol, instead of word of mouth; and directly the competitors had taken up their allotted positions, Mr. Lesley, the referee, gave the signal to go. Both crews caught the water at the same moment; but the London four led out at the second stroke and, rowing at the rate of forty-one tremendous strokes per minute, shot clean away from the Atalanta crew like an arrow from a bow, drawing clear of them in less than a dozen strokes. Indeed, the roar of the crowd that "They're off!" had scarcely subsided before the English crew were out of sight of their opponents. London crews are proverbial for rapid starting, as the records of Henley will prove; but with smooth water and a fair wind abaft them, all in favour of the lighter four, it was an unexpected sight to behold the American crew completely out of the race from the very first dip, notwithstanding they were rowing forty-four strokes a minute. Going right away from their opponents, the London crew led by three lengths at Barnes Bridge—reached in 3 min. 17 sec., rather more than half a mile having been rowed; by six at least at the bathing-place in the Duke of Devonshire's meadows above Chiswick, by eight at the foot of Chiswick Eyot, and ten at Hammersmith Suspension Bridge, through which the leaders passed 30 sec. ahead of the stranger, in 12 min. 28 sec. from the moment of starting. When the first half-mile had been traversed the London crew slowed the stroke down to thirty-seven and thirty-six to the minute, rowing a long steady drag, evidently without effort, while the Americans were floundering away after them in a hopeless stern-chase, at a rate of stroke never below forty to the minute. After shooting the centre arch of Hammersmith Bridge the London four drew farther and farther away, but the number of row-boats which were here scattered all over the river was so great that both crews were over and over again in the most imminent danger of being rowed into. Off the Soap Works, while the London crew were opposite the Crab Tree, a skiff—the occupants of which were mostly women—was pulled out towards the centre of the course, evidently to get a close view of the Americans, and came into collision with the Atalanta four, by which the latter lost at least a dozen strokes before they could get their oars clear and row away again. That the collision was entirely unintentional was evident. Indeed, to some extent the American four helped to bring it about, for they were steered much too wide all down the reach below Hammersmith Bridge.

The accident, however, had not the slightest influence upon the result of the race. The Londoners were enabled to gain a few additional lengths' lead, but, as they had been rowing a steady practice stroke for nearly the whole of the course, half a dozen lengths or so were of little moment. They continued to row away from their opponents, and reached the winning-flag, moored about 120 yards above Putney aqueduct, the easiest winners imaginable by forty-five seconds, or 250 yards in distance, more or less. The time of the race was 21 min. 23 sec.

The names and weights of the rival crews were as under :—

LONDON.			ATALANTA.		
	st.	lb.		st.	lb.
John B. Close (bow) . . .	11	8	E. Smith (bow) . . .	9	13
F. S. Gulston . . .	11	9	A. Handy . . .	10	0
A. de L. Long . . .	12	3	T. Van Raden . . .	10	13½
W. Stout (stroke) . . .	11	13	R. Withers (stroke) . . .	10	13

11. AN AGED BIGAMIST.—Henry Seymour, *alias* Henry Cavendish, 75, was charged with feloniously marrying Annie Elizabeth Pugh, his wife being then alive. His whole existence had been one long career of crime traceable as far back as 1819. In 1870 he was tried at Brussels for fraud, and was sentenced to terms of imprisonment amounting to eighteen months. On that occasion it was proved that he had gone by the names, amongst others, of Horace Belmore, Robert Williams, Lord Seymour, Mr. Maurice, and the Duke of Devonshire. He also claimed relationship with the Cavendish family, and at one time said he was an illegitimate son of the late Duke of Wellington. He was convicted at Brabant in 1828 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, and previous to that he had been convicted and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. In 1841 he was convicted in his absence, in one of the French courts, and sentenced to penal servitude for life; and he was next heard of as a professor of languages in a Jesuit college in Brussels. Subsequently he was handed over to the French authorities, and how he made his escape from them was not known. After that he was convicted at the Assize Court of the Seine, and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for forgery. It was then he assumed to be the Duke of Devonshire, and by bribing the gaoler he was allowed to make his escape in the disguise of a woman. In 1867 he was apprehended in London on a charge of bigamy, and many of the circumstances now brought to light were then unknown, or his punishment would have been more severe. Then came the trial at Brussels; the charge on that occasion being that he had defrauded the proprietor of the Hôtel de l'Europe by bringing false letters of credit. With reference to the present case, Miss Pugh had advertised for a situation as companion to a lady, and the prisoner had replied to the advertisement, representing himself to be a gentleman of independent means, and that he was in want of a lady to take charge of his establishment in Italy. He subsequently proposed marriage, and was accepted, and he assured her that he could offer her a splendid



home, and pointed out that as he had not long to live she could, after contracting one *mariage de convenance*, contract another of inclination, with all the advantages of wealth. The prisoner handed her some documents, which he represented to be title-deeds of property, but they turned out to be old newspapers.

The sentence was penal servitude for seven years.

13. THE CUP DAY AT ASCOT was attended by unusual crowds. The weather was remarkably pleasant, and the royal party appeared in all the ancient glories of regal carriages, each drawn by four horses, with the coachmen, footmen, and outriders in scarlet and gold. The Cup was won by Mr. Lefevre's Henry; Favonius second. Time, as taken by Benson's chronograph, 4 min. 48 sec.

14. A NEW KIND OF STRIKE is threatened in the North. According to the *Newcastle Journal*, upwards of 500 women met in the brick-garth at Seaton Colliery for the purpose of taking into consideration the extreme price of butcher's meat, potatoes, and milk. The gathering was announced for ten o'clock, and by that hour upwards of 300 women had assembled. Half an hour later that number was considerably augmented by new arrivals, who marched in from all parts of the colliery, carrying banners, fire-irons, shovels, and trays, which they continued to beat, making wild and unearthly music. Mrs. May Hetherington was unanimously elected chairwoman, and spoke as follows:—"I suggest that we shall hereafter pay not more than 7½d. per lb. for choices of beef and mutton, and 6d. for inferior pieces; and a penny a pint for milk; and condemn the old potatoes." The resolution was carried with great applause and immense jingling of fire-irons. The chairwoman then proposed "that every woman who purchases the things mentioned at the current prices shall have their effigies burned." This resolution was also carried, and a vote of thanks to the chairwoman concluded the meeting. Groups of men were walking about, evidently waiting with great anxiety for their dinners, as none had been cooked. A similar movement has taken place at Ryhope, Seaham, and Murton Collieries.

19. ACCIDENT ON THE MIDLAND RAILWAY.—About two o'clock in the morning, as the Midland express from London to Manchester was passing through the Peak Forest Tunnel, an immense quantity of earth, estimated at 50,000 tons, slipped at the northern end of the tunnel, filling up the cutting there, which is about 100 feet deep. The driver, unconscious of the accident, was going at a slow speed when he ran into the *débris*. The engine was almost buried, and several of the hinder carriages leaped over the first two carriages. The train contained eleven passengers. Those in the two first carriages escaped uninjured. All the others were injured, three of them very seriously. One man was jammed between two carriages for three hours.

24. AN IRISH BREACH OF PROMISE CASE.—A curious breach of promise case, which had occupied the Dublin Court for four days, was brought to a conclusion to-day in a verdict for the defendant,

with sixpence costs. The story of the plaintiff—a Miss Anna Garvie, daughter of the owner of a millinery establishment—was that in 1860 she became acquainted with the defendant (a Mr. Henry Lindsay, a gentleman of considerable means) through the circumstance of her mother having become a tenant of his. She was then, according to her own statement, twenty-four years of age, and the acquaintance thus commenced through a business relationship ripened into a more friendly intimacy, she being fascinated by the conversation of Mr. Lindsay, a man very much her senior in years. The mother and daughter appear to have drawn very largely on Mr. Lindsay's purse from 1862 to 1865, for in the latter year Mr. Lindsay held bills of theirs for 3200*l*. In September of that year a further advance of money was asked for, and Mr. Lindsay remarked that business did not seem to thrive, and expressed a hearty wish that Miss Garvie was married. She responded by asking who would marry her, to which Mr. Lindsay replied that anybody would marry her, and he admitted in his examination that he was afraid he added he would marry her himself. The whole courtship, however, he said, exploded in the course of the evening. He did not believe that she took his offer seriously, for she packed up next morning to go to Paris to make her usual annual purchases. It was not, however, for the breach of this promise that he was now sued. That had been the subject of a former action, instituted shortly after the promise was made, and which was compromised by the defendant forgiving the 3200*l*., giving 550*l*. additional, and paying all costs. The plaintiff's statement was that the acquaintance was renewed, and that during frequent subsequent calls made by her at his place of business, partly on business matters—that is, further loans of money—he repeatedly promised to marry her. Some of his letters subsequent to the date of the settlement of the first action were not as cautiously worded as might have been expected from one who had already had to pay 4000*l*. for a breach of promise. In one of these he intimated a change of opinion on the question of marrying a woman his inferior in rank, and said that he was now of opinion that a man should marry to please himself, and that if his friends declined his society in consequence he would have no difficulty in leaving them. In a later letter, after recalling the "regard he had conceived for her after a brief acquaintance," he proceeded to say that he had "long wished to shake hands with her, and with that view it might be convenient that he should go down to 7, Windsor-terrace," where she was then living. When asked why he wanted to go down to Windsor-terrace to see her, he replied, "Because I am such an idiot." During his direct and cross-examination he repeatedly lamented the loss of his 4000*l*. The court was densely crowded during the four days of the trial.

— THE BETHNAL GREEN MUSEUM.—Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales visited the East End of London for the purpose of opening the Bethnal Green Museum, which has been established as a branch of the museum at South Kensington. The

efforts made by the inhabitants in the way of demonstrations of welcome showed how fully they appreciated the honour. Bishops-gate-street blazed forth with a glory of flags, festoons, and welcoming mottoes. The mottoes on some of the houses in Bethnal Green were rather curious. Pious wishes for the Prince and Princess were very common. "Welcome to the East" was a very frequent device, and this was supplemented in one case by the words "Long wished for come at last." "Thank you for your kind visit" was the inscription which spanned the roadway in one place. Within the Museum a large and brilliant assembly began to gather as early as ten o'clock, and by half-past eleven there were few seats unoccupied. At a quarter to twelve the entrance of the Burmese Ambassadors, clad in their bright and picturesque costume, caused a general movement of attention. On reaching the dais, the Princess was presented with a bouquet of flowers by a pretty little lady, whom Mrs. Gladstone introduced; another had been already handed to her on alighting from her carriage. The Bishop of London was supplementing the special prayer with the Lord's Prayer, when the conductor of the choir of children, seeing the bishop close his manuscript, gave the signal to commence the Old Hundredth Psalm, and the bishop's voice was completely drowned by a burst of young voices and kettledrums.

— THE EMPRESS EUGENIE'S JEWELS.—Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Woods put up to auction at their rooms a lot of valuable jewels, which, though advertised only as the property of a distinguished personage, were generally understood to be the property of the Empress Eugenie. A great deal of excitement was manifested. There were no less than 123 lots in the catalogue. The first article which attracted attention was a marquise ring, with a pink diamond, surrounded by brilliants, formerly the property of the Empress Josephine. A watch fetched 1660*l.*; a brooch, formed as an anchor, and a companion brooch, 2150*l.*; a pearl necklace, composed of forty-one large pearls, 2400*l.*; a brooch with a fine emerald, and one with a square emerald, 5000 guineas; a brooch, with emerald centre, 3525*l.*; a tiara, 2625*l.*; three brilliant pendants, 2600 guineas; a bracelet, 2250*l.*; a pair of long earrings, brilliants, 3255*l.* The whole realized upwards of 50,000*l.*

— OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE CRICKET MATCH.—This annual match, played at Lord's on the 24th and 25th, resulted in a victory for the Cantabs. by an innings and 166 runs, the most complete chronicled. The first four of the light-blue bats scored 306 between them, and the total amounted to 388. Mr. Yardley made 130 runs, three figures having been reached in this match only once before, and that by the same player in 1870. The betting had been in favour of Oxford.

29. A STRANGE BEAST.—There has been placed in the chameleon's case in the reptile-house of the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park, a very fine specimen of the horned frog. These creatures, which partake of the nature of lizards, are not unknown to English

naturalists, but none of them have lived long in the gardens of the Society. There is more hope for this specimen, however, as the strength of his constitution has been thoroughly tested. He was posted by an Irish lady residing at San Diego, Southern California, on May 28, by book-post, registered, as a present to her son-in-law, a gentleman residing near London. The package, the covering of which consisted merely of a thin pasteboard box, was delivered at Finchley on Monday evening, having occupied just four weeks in transit. During that time the little traveller could have had nothing to eat, and probably the change of temperature and the virtual exclusion of air tended to render him torpid. Anyhow he was alive, if not very active, and was not long in the residence of the chameleon, at a temperature of seventy degrees, before he began to manifest tokens of revivification. A letter from the lady who forwarded this strange present says that these "frogs" are habitual pets of the San Diego children, and are perfectly harmless, and capable of living for six months at a time without food.

30. TRAGEDY IN. BERMONDSEY.—A man named William Edward Taylor, aged thirty-nine, a wholesale dealer in old iron in Webb-street, Bermondsey, has been for some years living with a woman named Hebden, his wife having left him on account of the bad treatment she received from him, for which he had suffered imprisonment. At one o'clock this morning the noise of blows were heard proceeding from his house, followed by the screams of a boy; but a policeman who was appealed to declined to interfere, as the man was in his own house chastising his own son. In a few minutes the cries ceased, and Taylor ran out of the house with his throat cut in a frightful manner. The police then went into the house, and found the woman Hebden lying in bed insensible, and dreadfully injured, and her daughter by Taylor, a girl named Frances, aged five years, lying at the foot of the bed dead, her skull having been beaten in. Taylor's son James, aged thirteen, was lying in a corner of the room with his skull fractured, and severely injured about the head. The woman Hebden died in about twenty minutes. The weapon which the murderer had used was a bar of iron ten inches in length, and he had cut his own throat with a clasp-knife. In an up-stairs room the police discovered three boys, sons of Taylor, one of them a lad of sixteen. He said that, hearing the noise, he had locked himself and his two brothers up in the room. A dreadful scene occurred in the hospital, where Taylor was taken immediately by the police. Having been placed on a bed, his wounds were attended to, and he appeared to be very calm. But at about eight o'clock in the morning the patient suddenly jumped out of bed, ran out of the ward, entered the women's ward, and caught hold of the tongs. This ward is on the second floor, and one of the female nurses in it became so alarmed that she ran to the window and leaped out. She fell on the ground, but was not injured. The man then threw away the tongs, and, catching hold of the clock-weights, tore them down, and threw them about the ward. He then

ran into one of the corridors, and the violence of his exertions caused the blood to flow from his wounds. He then put his finger in the blood, and wrote on the wall, "Poison me. Kill me. Let me die. Put me out of my misery." He then ran to a window on the first floor, and jumped out of it into the grounds beneath. The window was only six feet from the ground. He was not injured by his leap, and having been secured by the hospital servants, he was carried back to the bed and strapped down. He has since been quite calm. There is not the slightest chance of his surviving.

THIS MONTH has been remarkable for a succession of thunderstorms unparalleled in this country for frequency and violence. They raged at different times in all parts of the country. During the week beginning on the 16th the storms were especially terrible. From hundreds of equally striking accounts we extract the following:—

"Vessels arriving from the Channel ports report that the thunderstorm of Tuesday was one of the most terrific experienced for many years. From Walsall we learn that during the storm on Tuesday a mother and child were killed by lightning near that town. Another child in its mother's arms escaped unhurt. The husband and father, who was standing by, was also struck, but not seriously hurt. A telegram from Carlisle states that two men were struck by lightning at the Militia Camp, near Appleby, on Tuesday afternoon. Advices from Northampton are to the effect that the great storm on Tuesday resulted in great damage and also loss of life. Three men who got into a boat, which escaped from its moorings and capsized, were drowned. Heavy pieces of timber have floated down the river Nen, as also has hay in large quantities. In St. James's End the people are living in their bedrooms, and communication with the town and suburbs in the west has been kept up by means of carts and boats. One new house in the town has had its foundations washed away, and it has been propped up to prevent its falling. Two violent thunderstorms passed over Leamington and neighbourhood, which escaped the full fury of Tuesday's visitation. About eleven o'clock the lightning struck the shop of a trunk-maker in Bath-street, and did much damage. A very serious flood occurred at Northwich on Wednesday, doing much damage to property, the river Weaver overflowing its banks during the night, and High-street being flooded to the depth of four or five feet during the day. At 8 p.m. the water was still rising, and boats were being paddled about the street. Shortly after noon the river Dane overflowed its banks, and the fields and roads for a long distance were flooded. A sitting of the Northwich County Court was being held at the time in the drill-shed, and in a short time the building was surrounded with water to the depth of two feet, and in some places three feet. The floor of the room was flooded to a considerable extent before the business was adjourned. The occupants of the room had to take refuge on the forms. Some of the people got through the windows, and, walking along some iron hurdles and walls, they got away. The judge and registrar were fetched away in a trap, others waded

through the water, whilst several of the attorneys were carried out of the place and through Leftwich-road on the backs of boatmen and others. One or two rafts were also improvised, and people were conveyed along the road in carts and conveyances all day. It is stated from Macclesfield that a storm unprecedentedly furious raged from six till midnight on Wednesday. The canal burst its banks, and many hundred hands are out of employ. At Derby there were violent thunderstorms, both on Tuesday and Wednesday, and from the West of England there are accounts of the damage done by the first-mentioned day's visitation. During the thunderstorm on Tuesday Elizabeth Langlands, a young fisherwoman, belonging to Musselburgh, was struck dead by lightning while collecting bait."

The 24th was another day of disaster. From Wolverhampton to Stafford, it was reported at that date, quite a line of trees stripped of their branches and deprived of their bark is to be observed, while ash, elm, and poplar trees lie scattered about uprooted or shivered by the lightning. The escapes have, many of them, been little short of the miraculous. A portion of the roof of the vicarage of Penkridge was carried away, but the family were untouched. In close proximity was a cattle-market, where the monthly sales of stock had just been held. A number of farmers and drovers were still in the building when the lightning struck the place and shivered it into fragments, hurling the planks far and wide. A Mr. George Keeling, a resident farmer, was dashed to the ground and his face severely scorched. Several other persons were struck by the flame and were rendered insensible for a temporary period. The clerk to the Agricultural Society had an extraordinary escape. He was examining the receipts of the sale when the centre office, in which he was at work, was dislocated bodily from the rest of the sheds, carried several feet, and then splintered into atoms. He was for a moment stupefied, but, with the exception of his legs and face being slightly scorched, he was comparatively unhurt. A somewhat incredible incident occurred in an adjacent field. A heavy covered waggon was lifted into the air, literally carried over a garden bounded by hedges, and deposited in another garden. At Tettenhall, near Wolverhampton, the houses of an entire street were flooded several feet deep, and the furniture was in some cases swept out of the houses. At Ormskirk considerable damage was done. The storm was of about an hour's duration, and appeared to ride off in the direction of Wigan. At Aughton, an adjoining township, nearly the whole of the windows in a farmhouse occupied by Mr. Jackson were smashed, and the lightning forced its way into one of the bedrooms, in which a child was asleep. The footboard of the bed upon which the child lay was broken up into match-wood and strewn all over the room, but fortunately the child was not in any way injured. Several other buildings have been struck in the neighbourhood, and a number of trees split. The storm flooded the North Staffordshire Railway near Leigh and swept the ballast from under the rails. A passenger-train was thrown off the line, and the

engine ran down an embankment, taking the first carriage with it, the other carriages being saved by the breaking of a coupling-chain. The passengers in the first carriage were all much shaken and bruised, but none seriously hurt. A train from Stafford was delayed by a huge tree that had been riven with lightning and flung athwart the line. The driver of the same train narrowly escaped a dreadful death; a mass of electric fluid fell close to the engine, threw him upon the footway of the engine, and stupefied him for some moments; he was, however, further unhurt. The destruction of crops and houses is extensive, and desolation abounds.

## JULY.

1. THE ALBERT MEMORIAL.—The Queen, accompanied by the Duke of Edinburgh, Princess Louise, Princess Beatrice and Prince Leopold, visited the national memorial erected in Hyde Park to the memory of the late Prince Consort.

On Wednesday, the 3rd, the hoarding which formed the enclosure was removed, and the whole of the monument open to the public gaze, saving the central and principal figure of the Prince, which is the sole object that remains unexecuted. The official statement made respecting it is that a modification of Mr. Foley's model is to be cast in bronze, and the statue erected on the pedestal in the course of next year. The monument is elevated upon a lofty and wide-spreading pyramid of steps, from the upper platform of which rises a podium, or continuous pedestal, surrounded by sculptures in alto-relievo, representing counterfeit presentments of the most eminent artists of all ages of the world. The figures are about six feet high, and are arranged in historical groups in their several classes of painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, and music. On the level platform round which these groups cluster is erected the gorgeous canopy under which the statue is to rest. Four pillars of polished granite bear aloft the four main arches of the canopy. Each side is terminated by a gable, the tympanum of which contains a large picture in mosaic, its mouldings being richly decorated with carving, and inlaid with mosaic work, enamel, and polished gem-like stones, in accordance with the characteristics of a shrine. The intersecting roofs are covered with scales and metals richly enamelled and gilded, with crestings of gilt beaten metal in rich leaf-work. The structure is crowned by a lofty spire of "tabernacle-work," in partially gilt and enamelled metal, terminating in a graceful cross which reaches to the height of 180 feet above the ground. In addition to the sculpture in alto-relievo on the podium, there are,

on pedestals projecting from each of its four angles, large groups illustrating the arts of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and engineering.

3. THE INTERNATIONAL PRISON CONGRESS.—This evening the Middle Temple Hall was thronged with an assembly out of the ordinary character of public meetings, the gathering being composed of ladies and gentlemen representing various nations, who have met to take part in the long-pending International Prison Congress, of which this was the opening meeting. Lord Carnarvon, in his opening address, said he need make little preface in stating what were the objects and history of this Conference. Its object was to obtain information, to compare the different prison systems of different countries, to discuss the principles and details upon which those systems were based, and to arrive, if possible, at some general conclusions. Its history was the history of a remarkable agreement by the peoples and Governments of many civilized countries on a subject which had been most justly considered of the highest importance. The difficulties in the way of such an agreement being come to were proverbial, for there were the prejudices and difficulties of race, language, institutions, character, and climate, but with all these difficulties facing them he did not despair of attaining on the part of those present some general agreement in respect to the subject upon which they had met. He was encouraged in this hope because nations widely different in general characteristics had thrown themselves heartily into this discussion. Almost every European State had given the Congress its support. France, embarrassed by a thousand difficulties, had given her assistance. Italy, true to the history of her own great jurists, took her part; Belgium had, among others, accredited one of her most distinguished statesmen to the Congress. Holland, with the sound sense which the English were delighted to believe was a common quality to both countries, was interested also in the Conference. Switzerland, Denmark, all-inquiring and all-embracing Germany; and lastly, the United States—a country which, by numberless experiments, had already contributed so much to the common knowledge, drawing with them to the other side of the Atlantic the South American States—were all represented, and had accepted England as the place of meeting. The Government had refused the Congress assistance and recognition, and, he understood, had even refused official information. He was bound to express his regret at this refusal, and still more at the grounds upon which that refusal was made. The noble chairman then passed in review the subjects to be considered in the Congress—criminal law, criminal procedure, and preventive police, &c. The proceedings lasted for some days, and terminated with a grand dinner in the Middle Temple Hall, Sir John Pakington presiding.

4. A GREAT REVIEW and Field-day was held at Aldershot. It was a fine display, and one well worth a great many more spectators than the thousand or so who witnessed it. Her Majesty, Prince Leopold, Princess Beatrice, and their suite drove from Windsor in



three carriages and four, starting so early as to arrive at the Royal Pavilion soon after eleven o'clock. They were met at Frimley by a royal escort of Dragoons and by the Aldershot Divisional Staff, whose horses were scarcely able to keep up with the Queen's postilions even at the fag end of a twenty miles' drive. The Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, and Prince Arthur came down from London by morning trains, and so did the five battalions of Guards stationed in the metropolis. A sixth battalion arrived by train from Windsor, so that the troops which took part in the march-past and field-day consisted of nearly the whole strength of the Guards and of the Aldershot Division of Horse Artillery, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Infantry, mustering altogether just 14,000 paraded men, and 2100 horses. The day was one of summer's hottest, and the heat was made more oppressive to the men by an order from the Horse Guards that they should carry their packs. Sir Hope Grant was in command.

5. THE TURRET-SHIP "GLATTON" has successfully withstood the trial of being actually fired at by the 25-ton gun of the "Hotspur," in Portland Roads. This important experiment took place on this date, in the presence of Mr. Goschen, and others versed in the construction of iron-clad ships or of great guns. The special purpose was to ascertain whether the gun-carriages, slides, and machinery would be liable to injury by blows upon the walls of the turret, and whether the crew would be prevented from fighting their guns by the effects of the concussion from heavy shot striking the turret. The amount of protection afforded to the guns' crews was also an important question; for, if men were put *hors-de-combat* frequently, an effective fire could not be maintained in reply, and the "Glatton" would be exposed to having her fire overpowered by a broadside ship carrying a more numerous supply of guns.

The armour-plating covering the outer surface of the "Glatton" turret is 15 inches in front and 12 inches in the rear; but as the front only was fired at, we need only deal with that. First comes one rolled thickness of iron, 15 inches in thickness, disposed over the circumference of the outer face of the turret in two tiers, and secured to the backing and inner skin by the ordinary Admiralty pattern  $4\frac{1}{2}$ -inch india-rubber-washer-headed bolts. Behind this armour-plating is 14 inches of teak, then an inner skin formed of two 6-8 inch iron plates, and a  $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch iron plating over the nuts on the tails of the bolts holding the armour-plates. The turret wall is further strengthened, structurally, by two horizontal girders or frames, forming two shelves to the teak backing from the inner skin, each formed of  $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch boiler plate and 10 inches in depth.

The first shot directed against the "Glatton's" turret passed out to sea just over the top of the turret, cutting off the iron standard supporting the hand-rail round the roof of the turret, 4 inches above the upper edge of the turret. A second shot soon followed, and this struck the turret wall in its weakest part—in the centre of the turret wall, upon a bolt-head, and upon the lower edge of the upper

14-inch armour-plate at its longitudinal junction with the lower plate, but in perfect line with the mark, though lower than intended.

The shot had left a tremendous mark; but, in the opinion of all the officials present, the turret, with its guns, was perfectly fit to go into action. None of the gun-fittings or gear was injured in any way. A kid, a rabbit, and a hen that had been placed in the ship looked dazed, but they had sustained no other injury. The shot from the 25-ton gun had, in fact, done its best, and under such favourable conditions as could not well occur in actual engagement with an enemy's ship under steam, but had failed to disable or disarm the turret.

This second shot fired at the turret not only most effectually did the work it was intended to do, but also as effectually did the work which had been laid down for a third shot intended for the glacia plate, and saved the trouble and time which would otherwise have been taken up in inclining the "Glatton" and firing the third shot. The mark upon the turret upon which the gun was trained was on the lower ring of armour-plating, between the gunports, and 18 inches above the bottom of the plating and the glacia plate. The shot was lower than intended, taking the glacia plate in its entire breadth, making a deep indentation and cracking the plate through, but doing no material damage to the underneath deck plating or beams. From the plate the shot struck the bottom of the turret-plating, penetrated to a depth of 15 inches, and then rebounded, broken up, on to the deck in front of the turret. No damage whatever was done to the interior of the turret or to any of the gun-fittings or their slides. There was simply the hole the shot had made in the armour-plate to a depth of 15 inches, and that was all. The inner skin of the turret was not even bulged. This was thought quite sufficient, as establishing in the most indisputable manner the free working of the turret under the heaviest fire without much danger of being jammed or of damage to the gun-slides. The ports were next unplugged; and, in the presence of Mr. Goschen and other members of the Board, the guns were loaded with full powder charges and shot, and fired out to seaward, over the break-water. The carriages and gear were found to work in the most perfect manner, and this test brought the trial to a conclusion.

6. MR. AND MRS. WIGAN took their farewell of the stage this afternoon at Drury Lane Theatre. The Prince and Princess of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh occupied the royal box, and the audience was one of the most brilliant ever assembled in a theatre. All the leading actors and actresses volunteered their services, and artists of high distinction took subordinate parts. The pieces selected were "Still Waters Run Deep," and "The First Night."

9. EXPLOSION AT GLASGOW.—The grain-stores and flour-mill of Messrs. Matthew Muir and Sons, called the Tradeston Mills, were destroyed by an explosion and subsequent fire. The buildings were five stories high, with sunk flat and attics. In the mill were thirty-two pairs of stones, with two engines, of the combined horse-

power of 400, which were supplied with steam by three boilers. The stores were capable of containing sixty thousand bolls of wheat. To the north of the mill, forming the north-east corner of Commerce-street and Clyde-place, was a three-story building, the upper flats of which were occupied as dwelling-houses, the ground floor in the corner being used as a spirit-shop. The cause of the explosion is not precisely known; but it was immediately followed by a fire, which raged during three hours and which completely destroyed the buildings, with their contents. More than a dozen persons lost their lives—namely, seven men, who were millers or mill-labourers, two boys, and three or four women; one or two of these were killed in the adjoining premises by the fall of the ruins. As many other persons were severely burned or hurt in different ways. The total damage to property is estimated at 100,000*l.*, of which Messrs. Muir's loss is 80,000*l.*; but this is covered by insurance.

10. DOUBLE MURDER AT HOXTON.—A double murder of a very shocking and mysterious character was committed at Hyde-road, Hoxton, about mid-day to-day. The sole occupants of the house were Sarah Squires, aged seventy-five, a widow, who carried on the business of wholesale picture and print dealer, and her daughter Christiana, aged about thirty, and unmarried. It seems that a lad was sent to the place on an errand, and after having knocked in vain he left, but his suspicions being aroused by marks of blood on the counter, he communicated with a greengrocer living opposite, to whom the tragic occurrence soon became apparent. A police-constable found the body of the mother behind the counter, and that of the daughter partly in the passage and partly in the back parlour. Life had been extinct in both cases for some time, death having been occasioned by heavy blows on the head. The elder woman appears to have been the greatest sufferer, and blood had flowed in copious streams from her wounds. In the house, everything was in a state of disorder—drawers having been forced open and their contents thrown out; cupboards emptied; all the doors and windows unfastened; and the outer case of an old-fashioned clock standing on the sideboard in the back parlour, which had stopped at twelve o'clock, having been removed, leaving the works exposed. A further investigation led to the discovery, under a sofa and enclosed in a paper bag, of a will recently made by the mother. No weapon with which the murders might have been committed could be found, and it was impossible to arrive at the cause or the author of the terrible act. Suspicion rested for a time on a son named Frank, who had been an inmate of Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum, but who was ultimately taken from the asylum to the infirmary, Shoreditch Workhouse, where it was found he was at work at the time the murder must have been committed. Time passed without any clue being obtained to the murderer, and the crime is likely to remain among the undiscovered mysteries. The eldest daughter of Sarah Squires, a married woman named Jemima Jotnam, cut her throat shortly after the murder, which had completely unhinged her mind.

11. THE PRINCESS OF WALES, accompanied by the Prince, laid the foundation-stone of the new building in Great Ormond-street, Bloomsbury, to be occupied by the Hospital for Sick Children, begun in the year 1852.

The Bishop of Winchester having offered some appropriate prayers, the president of the hospital, the Earl of Shaftesbury, advanced, and, addressing the Princess of Wales, read a statement of the progress and condition of the hospital. The Prince of Wales replied for her, and the Foundling School children, with those of the parish schools of St. George-the-Martyr, sang a hymn, accompanied by the band of the Coldstream Guards. They afterwards sang "God bless the Prince of Wales." The architect of the new building, Mr. Edward Barry, R.A., then handed a silver trowel to the Princess of Wales. The stone was raised, and two cavities were seen in the foundation masonry beneath. In these holes were deposited glass vessels containing photographs of the Queen and the Prince and Princess of Wales, of the old houses, No. 48 and No. 49, Great Ormond-street, and of Mr. Barry's design for the new building; the twentieth annual report of the hospital, a printed narrative of its history, by Miss Muloch (Mrs. Craik), and the report of a speech by Mr. Charles Dickens, with the *Times* and *Daily News* of July 11, and other papers relating to the ceremony.

— THE GARDENS OF THE ROYAL BOTANIC SOCIETY of London, Regent's Park, were opened for an evening promenade. Notwithstanding the occurrence of a thunderstorm at nine o'clock, the conservatory and several marquees were crowded with fashionable company. The grounds were lit up with great brilliancy, and towards eleven o'clock, when the bulk of the company had arrived, the scene was very gay and beautiful. Lime-lights fixed in several parts made their neighbourhood as bright as noonday; whilst oil-lights, marking the formation of the principal walks, reminded us of the past glories of Vauxhall. At each half-hour after ten o'clock magnesium and other coloured lights were burned upon the lake. In the large exhibition marquee the band of the 1st Life Guards played a selection of music during the evening, the band of the 2nd Life Guards was stationed in the conservatory, and the band of the Royal Caledonian Asylum played in the American tent. The pipers of the Asylum also attended, and performed a number of marches.

12, 13. THE ETON AND HARROW MATCH at Lord's resulted in a victory for the former by five wickets, after a close and interesting fight. Eton has now gained twenty-three matches, Harrow twenty, and four have been drawn. Upwards of 25,000 people were present.

15. THE ESSEX POISONING CASE.—At the Chelmsford Assize Ellen Day Kettel, aged twenty-one, the wife of a farm labourer, was charged with poisoning Elizabeth Kettel, her husband's first wife. The prisoner was the daughter of a farmer in a very good position at Great Bromley, and the husband of the deceased woman was labourer in his employ, who was very much older than the prisoner.

It was alleged by the prosecution that, notwithstanding the disparity in their age and condition, the prisoner fell madly in love with this man, and that in order that she might become his wife she got rid of the woman who stood in her way by poisoning her with arsenic. The case for the prosecution was that on October 5 last the prisoner gave the deceased some beer in a bottle, and immediately after taking it she became very sick, and died a few days afterwards. The prisoner is said to have uttered threats against the deceased, and to have told several persons that she intended to be married to her husband before the following Christmas, and this actually occurred, for in less than two months after the death of the unfortunate woman the prisoner was married to Kettel. When the death took place a coroner's inquest was held, the father of the prisoner being the foreman of the jury, and a verdict of "Natural death" was returned. A good deal of talk, however, went on in reference to the affair, and after the marriage of the prisoner with the husband of the deceased the matter was taken up by the authorities, the body of the deceased was exhumed, and the contents of the stomach sent to Mr. Stephenson, professor of chemistry at Guy's Hospital. It was then ascertained that a very large quantity of arsenic was present in the body, and this poison was no doubt the cause of death. At the close of the case for the prosecution the trial was adjourned, and subsequently the prisoner, who had been evidently very ill all day, and was allowed to lie on a couch in the dock, gave birth to a child. The jury were discharged, and the prisoner was brought to trial again in October, in London, and was acquitted.

18. A GRAND SCIENTIFIC SOIRÉE was held in the Albert Hall, when some interesting telegraphic experiments were made. Messages were interchanged between one of the tables in the arena and Teheran, as well as with an Indian station, from which came the intelligence, "Locusts swarming in Scinde; Sutlej bridge destroyed by floods." A message of compliment and congratulation, addressed to the Prince of Wales, was also received from the Persian Prime Minister, in return for one of a like kind sent from the Albert Hall.

— THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY was this day conferred upon the Baroness Burdett Coutts, "the first female name," said the Chamberlain in his address, "ever recorded on the lists of those whom the citizens have so delighted to honour."

19. "POLO" IN ENGLAND.—A match at polo was played on Woolwich Common, on July 19, between the officers of the Royal Horse Guards Blue and the officers of the 9th Queen's Royal Lancers. Prince Arthur and the Prince Imperial of France were present. One side of the battle-field was lined with carriages, in places two or three deep, and several four-in-hands, belonging to members of the Coaching Club and distinguished regiments, were present. The ground, which was some four hundred yards in length, by one hundred and fifty or two hundred broad, four times the size of an ordinary foot-ball field, was "kept" by a detachment of the 9th Lancers; and at about a quarter-past four the champions

entered the arena. The Life Guards wore small blue undress or forage caps, red silk shirts, broad blue belts, knee-breeches, and black boots. The Lancers had red caps with gold band, white flannel shirts, red silk ties, red and gold belts, and boots with legs of drab cloth; of course all were "spurred" as well as booted. Three goals were scored in the first hour—two by the Lancers and one by the Guards, the Lancers consequently being the victors. In the second game they scored two goals to their opponents 0, winning that also. This match was the return to a drawn one played at Windsor a few days previous.

20. CHESS TOURNAMENT AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE.—A novel feature was introduced into this game. Simultaneous and blindfold games were carried on, Herr Zukertort, the visitor from Berlin, conducting ten games at once, without seeing the board. The greatest interest, however, was centred in a series of matches by telegraph, on a scale never before attempted. Wires were laid on to the concert-hall, where the tournament was held, and direct communication was thus secured with the clubs of Glasgow, Birmingham, Bristol, Nottingham, and Hull. Against the representatives of these five towns the leading metropolitan amateurs played a series of twenty games by telegraph. For hours the click of the wires was heard incessantly; but want of time unfortunately prevented most of the games from being finished.

— THE VOLUNTEERS AT WIMBLEDON.—The meeting of the National Rifle Association at Wimbledon terminated to-day with a review and the presentation of the prizes by the Princess of Wales. The advancing skill of the volunteers in the use of the rifle has been demonstrated in a most marked manner, and probably in no greater degree than in the shooting for the Albert prize. In the first stage, Mr. Wilson, of the Ulster Rifle Association, made 82 points out of a possible 84, nineteen of his twenty-one shots being successive bulls. In the final stage, Mr. Ross, the Queen's prizeman of 1860, won the prize by getting on the bull's-eye, at 600 and 1000 yards, twenty-five times out of twenty-nine shots. The Queen's prize was won by Colour-Sergeant Michie, of the London Scottish, with a score of 65. Sergeant Michie, who has been four times in the first hundred, but never in the first sixty, is a native of Fifeshire, and is occupied as a confidential clerk to an eminent mercantile house in London.

The camp has been visited by all the notable foreigners who are at present in England. On Tuesday the Burmese ambassador, accompanied by some of his suite, was present. His Excellency has presented to the Association a most beautiful and valuable cup, to be shot for. Perhaps it may be best described as of about the size and shape of one of the old-fashioned finger-glasses. It is of pure gold, and exquisitely adorned in relief with figures and embossing. It is surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac, and is a most interesting as well as costly specimen of the work of the Burmese goldsmith. This prize has been valued at 200*l*.

The ambassadors from the Panthays, and the Persian ambassador, have also witnessed some of the contests.

The English eight, led by Mr. Wells, M.P., won the Elcho Shield by not many marks from the Scotch; the English twenty, the International Challenge; Winchester, the Public Schools match; and Private Cowan, of Cheltenham, a very small boy, the Spencer Cup for the highest individual scorer from the schools. The Commons beat the Lords by three points; and a team of Canadians carried off a prize given by the Rajah of Kolapore, which they had especially come to contest.

23. RAILWAY SCENE.—During the thunderstorm which passed over London to-night a most exciting scene took place near the York-road Station on the Metropolitan Railway. The station in question is situated in a deep cutting, and the fall of rain was so heavy that a large amount of water had accumulated, extending for a considerable distance. As soon, therefore, as the 6.18 train from Barnet, which was filled with passengers, emerged from the tunnel, the water had reached such a height that it put the engine fires out, and the train was consequently brought to a standstill. It was found that the points would not work, and that owing to the storm the wires of the electric telegraph could not be used. The latter misfortune was all the more important, inasmuch as the express which runs on to Farringdon-street was at the time overdue. Another engine was procured by the officials, and chains were attached to the train. Every effort, however, in this direction was unsuccessful, owing probably to the sleepers floating about in all directions. The excitement at this period was painful in the extreme. The majority of the passengers were unable to leave the carriages, owing to the depth of the water, which was making down the line in a perfect torrent; women were fainting, and even the servants of the company seemed paralyzed with fear, being totally unable to prevent what threatened to be a terrible disaster. A few of the passengers by dint of the greatest exertions had been removed from the train, when suddenly a shout announced that the express was coming, and a huge wave was seen issuing from the tunnel as the train approached. The same cause, however, which had placed the Barnet train in its terrible position proved its salvation, for the water also put out the fires in the express engine, which drew up, to the immense relief of all the bystanders, within about five feet of the hindermost carriage of the former train.

— DISCOVERY OF LIVINGSTONE.—This day Mr. Stanley, a young correspondent of the *New York Herald*, who has become suddenly celebrated as the discoverer of Livingstone, landed at Marseilles. Last year the editor of the *Herald* telegraphed suddenly for young Stanley, then at Madrid, and proposed to him to go and find Livingstone, offering *carte blanche* in the way of expenses. On the 3rd of November, 1871, he unexpectedly came upon the traveller at Ujiji. His despatches graphically described the meeting.

Anxious to enter the African town with as much *éclat* as possible,

he disposed his little band in such a manner as to form a somewhat imposing procession. At the head was borne the American flag; next came the armed escort, who were directed to discharge their fire-arms with as much rapidity as possible; following these were the baggage-men, the horses, and asses; and in the rear of all came Mr. Stanley himself. The din of the firing aroused the inhabitants of Ujiji to the fact that strangers were approaching, and they flocked out in great crowds, filling the air with deafening shouts, and beating violently on their rude musical instruments. As the procession entered the town Mr. Stanley observed a group of Arabs on the right, in the centre of whom was a pale-looking, grey-bearded, white man, whose fair skin contrasted with the sun-burnt visages of those by whom he was surrounded. Passing from the rear of the procession to the front, the American traveller noticed the white man was clad in a red woollen jacket, and wore upon his head a naval cap with a faded gilt band round it. In an instant he recognized the European as none other than Dr. Livingstone himself; and he was about to rush forward and embrace him, when the thought occurred that he was in the presence of Arabs, who, being accustomed to conceal their feelings, were very likely to found their estimate of a man upon the manner in which he conceals his own. A dignified Arab chieftain, moreover, stood by, and this confirmed Mr. Stanley in his resolution to show no symptom of rejoicing or excitement. Slowly advancing towards the great traveller, he bowed and said, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" to which address the latter, who was fully equal to the occasion, simply smiled, and replied, "Yes." It was not till some hours afterwards, when alone together, seated on a goat-skin, that the two white men exchanged those congratulations which both were eager to express, and recounted their respective difficulties and adventures. Mr. Stanley's statement is that Dr. Livingstone appeared to be in remarkably good health, stout, and strong, quite undismayed by all that he had gone through, and eager only to finish the task he had imposed upon himself. The Doctor having been shut out from the civilized world for so many years, Mr. Stanley found himself acting as a kind of newspaper to him, and the details of what had occurred in Europe and America interested him exceedingly.

"When we were alone," relates Mr. Stanley, "I handed to him a packet of letters from home, and said that after he had finished reading them he should next be told all the news from the civilized world, so far as I myself knew them. 'No, no,' said Livingstone, 'for three years I have been waiting for letters from home, and I can afford to wait a few hours longer; give me the news of the world!' So I reported to him all that I could think of: the striking events of the Franco-German war, the capture of Napoleon, the flight of the Empress, and declaration of the Republic; the fall of Queen Isabella of Spain; the election of General Grant in America; the opening of the Pacific Railroad; and whatever else I thought likely to be interesting to one who had lived so long at



such remoteness from the movements of civilization. One of the very first questions which he put, with a view to supplementing my budget of intelligence, was about the welfare of 'his dear old friend' Sir Roderick Murchison; I answered that at my latest advices he was quite well, for it was only on my return to the coast that I learnt of his death, which I since knew had happened only about three weeks before I saw the traveller in whose eventual safety the veteran president so staunchly believed. Although Dr. Livingstone had been absent from his native country so long, he spoke English perfectly, both in phrase and accent."

"After I had told Livingstone everything," continues Mr. Stanley, "he narrated to me in return all that had happened to himself; first recounting the latest and, in some ways, the most important facts, and afterwards going back over the whole period of his voluntary and toilsome banishment, to give a complete and connected history of his wanderings from the time when he quitted Zanzibar in the fall of 1865. This narrative was not the occupation of a single evening, as you may suppose; for it lasted, with the explanations and amplifications necessary for one who had not been among the scenes themselves, during all the four months I remained with Livingstone, from November 10, 1871, to March 14, 1872." The explorer has transmitted to the *New York Herald* two autograph letters: one addressed to Mr. James Gordon Bennett—the present proprietor of that paper—who originated the idea of the special search, thanking him for his generosity in "sending help to a man who was utterly broken down and destitute;" the other, which is very long, devoted to the subjects of the slave-trade in Africa, and of the geographical, or, rather, hydrographical discoveries which he has made. Mr. Stanley reports that Dr. Livingstone has consented to communicate special intelligence to the paper which he has so ably and bravely represented; so that the first accounts of the future discoveries of which the enthusiastic Scotchman is in quest will first appear, it may be expected, on the other side of the Atlantic.

26. SALE OF THE MIDDLE PARK STUD.—The celebrated stud collected by Mr. Blenkiron, of Middle Park, has been disposed of by auction by Mr. Tattersall, during three days' sale, concluding to day. The sale was attended by representatives of nearly every European country, who made large purchases. The catalogue contained a list of 234 animals, consisting of mares, colts, fillies, and three of the best stallions of the day, Blair Athol, Breadalbane, and Gladiateur. The total amount realized was 106,395 guineas, the three stallions fetching 25,500 of this sum—Blair Athol, who was purchased by the English Stud Company, reached the top price, 12,500 guineas. Gladiateur was next, Mr. Harcourt paying 7000 for him, beating Breadalbane, who was knocked down to Count Lehndorff, for a thousand. The mares that fetched the highest prices were Isilia and Inspiration, Captain Ray obtaining the former for 1600 guineas, and the latter, with a filly by Saunterer, falling to Count Lehndorff's bid of 1550. The other large sums obtained were

Seclusion, 2500 gs., Mr. Chaplin; Tunstall Maid, with a filly by Blair Athol, 1000 gs., Mr. T. E. Walker; and Gratitude, 1000 gs., M. Cavaliero.

27. MIDDLE. CHRISTINE NILSSON, the Swedish *prima-donna*, was this day married to M. Auguste Rouzeaud, of the French Stock Exchange, by Dean Stanley, in Westminster Abbey. The Secretary to the Swedish Legation gave the bride away, and Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, M.P., gave the wedding breakfast. The Abbey was crowded with the fashionable, the operatic, and the curious.

31. THE AMERICAN FLEET.—The Prince and Princess of Wales paid a private visit to Rear-Admiral Allen and the squadron under his command, now lying in the Southampton Waters. Admiral Allen having returned in the "Wachusett" from Antwerp, and retransferred his flag to the "Wabash," and three additional vessels of the squadron having arrived within the last few days, the squadron anchored below Netley Hospital on Wednesday afternoon to receive the Prince comprised six vessels—the "Wabash" (flagship of the Admiral), "Congress," "Plymouth," "Wachusett," "Brooklyn," and "Shenandoah." In the evening the fleet was illuminated, and the Prince entertained at dinner on board the royal yacht the Admiral and all the Captains of the fleet, the American Minister, and other gentlemen; an invitation having also been sent to the President's son, Mr. Frederick Grant, who, however, was compelled to return to America some time before the interesting occasion we have chronicled.

— THUNDERSTORMS.—The meteorology of the month, says the *Times*, may be said to have consisted in one grand prolonged demonstration of the powers of elemental electricity. On the 6th the weather became sultry, and storm-clouds overspread the sky. Distant thunder was of frequent occurrence, but no lightning was visible here (Shoreham), and a few large drops of rain only descended on this high ground. These phenomena, however, betokened an electric storm of wide area that visited England, and was accompanied by lightning and torrents of rainfall. In London and the southern suburbs of the city it was especially severe. In Oxfordshire trees were struck and split to fragments, telegraph-posts thrown down, and growing crops greatly damaged. In Warwickshire the storm burst forth with unprecedented fury; the lightning was remarkably brilliant, and the thunder sharp and reverberating. The streets were submerged and houses flooded. Worcestershire, South Wales, and Devonshire were also visited. At Merthyr Tydvil a large reservoir burst its banks and swept down with great force, and the country adjacent was buried four or five feet deep beneath the waters. Horses and cattle were washed away, and great damage to property ensued.

On the 11th, after a very oppressive and sultry day, the thermometer in the shade standing above 70 deg., and solar radiation 140 deg., broken thunder-clouds swept over the sky, and frequent flashes of distant lightning were visible. At 9.30 p.m. a portion of

the storm passed over the meridian of Sussex. Deep in the north horizon the flashes were almost incessant. Elemental electricity seemed concentrated in the superstratum of the atmosphere, for on the earth's surface scarcely a trace of either positive or negative could be detected by the electrometer. At 12h., midnight, the lightning was perpetual, and in the E.S.E. there was an isolated spot that liberated from the surface of a dark rugged cloud its electricity at intervals of great regularity. This partial demonstration was again in this division of Sussex the only evidence of a wide-spread and destructive thunderstorm. On the 13th and 14th minor storms occurred, and then followed the great storms of the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th, that pervaded in succession nearly the whole of England and portions of the Continent of Europe. In Switzerland among the Alps the scenes are described as of surpassing sublimity.

Considerable loss of human life ensued during the month from these destructive storms, and the intensity of solar heat producing sunstroke, and, as it has been remarked as somewhat singular by their supervention, the heat was not diminished. It has been observed in India that one of the great storms lately recorded there was cyclonic, and here on the 30th a small cyclone existed, and the wind suddenly shifted on the evening of that day from S. to N. On the following day (31st) the mean temperature was diminished very nearly 10 degrees.

## AUGUST.

1. THE ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE assembled to-day at Southampton for its Annual Meeting, under the presidency of the Bishop of Winchester.

— THE GOODWOOD CUP was run to-day.

Baron Rothschild's Favonius, by Parmesan—Zephyr,	
4 yrs., 9 st. 3 lb. (Maidment)	1
Mr. Cartwright's Albert Victor, 4 yrs., 8 st. 10 lb. (T. French)	2
M. Lefèvre's Verdure, 4 yrs., 8 st. 7 lb. (T. Jennings)	3
M. Lefèvre's Barford, 5 yrs., 9 st. (Fordham)	4
Mr. Johnstone's Bothwell, 4 yrs., 8 st. 10 lb. (J. Osborne)	5
Betting—7 to 4 against Albert Victor, 2 to 1 against Favonius, 100 to 30 against Barford, and 10 to 1 against Bothwell. Time by Benson's chronograph, 4 min. 50 secs.	

— EXPLOSION AT THE TREASURY.—About three o'clock this afternoon a tremendous explosion was heard in the neighbourhood of the Treasury, Whitehall. It was caused by a small experiment

with gun-cotton, made in the presence of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Ayrton, and Mr. Lowe. A post was erected, in which were four holes, filled with gun-cotton. Before the charge was fired, all the windows of the Colonial and Foreign Offices were ordered to be thrown open, in case they might be broken by the shock; but, as no result followed for some time, many of them were again closed. At length the preparations were complete, and an electric spark was applied to the gun-cotton through a voltaic battery. A sharp explosion instantly occurred, and the post was split from top to bottom. The explosion was succeeded by a shower of glass from those windows of the Government offices which had been closed. No one was hurt, but the passers-by were much alarmed.

3. FIRE AT MELKSHOTT HALL.—This noble mansion, the seat of Lady Ashburton, which had been but lately completed, was discovered to be in flames early this morning. The house stands upon an eminence commanding a magnificent landscape; the view extends in the front to the New Forest, and behind to Salisbury Plain. Special precaution had been taken in building the mansion to provide against fire, but they all depended on a pump, which, when the fire was discovered, was out of order. In spite of all the efforts which were made to arrest the fire, the flames extended until nearly two-thirds of the building had been destroyed. It is reported that all the priceless works of art with which the mansion was crowded and adorned, consisting of paintings, sculpture, bronzes, rare and curious china, tapestries, and the like, were saved through the great energy displayed on the occasion. Comparatively few of these treasures were injured, though some of the pictures had to be cut from their frames in the desire to rescue them, and in that way sustained damage, though not such as is irreparable. Not so with the painted ceilings in many cases, which were most magnificent. Some of these have been hopelessly destroyed. Indeed, the most stately apartments in the house appear to have sustained the greatest damage.

— THE WORKMAN'S CITY.—The Earl of Shaftesbury laid the first stone of the new buildings on the Shaftesbury Park Estate, which has been acquired by the "Artisans, Labourers, and General Dwellings Company (limited)." It is proposed to lay out the ground for a workman's city. The company was formed in 1867, in consequence of the destruction of houses by railroads and other improvements, for the purpose of enabling working men to erect dwellings combining fitness and economy with the latest sanitary improvements, and to become themselves the owners of these dwellings in the course of a stated number of years by the payment of a small additional rent. The houses, which are to be of three kinds, are to be for the accommodation not only of artisans, but also of the "clerk class;" and each house is to form a distinct and separate tenancy.

— A FATAL RAILWAY ACCIDENT.—Four persons were killed and many seriously injured on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway between Agecroft Bridge and Clifton Junction. The 11.30 a.m. express train from Manchester to Southport approached Clifton

Junction at a rate of about thirty miles an hour, when a coal-train, *en route* for Stalybridge, came out of a siding owing to a mistake in signalling, and, passing on to the main line, came into collision with the Southport express. The engine of the coal-train struck the express engine on the right side, shattering the woodwork and buffers to splinters, crushing up the iron-work at the front of the engine, and throwing the express engine off the line. The tender was severed from the train and pitched to a distance, the wheels being thrown on the other side of the line. The carriages of the express train were entirely smashed to pieces, and several of the waggons behind the engine of the coal-train were also broken up. The driver of the coal-train, named Saxon, jumped from his engine and escaped unhurt. The stoker was rendered insensible.

5. THE NATIONAL ARTILLERY ASSOCIATION AT SHOEBURYNESS.—The eighth annual competition week commenced to-day. The results of the first two days' shooting were as follows:—National Artillery Association, 1st West York, 1st Detachment, Leeds, 37 points. Lords and Commons, 4th East York, 2nd Detachment, Hull, 35 points. National Artillery Association, 2nd prize, 1st Sussex, 1st Detachment, Brighton, 33 points. Duke of Cambridge prize, 3rd Kincardine, 33 points. Marquis of Exeter's prize, 1st Worcester, 3rd Detachment, 33 points. Scotland's Cup, 1st Kent, Gravesend, 32 points. A slight accident occurred at one of the batteries during the day to one of the Cinque Ports detachments. The gun was fired before the man was clear, and the recoil sent the carriage over his great toe, crushing it, and necessitating his removal to hospital.

The shooting on Wednesday was for the Queen's prize of 100*l.*, the Prince of Wales's, 21*l.*, and Captain Rutley's, 10*l.*, for the best average score. The competition was most interesting, seeing it was with an arm which is likely to be used if we should ever again engage in war. The Armstrong 40-pounder was the gun used, and the accuracy with which it was used was surprising. The heroes of the day were the 4th West York (Sheffield), 2nd Detachment, who, by four direct hits, the number of rounds fired being only five, made 48. There is not a corps but will feel pleased that the prize should have fallen to such worthy hands, as it was the 4th West York which came up from Sheffield, with Colonel Creswick, and prepared the way by laying down platforms, erecting the tents, and doing all the preliminary work for their brethren in arms which used formerly to be performed by the Royal Artillery. The 1st Detachment of the 4th West York made 24 by two direct hits; and the 2nd Norfolk also made two direct hits; and had points awarded them for time. The Margate Corps made two direct and two ricochet hits; and the Ramsgate Corps three direct hits and one ricochet. The 1st Middlesex made 36.

The other prizes were as follows:—National Artillery Association prize of ten silver cups, competition with rifled guns and shell, and 5*l.* added for gunner No. 1. Winners—1st Detachment, 2nd

Northumberland, scoring 25; the Marquis of Lansdowne prize of 20*l.*, won by the 1st Detachment of 7th West York, with a score of 25; Messrs. Elkington's prize of ten cups, won by the 5th Fife, scoring 20. The prize given by the 2nd Middlesex Artillery, of 12*l.*, was won by the 1st Detachment of 8th Lancashire, scoring 19. Mr. Steward's prize was won by the 1st Detachment of the 3rd Durham, with a score of 17. Lord Londesborough's prize of 10*l.* was won by the 1st Detachment of the 12th Lancashire, with a score of 17; and Colonel Adair's challenge prize was won by the 1st Detachment of the 3rd Lincoln, with a score of 15.

— THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION met to-day at Wolverhampton. The Earl of Dartmouth presided. The meeting was an eminently successful one.

— THE BANK HOLIDAY.—The statute holiday was generally observed throughout the metropolis. In spite of the very unfavourable weather, for there was a steady downpour nearly all day, the railway stations and the principal places of amusement in London and the vicinity were thronged. In the main thoroughfares of the city nearly every shop was closed, and in the middle of the day but few people were seen in the streets. The Strand, Charing Cross, Regent-street, and the more western streets were in a similar state; indeed, in Regent-street, at about one o'clock, hardly a vehicle or a passenger was passing, and the only shops open were those of a few jewellers and dealers in fancy goods.

6. ROYAL YACHT SQUADRON REGATTA.—The great yachting fortnight on the Solent began with the annual regatta of the Royal Yacht Squadron. The race for her Majesty's cup, value 100*l.*, was won by Mr. Mulholland's "Egeria," without receiving time allowance. The Prince of Wales was on board one of the yachts, the "Arrow," belonging to Mr. T. Chamberlayne, as a guest. The race for the prizes for cutters above thirty tons took place on the 7th. Nine yachts took part in the competition. After compiling the time allowances, the "Norman," belonging to Major Ewing, was found to be the winner of the first prize of 75*l.*, and the "Vanguard" (Mr. W. Miller) of the second prize of 25*l.*

7. THUNDERSTORMS.—Violent storms have again visited London and various parts of England and Scotland. At Govan near Glasgow thirteen men engaged in a shipbuilding yard were about to resume their work after dinner when a sudden downpour of rain caused them to seek shelter, some going under the corner of one of the smithies, and others under one of the large vessels in course of construction in the yard. Scarcely had the latter taken up their position when the men standing in the smithy observed what they describe as a bolt of fire striking the ground some fifteen or sixteen feet in front of the bows of the vessel, under which the other men were standing. The bolt immediately burst, with two terrific reports, and the lightning darted along the sides of three vessels which are lying in parallel lines, with their sterns to the river, and in its course struck the men who had taken shelter under the centre

one, the hull of which is completely plated, knocking them all to the ground, and, with one exception, rendering them insensible. Their companions at once rushed to their aid. The impression at first was that the entire number had been killed, but, on their removal to the store, and the prompt application of stimulants, consciousness was restored, though in some cases only partially. Strange to say, the injured men were in no way scorched, but all appeared to be labouring under a numbness which they could not overcome. Nearly the whole number vomited, and those who did so the more speedily recovered, while others were seized with bleeding at the nostrils. Some of the injured, on reaching home, relapsed, and their condition was far from satisfactory.

A smart shock of earthquake was felt on the 8th in Scotland. At Braco and Kinbuck panes of glass were broken, and slates were shaken off Ardoch House. In Dunblane and Bridge of Allan a number of houses were severely shaken, and glass was broken on sideboards. At the same time the shock was felt in Stirling at Allan-park, Gladstone-villas, and other places, and was attended with a loud rumbling noise like thunder.

— THE EDMUNDS CASE.—An action, brought by Mr. Leonard Edmunds, late Clerk of the Patents, against the publisher of the *Daily Telegraph*, to recover damages for an alleged libel in the issue of January 18, 1870, was tried before Mr. Baron Martin and a special jury, at the Guildford assizes to-day, and resulted in a verdict for the defendant. The libel was said to be contained in an abbreviated report of a Treasury Minute, which stated that the plaintiff, after his accounts had been investigated, was indebted largely to the Crown for fees received by virtue of his office, and not paid over according to law. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Stansfeld were present to give evidence for the defendant, but were not called.

10. OPENING OF THE NEW AQUARIUM AT BRIGHTON.—This ceremony was performed by the Mayor of Brighton to-day in presence of a large and influential assembly. This establishment has been formed by an enterprising joint-stock company. The engineer employed was Mr. Eugenius Birch, of Westminster, who constructed the Western Promenade Pier; the architect of the buildings was Mr. Nightingale. The Aquarium, which extends a length of 715 ft. with an average width of 100 ft., is situated on the shore at the east end, below the cliff of the Marine Parade, towards Kemp Town; it occupies the whole space between the toll-house and gate leading to the Old Chain Pier, and the Old Chain Pier itself. The principal entrance to the Aquarium is opposite the Royal Albion Hotel, at the bottom of the Steyne.

The Aquarium proper is divided into three corridors:—

On each side of Corridor No. 1 are ranged the tanks, twenty-eight in number. The dimensions of these tanks range from 55 ft. by 30 ft. to 11 ft. 6 in. to 20 ft. The largest, occupying the whole north side of the square, is over 100 ft. in length, and capable of accommodating the largest-sized whale, or, if need be, the famous

sea-serpent itself. The front work of the tank is composed of Portland stone, ornamental iron, and heavy plate-glass, which is secured to stone and iron-work by waterproof cement. The light transmitted to this corridor is wholly transmitted through the water, and produces a beautiful effect, which the interposition of the elegant central hall and fountain serves to heighten. Down the centre runs a stately arcade, the columns of which are alternately white, blue, and grey marble, supporting a roof, the interstices of which are filled with varicoloured bricks. The capitals of the pillars in the central hall will illustrate the twelve signs of the zodiac.

At the eastern extremity of the first corridor we enter the second or cross corridor, the architectural details of which are similar to those we have just seen. The dimensions of this apartment are 80 ft. by 23 ft. No tanks are to be found here, its main purpose being to serve as an approach to the conservatory, the first corridor, and the terraces. The latter are built over, and are approached by flights of stone steps from the first corridor as well as by similar flights from the entrance-hall. These will be used as public promenades.

The conservatory, which is entered at the junction of the first and second corridors, is 160 ft. long, 40 ft. wide, and 30 ft. high. It is chiefly intended as a lounge and resting-place, and is plentifully decorated with every description of marine plants, polypiae, ferns, and miniature aquaria. The north wall will be covered with ornamental rockwork, in front of which will be placed a series of shallow tanks on a descending grade, intended to illustrate the culture of salmon. At the eastern extremity of the conservatory cavernous rockwork will occupy a considerable space. A picturesque grotto and a miniature cascade add a fresh charm to this popular feature of the exhibition. A saloon for rest, 50 ft. by 20 ft., commodiously fitted with seats, will also occupy a place near the upper end of the conservatory.

Corridor No. 3 runs parallel with, and is of the same length as, the conservatory, and 23 ft. wide. It contains twenty tanks, part of which are intended for fresh and part for salt water fish. The fronts of these tanks are constructed of Ransom's patent concrete stone—a new material. In this corridor small objects requiring minute inspection are arranged on tables.

At the eastern extremity of this corridor are located the engines and store tanks, boiler, gentlemen's retiring-rooms, naturalists' room, and another flight of steps, which lead to the terrace. The water for the fish-tanks will be supplied by means of pumps from the main reservoirs, which occupy the whole basement of the building; and by the judicious arrangement of pipes laid through the walls of the several tanks the water (without which the denizens of this marine palace would quickly cease to live) will be kept constantly in circulation throughout the entire building.

The excavation for this great work was commenced July, 1870; the first brick was laid Feb. 2, 1871; and the whole work is now finished, at a cost of 50,000*l*.



10. PORTLAND BREAKWATER.—The ceremony of laying the finishing stone of this immense structure, of which the first was laid by the Prince Consort 23 years ago, was performed by the Prince of Wales to-day. The labour of 600 convicts has been employed on its construction since the penal settlement was first established in 1848, and 1,033,600*l.* has been paid to contractors and others in the accomplishment of the work.

— STRIKES.—THE BAKERS AND OTHERS.—Several large and important meetings of the London journeymen bakers were held this evening in various parts of the metropolis, having the attainment of higher wages for their object.

On Sunday morning, the 11th, the operative bakers of Dublin struck work, the endeavours to effect an amicable arrangement having failed. A number of Scotch operative bakers, brought from Scotland to Dublin to supply the places of the men on strike, were "got at" by the unions and sent back to Glasgow on Monday. Not a single loaf of bread was to be purchased in the bakers' shops on Tuesday, and it is stated that the strike of the bakers has created a complete bread famine. The operative bakers determined to hold out until their demands are conceded.

A disturbance took place on the 10th, in the neighbourhood of Woodstock, between the agricultural labourers on strike and a body of soldiers who have been sent down to take their place in the harvest-field.

The sailors of Lowestoft having struck for an advance of pay, men from London arrived to take their places, and a riot was the result.

On the 12th the ironstone miners of the Cleveland district commenced to further restrict the output of ironstone, in consequence of the mine-owners not conceding them the advance of 2*d.* per ton asked for by a circular issued some time ago.

A further advance of 2*s.* per ton in the price of coals was made in the Dean Forest. At the same time the colliers asked for a further rise of 10 per cent.

12 and 13. EXECUTIONS.—Five condemned murderers suffered the extreme penalty of their crimes. Three of them had been convicted of wife murder and were executed, Charles Holmes at Worcester, Christopher Edwards at Stafford, and Thomas Moore at Maidstone. At the same time with the latter, and at the same place, Francis Bradford, a lad of twenty, a private soldier, suffered for the murder of a comrade, and James Tooth, a marine, for that of a drummer boy.

The scene at the triple execution was one never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. When the reporters were admitted into the enclosure in which the drop had been erected, two of the men (Bradford and Moore) were already in their places, with the cord around their necks. The third, Tooth, a remarkably fine soldierly man, was approaching the spot, walking with a firm step, and with as much coolness and self-possession as if he were on parade. The prison officials were present, and performed their respective parts in

the melancholy ceremonial. Calcraft, for whose attendance the executions had been postponed from the previous day, acted as hangman. All three culprits were arranged on one platform, there being three drops. At the close of the usual service the bolt was drawn. Tooth died, as he had approached death, unmoved, without the slightest struggle. The others met their fate with less composure; but in a few seconds life in each man was extinct.

14. THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.—To-day the annual Congress of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was opened at Brighton. The Emperor Napoleon, who came from Bognor, was present in the general audience at the first meeting, which was held in the evening of that day under the dome of the Pavilion. Lady Burdett-Coutts was also present. The meeting was fully attended. Among the company was Mr. H. M. Stanley, the finder of Dr. Livingstone, with his negro boy Kolulu. He was presented to the Emperor Napoleon, to Lady Burdett-Coutts, and to the leading members of the British Association.

The President, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, F.R.S., delivered the inaugural address.

15. ELECTION AT PONTEFRAC.—This, the first election under the Ballot Act, demands a brief notice here, on account of the interest consequently attached to the proceedings. The contest was between Mr. Childers (Liberal) and Lord Pollington (Conservative). The former was returned by a majority of eighty.

The proceedings began at 8 a.m., when the presiding officers took their seats at the table provided within each polling-booth. As the clock struck, each presiding officer turned the ballot-box upside down in order to show the agents that there were no papers inside. He then locked it up, fastened it with wax, and attached his seal to it. The number of persons at each table was usually five—the presiding officer, his assistant, his clerk, the personating agent for Mr. Childers, and the personating agent for Lord Pollington. The voters were then admitted.

The process of voting may be thus described :—The elector first received a ballot-paper from the presiding officer or his assistant. The constable then pointed to one of the compartments in the room, resembling those provided in telegraph offices. Here the voter found a pencil, provided with which he made a cross on the right-hand side opposite the name of the candidate for whom he voted. The voter, having previously had directions from the returning officer to fold up the ballot-paper so as to show the official mark on the back, and not to show the front of the paper to any person, left the compartment, and, bringing his paper to the table, showed the official mark on the back to the presiding officer. He then put the paper into the ballot-box and forthwith quitted the polling station. A few ballot-papers were inadvertently spoilt, or filled up wrongly, in which case the presiding officer gave the voter another paper.

17. THE JAPANESE AMBASSADORS.—Sionii Twakuri, and suite,

members of the Japan Embassy, arrived at Liverpool by the "Olympus" from New York. They were entertained at luncheon by the Mayor, and proceeded to London, where they took up their quarters in Buckingham Palace. We learn from the *Japan Herald*, the appointment of this embassy to the courts of Paris and London is in consequence of the Mikado's intention to visit Europe himself shortly. The Japanese visitors were described, by one who has met them, as having literally nothing of the conventional Oriental characteristics about them. "They speak pure English, dress as we do, and in perfect taste; prove themselves shrewd critics of public affairs, and are thoroughly conversant with our customs and the social topics of the hour. They seem, but in a higher degree, to be to all other Orientals what the French are to European people of slower apprehension. There was not a topic, from the recent establishment of coal mines in their country to the present position of the Conservative party in this, with which they were not better acquainted than half the Englishmen one meets."

— THE QUEEN AT EDINBURGH.—Her Majesty has been residing for a few days at Holyrood Palace, *en route* for Balmoral. It is stated that the Queen, in the course of her drives through Edinburgh and the neighbourhood, has been extremely gratified by the warm and loyal reception which has been given to her Majesty by all classes. Viscount Halifax has addressed the following letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh:—

"Dear Lord Provost,—It is not the practice, unless the Queen has visited any city or town in a public manner, to address any official communication to the chief magistrate or authority of the place. I am commanded, however, by her Majesty to convey to you in a less formal manner the expression of her Majesty's gratification at the manner in which she was received by the people of Edinburgh, in whatever part of this city and neighbourhood her Majesty appeared. Her Majesty has felt this the more because, as her Majesty's visit was so strictly private, it was so evidently the expression of their national feeling of loyalty. Her Majesty was also very much pleased with the striking effect produced by lighting up the park and the old chapel.—Believe me, my dear Lord Provost, yours very faithfully,

. HALIFAX."

"Balmoral Castle, Aug. 17."

20. CAPTURE OF A RAILWAY ROBBER.—An engine-driver, named Nelson, was captured at Wakefield, after making a desperate resistance. Since March last there have been nineteen separate and distinct robberies of loaf sugar in course of transit from Goole to various towns in the West Riding and Lancashire, and on Wednesday night last the superintendent of the detective department at Manchester despatched two subordinates to Goole for the purpose of detecting the delinquents. They concealed themselves under the tarpaulin of a truck, laden with loaf sugar, labelled for Oldham-road, Manchester. The truck was the eighth one from the engine.

On arriving at Wakefield they saw Nelson approach, and, with the hammer used for breaking coal, strike several blows at a loaf of sugar, and then put his hand beneath the covering and remove the lump he had knocked off. The two officers jumped out of the truck, and Nelson, seeing them, darted under the waggons, and eluded capture for a while. Shortly afterwards, however, the officers found him on his engine. On their attempting to apprehend him he offered great resistance, and it took four men to overpower him. The piece of sugar was picked up in the siding. In Nelson's house a large quantity of property was found, among which were a cruet-stand, a pair of carvers, and a set of knives and forks, abstracted from a box sent from Messrs. Rodgers, cutlers, Sheffield, to an ironmonger at Burnley, and also some sample knives, stolen from a traveller's case between Bradford and Huddersfield. Nelson has been in the locomotive department at Wakefield for sixteen years, and was earning on an average 2*l.* 10*s.* a week. He was brought before the Wakefield magistrates yesterday, and remanded for a few days. It is expected that a further remand will have to be asked for before the case can be completed.

21. MURDER AND SUICIDE.—A terrible affair took place in Chelsea this evening. Two young Germans, natives of Berlin, had been staying at a disreputable house in Langton-street. A report of fire-arms having been heard, the room whence the sound had proceeded was entered, and there was found lying upon a sofa a young man dead, and upon the floor another dying. The man on the sofa was shot through the centre of the heart, and must have died instantly. The young man on the floor was found to be sinking fast from hæmorrhage. He was able, however, to state that he and his companion had agreed to shoot each other; but the plan was afterwards varied by the young man on the couch first shooting his companion, who fell to the floor, and then turning the pistol (a revolver) upon himself. The young man who shot himself is named Hermann Nagel, is aged twenty, and a native of Berlin. His companion is one year older, comes from the same city, and is named Paul May. At the inquest the following deposition was entered:—

“August 23, 1872, 9.20 p.m.

“Deposition of Paul Julius May, having been duly sworn, and made through Charles Albert, interpreter, now residing and taken at 21, Langton-street, Chelsea, on oath before me, the Hon. E. Curzon, justice of the peace for the county of Middlesex, who saith on Wednesday last, the 21st inst., I was with my cousin, Hermann Nagel, in this house. Before that time we had made some purchases, and among them a revolver. I do not know for what object my cousin bought the revolver. He went out alone to purchase it. I think he bought it last Friday. On Wednesday last we had been out. Before that day we had been to many places of amusement. On Tuesday last we had been to the German Waiters' Club to look for a place as a waiter, and we were told to

come again. About 6.30 p.m. on Wednesday night we had a bottle of champagne, for which my cousin went upstairs, and I followed him five minutes afterwards. We had cried over our unfortunate position for some time. We had tried by every means in our power to find a place, but in vain. We had no more money. Hermann Nagel did not tell me his intention to take his own life nor to shoot me. We were alone in the room crying. Then he (Nagel) fired upon me (May) and then on himself. He had placed the pistol in such a manner as to cause him to die instantly after he had shot me. I had still enough consciousness to see him place the pistol on himself. I also heard the report of a pistol-shot, but I was at that time lying on the ground. That is all I know about it. I make this declaration under the belief that I am in danger of death, and I believe I am now lying on my death-bed.

“P. MAY.”

May recovered and was subsequently tried for murder, but acquitted.

23. FAILURE OF MESSRS. GLEDSTANES AND CO.—The suspension of this eminent East Indian firm in Austin Friars was announced to-day. It is the largest mercantile failure that has occurred for fifteen years. The liabilities are believed to be little short of two millions sterling. For fifty years the house has been one of established respectability; and although of late there has been some diminution of confidence in its resources, it has always occupied a leading position. The transactions of the firm in produce were very large, and during the past few months the fall in cotton, indigo, jute, tea, &c., has been most serious, combined with an ever-increasing competition through the altered channels of intercourse with the East.

24. THE NEW LICENSING ACT.—This measure, which has lately come into operation, has given rise to disorders and riotous meetings in several towns. In Exeter and at Leicester rather serious disturbances have taken place in opposition to the early closing of public-houses. In both towns the police had to charge the mob, and several persons were hurt. The publicans and their customers in Taunton protested, in a curious manner, against the early hours for closing prescribed by the new Act. Every night, at eleven o'clock, on the closing of the public-houses, a meeting is held in the centre of the town, when formal resolutions are passed denouncing the Government and their Bill, and pledging the agitators to continue the meetings until the clauses are repealed. Liquor is freely consumed on the spot for a couple of hours, when, after groans for Mr. Bruce, the repealers sing the National Anthem and disperse.

— GALLANT RESCUE.—The Royal Humane Society has awarded its silver medallion to Mr. John Dodd, United States Consul at Tamsin, Formosa, and Mr. Augustus Margary, of her Britannic Majesty's Consular Service, for saving life under circumstances which demand notice.

During the raging of a violent typhoon which burst over the north coast of Formosa, three vessels, with crews numbering altogether forty men, were blown from their anchorage and driven upon the rocky shore of Kelung harbour. The night was very dark and rainy, but by the aid of a brilliant light of burning camphor the perilous position of the ships was perceived. A rope was instantly made secure to the shore, and the two gentlemen attempted to carry it through the heavy surf to the assistance of the "Annie" schooner, which had on board a crew of seven Englishmen. The rope, however, was too short, and both gentlemen had to swim to the vessel, which they reached after a narrow escape from being dashed on to the rocks. Accompanied by two of the crew, they attempted to convey a rope to the shore by the ship's boat, but it had hardly been launched when it was swamped, and they had again to swim for their lives. Their efforts to save the crew were, however, successful, and they then proceeded to the French barque "Adèle," which lay a mile farther out, dashed, with the "Westward Ho!" another vessel, on the worst rocks in the harbour. After some persuasion on their part, four of the crew were induced to trust themselves to the rope, and reached the shore in safety. Messrs. Dodd and Margary then followed, taking with them the boatswain, whose leg had been broken; and, swimming with the man, who assisted himself by means of the rope, again reached the shore in safety. After sustained efforts, extending over eight hours, all hands, with the exception of two men in the fore-part of the ship, were rescued; and, as the vessel was breaking in two, it was difficult to get at them. Mr. Dodd made an attempt, however, but at first was unsuccessful, being washed overboard by a heavy sea and sucked under a lot of wreck. It seemed almost as if he must be lost, but after some little time he freed himself from the wreck, cutting and bruising himself in his efforts to do so. Although in this sad plight, he again succeeded in reaching the ship, and by daylight—having commenced his noble exertions at nine o'clock the previous night—had saved the whole of the crew.

— ATTEMPT TO SWIM FROM DOVER TO CALAIS.—Mr. J. B. Johnson, of Leeds, the hero of the London Bridge adventure, having undertaken to perform this feat to-day, there was great excitement in the town of Dover, and bets ran high upon the success of the exploit. Early in the morning several thousands of persons flocked to the Admiralty Pier to witness the start, which was announced for 9.30 a.m., as it was reckoned that the tide would serve to take him to the westward for about two hours, and then he would have the advantage of the tide in the opposite direction to reach across to the other side. The band of the Royal Surrey Gardens arrived in Dover by the boat train, and having formed up in front of the Harp Hotel, a procession was formed, and, headed by the band playing a lively air, Johnson, with his breast adorned with some twenty decorations, walked to the pier. On their arrival here a lamentable delay occurred—which was estimated to seriously injure

the prospects of the swimmer, as the tides had been calculated to a nicety—through the pier officials refusing to allow the party to embark. It was then arranged to go afloat in boats, but after awhile the gentleman in charge of the pier gave the required permission, and the embarkation took place. The "Palmerston," with Mr. Strange, Mr. Wieland, and the members of the press, then left, and steamed a few feet away. At 10.40 Mr. Johnson appeared on deck, attired in bathing costume, and having ascended the paddle-box he, amidst the ringing cheers of the crowd, dived into the water in splendid style. At the stern of the steamer a small boat, containing Mr. Johnson's brother and Mr. Collard, was towed along, so that in case of necessity help was immediately at hand. Striking out to sea the swimmer soon made headway, taking some most powerful strokes, which appeared to send him at least a distance of six feet each time. Johnson kept on swimming in splendid form, and accomplished two miles in twenty minutes. He kept his pace, and at 11.20 took his first refreshment, and at 11.30 he again partook of stimulants. The tide had now taken him nearly off Folkestone, and he then put on such a spurt that he overhauled the steamer, which was some distance ahead of him. On reaching her he remarked he should like something to eat; and though he was neither exhausted nor tired, the surgeon saw that circulation was failing, and advised him to come out. This was at 11.45 a.m., and taking this advice he got into the steamer, having swum over seven miles in an hour and five minutes. He did not appear in the least tired, but his legs were numbed. When he got all right he actually had the pluck and desire to continue the feat, but the water being very rough it was considered a physical impossibility for him to continue his task. He then went below, and the "Palmerston" steamed direct for Calais, arriving at 3 p.m. Just before going into harbour Johnson appeared on deck again, and with his brother jumped into the water and performed various aquatic feats. It being the occasion of the Calais fêtes and regatta, the English visitors received a most enthusiastic reception. Mr. Strange's band, at the request of the mayor, played in the market-square, and were afterwards entertained at the Hotel de Ville. They were also the guests at a *déjeuner* given by the band of the 8th Regiment of the French line, and in the afternoon the English instrumentalists gave a promenade concert, which was attended by at least 20,000 people.

25. TWO RAILWAY STATIONS DESTROYED BY FIRE.—The North-Eastern Railway goods dépôt, Wellington-street, Leeds, was today consumed by fire. The buildings extended over several acres, including some new ones which had been recently added. The first appearance of fire was noticed at about six o'clock, and in an hour and a half the whole of the premises were reduced to ruins. The series of warehouses included in the block were fully stored with all kinds of merchandise, some of it of a most inflammable character. The nearness of these warehouses to a numerous mass

of buildings caused a good deal of alarm in a populous neighbourhood. The mischief done was very extensive; many thousand quarters of grain were wholly calcined. A number of hams and portions of the general cargo were in store at the dépôt. The books and valuables in the commercial departments were rescued at an early period of the day. The roof fell in about half-past six o'clock.

The following night the Kentish Town station of the North London Railway was burned down. Fourteen engines of the Metropolitan Brigade were taken to the place and set to work, but no impression could be made on the fire until the premises were almost destroyed, and great difficulty was experienced in preventing the destruction of the adjoining property. The origin of the fire, which broke out at a quarter past nine, is unknown. Several houses were more or less damaged, and their contents injured by fire, smoke, water, and removal.

26. THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN.—The troops, about 30,000 in number, assembled on the Wiltshire plains for the Autumn Manœuvres, may be said to have commenced their operations to-day. The head-quarters of the army of defence, commanded by Lieut.-General Sir Robert Walpole, are at Pewsey. The invading army, supposed to have landed on the Dorset or Devon coast, are assembled at Blandford, under Lieut.-General Sir John Michel.

27. HEAVY GALES—LIFEBOAT SERVICE.—At daybreak a yacht riding at anchor in Holkham Bay was seen to be making signals of distress. A heavy gale, which had lasted all night, was blowing from the north, and the sea was running tremendously high. The Penny Readings Lifeboat, "Eliza Adams," which belongs to the National Lifeboat Institution, and is stationed at Wells, was immediately manned and rowed down to the bar, where she was joined by a steamer, and proceeded towards the yacht, which proved to be the "Stella." The lifeboat with difficulty succeeded in getting alongside and saved those on board, consisting of the Hon. F. Walpole, M.P. for North Norfolk, his young son, two friends, and four of the crew. Having safely landed them at Wells Quay shortly before noon, the lifeboat immediately proceeded to sea again, to a large brig ashore at Wareham Hole, to the eastward of Wells, the crew of which vessel were seen to have taken refuge in the tops. Fortunately the lifeboat was also the means of saving these men, eight in number, who were taken in the boat to Blakeney. Their vessel was the brig "Criterion," of Arbroath, bound from Shields to Cadiz with coals.

— AFFRAY BETWEEN TWO NORWICH MAGISTRATES.—An extraordinary scene was witnessed at the Norwich Brewster Sessions to-day. A quarrel originated in a remark made by Mr. C. E. Bignold that Mr. R. W. Blake, another magistrate, was "a foolish old man." Mr. Blake followed Mr. Bignold from one part of the room to the other, observing, "Neither physically nor mentally are you my superior, and how dare you call me a foolish old man?"



Mr. Bignold replied that what had been said was the consequence of impertinent remarks by Mr. Blake. Mr. Blake, upon this, rejoined, "You may clatter your teeth, but, old as I am, I am not a coward, and I know some who are." Mr. Bignold rejoined that he was not a youth, and immediately afterwards Mr. Blake said, "You're a coward." Mr. Bignold ejaculated, "It's a lie," upon which Mr. Blake struck Mr. Bignold in the face. Mr. Bignold caught hold of the coat of Mr. Blake, and a scuffle ensued. Mr. Blake fell near the desk of the clerk, but, quickly regaining his feet, he seized hold of Mr. Bignold and with considerable violence threw him against a partition which divides the magisterial seats from the body of the court. Here Mr. Bignold seems to have been almost at the mercy of Mr. Blake, but the latter was drawn away by his coat-tails by Mr. Bolingbroke, a third magistrate. In a brief interval, in which there was a suspension of hostilities, Mr. Bignold regained his feet and his lost hat, and Mr. Blake did not renew the fray, although he complained that when Mr. Bignold was down he had kicked out "like a savage." The scene of course produced much excitement.

27. MR. STANLEY AND DR. LIVINGSTONE.—The Queen has forwarded through Earl Granville a message of thanks to Mr. Stanley, accompanied with a gold snuff-box set with diamonds. The following is the letter:—

"Sir,—I have great satisfaction in conveying to you, by command of the Queen, her Majesty's high appreciation of the prudence and zeal which you have displayed in opening a communication with Dr. Livingstone, and relieving her Majesty from the anxiety which, in common with her subjects, she had felt in regard to the fate of that distinguished traveller. The Queen desires me to express her thanks for the service you have thus rendered, together with her Majesty's congratulations on your having so successfully carried out the mission which you so fearlessly undertook. Her Majesty also desires me to request your acceptance of the memorial which accompanies this letter."

28. SPORTING EXTRAORDINARY.—The *Norwich Mercury* hears on good authority that this day Lord Walsingham, who has moors at Blubberhouse, Yorkshire, killed with his own gun the astounding number of 842 head of grouse. Of these 550 were brought to bag before one o'clock in the day.

— AN INCIDENT OF WAR.—To-day, in the course of the Autumn Manœuvres, Lord Mark Kerr had just ridden back from the head of Maxwell's Brigade, and was between the Engineers and the three regimental carts of the 102nd Fusiliers, when his horse and that of Captain Poole, the brigade-major of the 1st brigade, began to jump and kick violently. In an instant afterwards, the general and his staff found themselves literally enveloped by myriads of wasps, who fastened on them and their horses, and began to sting horribly. They held on as long as they could, and were supported by equally determined reinforcements. Lord Mark

Kerr saw that if the regimental carts, which were close at hand, should come up, the wasps would set upon the cart-horses, and that a scene of dangerous confusion would set in throughout the whole column, a battery of artillery lying next in the march. He at once shouted out an order for the regimental carts to halt, and at the same instant landed his horse in magnificent style over a fence and into a barley-field, through which he saw the remainder of the column might pass by a flank movement, and so outmanœuvre the wasps. At the farther end of the barley-field was a gate; but as there was no outlet at the end nearest to Maxwell's Brigade, the general ordered the Engineers to make a gap in the fence. The Engineers had the gap made in a minute or two, and the troops began to march in files two deep along a path in the barley-field in order not to injure the crop. This movement had scarcely commenced when the adjutant of the 4th Regiment, with a sergeant and a private, observing that the wasps had "settled down," took up some sods and clapped them upon the wasps' nest, the adjutant himself driving home the sods with a blow of the spade. The incident is not without precedent. When Sir J. Michel was commanding a brigade in the Cape at the time Sir J. Jackson was Commander-in-Chief, he was driven from an outpost by a nest of hornets.

## SEPTEMBER.

2. FIRE AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.—Canterbury Cathedral has narrowly escaped being destroyed by fire. Indeed, that portion of the roof which covered Trinity Chapel at the extreme east end of the edifice, extending to the canopy over the spot which indicates where once stood the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, and over the altar and choir, is entirely gone.

The fire was caused by the upsetting of a pot of burning charcoal used by the plumbers employed to solder the leaden covering of the roof. The molten lead poured through to the woodwork below, and the roof in that part was soon on fire. It was then about half-past ten o'clock in the morning. The daily morning service had just concluded, but the choir had stayed behind to rehearse something for the afternoon. When the alarm was given the boys and lay clerks rushed from the building in their surplices, not knowing exactly the extent of the danger. The organ-blower in the meanwhile had the presence of mind to go to the tower and ring the great bell, thus making known to the city and neighbourhood that something was amiss. Smoke and flames were soon seen issuing in volumes from that part of the east

= end of the roof near Becket's shrine, and by this time people were  
= streaming into the precincts and viewing the conflagration in  
- helpless dismay. It should be stated that two or three years ago  
- very excellent waterworks were established in Canterbury, which  
- are computed to supply the citizens with about 180,000 gallons  
- per diem, from a reservoir on St. Thomas's-hill, and from which  
- the service is continuous, at a pressure of 70 lb. to the square inch.  
- Unfortunately the Dean and Chapter, or their surveyor, had not  
- yet got the hydrants of the water company fixed around the  
- cathedral; but the hose belonging to the Phoenix and Kent Fire  
- Offices and to the City Volunteer Fire Brigade was of sufficient  
- length to be affixed to the hydrants in the adjoining streets, and  
- thence carried through the Cathedral-yard to the burning building,  
- the city brigade alone using 700 ft. for this purpose. Although  
- the men belonging to the various brigades were on the spot as  
- quickly as possible, it was not until twelve o'clock that any water  
- could be got to touch the flames at all. Meanwhile the fire was  
- gradually destroying the whole of the eastern roof. Indeed, up to  
- this time so serious did matters look that the Vice-Dean, the  
- Rev. Canon Thomas, telegraphed to Captain Shaw, of the London  
- Fire Brigade, to send off by special train one of his steam fire-  
- engines—an order which, happily, soon after had to be counter-  
- mandated, as the flames were subdued. A telegram was also  
- despatched to Ashford for a further supply of hose, which was at  
- once sent, with the Ashford Fire Brigade. About half-past eleven  
- forty men belonging to the Cavalry Depôt Brigade, under the  
- command of Quartermaster Woods, and forty of the Royal Horse  
- Artillery, marched into the precincts and rendered excellent service,  
- both in assisting the local police to control the crowd and on the  
- roof of the building. The hose from the Phoenix Office was the  
- first to reach the fire, and immediately afterwards Mr. George  
- Delassaux, of the Canterbury Volunteer Fire Brigade, at con-  
- siderable personal risk, broke his way through one of the small  
- windows in the clerestory, and, dragging his hose after him,  
- brought a second stream to play upon the flames. Meanwhile the  
- burning timbers, with the vane which stood at the east end, had  
- fallen in upon the groined roof below, and sparks and molten lead  
- were dropping through into the Trinity Chapel and Becket's  
- shrine, at the rear of the altar. An army of volunteers was quickly  
- pressed into service, and everything inflammable was removed  
- from the choir, even the heavy communion-table being taken away,  
- the altar-rails torn up, and the armour and shield of the Black  
- Prince removed from the tomb where they have hung for centuries.  
- By one o'clock it became apparent that the force of water from the  
- hydrants was getting the upper hand of the fire, just as it was in  
- contemplation to cut a vast gap in the roof, and so arrest the  
- flames. The soldiers were working well both with the hose and  
- the axe, cutting away the burning timbers, and at two o'clock a  
- ringing cheer went up from the men on the roof, which was

heartily joined in by the crowd below, in token of the extinguishing of the fire.

The hour of divine service was altered from three to four o'clock, and by that hour, by dint of considerable exertions, the choir was made available for the accommodation of a large congregation. Archdeacon Harrison, who read the prayers, prefaced them by invoking the assembly to offer up thanks to God for His mercy in having saved the beautiful building from destruction. Subsequently a special "Te Deum" was solemnized, and the service throughout was of the most impressive nature.

It was on September 5, 1174, that the last fire took place in Canterbury Cathedral, the history of which is left on record by an eye-witness—the Monk Gervase. So great was the injury then done, that the cathedral was not again opened for public service till 1180, six years afterwards.

— MARRIAGE OF PÈRE HYACINTHE. — Charles Jean-Marie (better known as Père Hyacinthe) Loyson was married to Emilie Jane, daughter of Mr. Amory Butterfield, and widow of Mr. Edwin Ruthven Meriman, of the United States of America. In a letter to a friend in France Père Hyacinthe explains the grounds upon which he has taken this step. He commences by remarking that his character of priest, which he cannot and does not wish to renounce, gives to his determination a public and terrible solemnity. He then proceeds to give his reasons for the resolution which he had formed. If, he remarks, he had quitted his convent for the purpose of marrying—which was not the case—he might have defended himself by showing that natural law, with its imprescriptible rights and duties, is superior to human laws, and, above all, to fictitious engagements. That which ought to excite reprobation, and which he had always held in horror, is not marriage but sin. Obstinate faithful to the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, he was not in any manner bound by its abuses, and he was satisfied that perpetual vows ranked among the most wicked of those abuses. No human authority, neither that of Councils nor that of Popes, could impose as an eternal commandment what Jesus Christ wished only to make a simple counsel.

5. SAD SUICIDE.—A young woman threw herself off Waterloo Bridge to-day. She was well dressed. At the inquest it was ascertained that the poor girl was from the United States, and named Alice Blanche Oswald. A letter she left behind her gives the following account of herself:—"178, High-street, Shadwell, London, Sept. 3, 1872.—The crime that I am about to commit, and what I must suffer hereafter, is nothing compared to my present misery. Alone in London, not a penny or a friend to advise or lend a helping hand, tired and weary with looking for something to do, failing in every way, footsore and heart-weary, I prefer death to the dawning of another wretched morning. I have only been in Britain nine weeks. I came as nursery governess with a lady from America to Wick, in Scotland, where she discharged

me, refusing to pay my passage back, giving me my wages, 3*l.* 10*s.* After my expenses to London, I found myself in this great city with only 5*s.* What was I to do? I sold my watch. The paltry sum I obtained for that soon went in paying for my board and in looking for a situation. Now I am destitute, every day is a misery to me. No friend, no hope, no money; what is left? Oh, God of Heaven! have mercy on a poor helpless sinner! Thou knowest how I have striven against this; but fate is against me. I cannot tread the path of sin, for my dead mother will be watching me. Fatherless, motherless, home I have none. Oh, for the rarity of Christian hearts! I am not mad; for days I have foreseen that this would be the end. May all who hear of my death forgive me, and may God Almighty do so, before whose bar I must soon appear! Farewell to all, to this beautiful and yet wretched world. —ALICE BLANCHE OSWALD. I am twenty years of age the 14th of this month." The jury returned a verdict of "Suicide while in a state of temporary insanity." The unhappy girl was buried at Woking Cemetery, in the presence of a considerable number of persons, on September 18.

Miss Stride undertook on her own responsibility to pay for a special funeral and a private grave. Several American ladies who were present threw flowers on the coffin. The *Dundee Advertiser* says that the case has created great excitement in Wick, where the lady is said to have resided with whom Miss Oswald came from America in the capacity of nursery governess. Strict inquiry has been made in Wick, but nothing has been discovered to lead to the identification of the lady, and it is generally supposed there that some mistake must have been made as to the name of the town.

6. FATAL POWDER-MILL EXPLOSION AT HOUNSLOW.—At twenty-five minutes past ten o'clock this morning one of the most terrible explosions which has happened for several years occurred at the gunpowder works of Messrs. Curtis and Harvey, commonly called the Hounslow Mills, resulting, unhappily, in the loss of four lives, viz. a man named Cobb, and three boys, named respectively James Cooper, Alfred Lynch, and Stephen May, whilst a lad named Palmer is so injured that he is not expected to live the day out. It appears that the composition mixing-house first blew up, followed in a few seconds by the press-house, both of which buildings were completely destroyed, and some adjoining sheds were set on fire, and blazed furiously, causing the utmost consternation; but, strange to say, although the press-house had blown-up, none of the powder it contained went off: there was, it is said, from forty to fifty barrels on the floor of the building, and, had it ignited, it is thought the loss of life would have been enormous, as in that case no doubt some of the mills and other stores would have been fired. The damage done to the works is said to be very serious. Fortunately there were few men employed on the parts of the works where the explosion occurred. The cause of the calamity is at present shrouded in mystery. Various rumours are rife, and there

is the usual difficulty in obtaining information from the officials in charge.

7. A ROMANCE OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.—The Indian papers announce that Liakut Ali has been found guilty, and sentenced to transportation for life, by the Sessions Court at Allahabad. The charge against him was that "Liakut Ali, son of Mehir Ali, by caste a sheik, resident of Muhgaon, Pergunnah Chail, aged about forty-five years, being a person owing allegiance to the British Government, was a leader in revolt, and rebelled and waged war against the Queen and the Government of the East India Company, in the month of June or thereabout, in the year 1857, at Allahabad."

One of the witnesses called on his behalf was a woman named Amy Bennett, who said that she was thirty-three years of age, and that she resided in Calcutta with her father, Captain Horne, who commanded a vessel. The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* summarizes her story thus:—

In May, 1857, the witness, with her mother and stepfather, and five brothers and a sister, removed from Lucknow to Cawnpore for protection, there being rumours of an intended outbreak. They remained in the intrenchment with the other Europeans till the surrender of General Wheeler, and then they all attempted to escape in boats; but witness was seized by a native, and forcibly taken away just before the boats were fired upon—in fact, she was barely saved from the massacre. She was taken before the Moulvie, Liakut Ali, the prisoner, she believed, though he was not then grey, and he gave her the choice of becoming a Mohammedan or dying. She elected to die, and thereupon the Moulvie ordered her to be taken away and fed. She received a little blanket tent for her residence, and remained there till the British arrived, when she was hurried away with the retreating rebels. She was taken from Cawnpore to Bithoor, and she believes the Nana was there at the time, and that he would certainly have put her to death if he had heard of her. Afterwards she was taken farther up country, but the party returned on hearing of the fall of Delhi. At Futteghur she was told that she was to be blown from a gun, and then she made her escape at night with the sowar who had her in charge, but, she felt confident, with the connivance of the Moulvie, whom, however, she never saw again after her first interview with him till she saw him on his trial at the Allahabad court. This is the curious story told by the principal witness on the Moulvie's behalf, fifteen years after those bloody days at Cawnpore. It did not, however, save him from conviction.

9. AN OPEN-AIR GATHERING was held in Trafalgar-square, to "demonstrate" against the high price of meat. The weather was wet, and the numbers who attended were small:—

One resolution embodied the opinion of the meeting respecting the restrictions on the importation of foreign cattle. A second declared that the land and game laws were the principal cause of

the present high price of provisions. There were two other resolutions—one “protesting against the neglect of our waste lands, and calling upon the Government to take immediate steps to employ all surplus labour in their proper cultivation;” and the other, appointing a deputation “to wait upon the Premier to induce him to take up the whole subject without delay.”

—THE QUEEN AT DUNROBIN.—To-day, at noon, the Queen laid the memorial stone of a monument to the memory of the late Duchess of Sutherland in the grounds of Dunrobin Castle. Her Majesty was accompanied by Princess Beatrice, Prince Leopold, and several members of the Court. There was a large attendance of subscribers and the public. The platform was covered with crimson cloth, and there was a beautiful canopy overhead, while the space around was decorated with flowers and evergreens. The officers of the Sutherland Volunteers and a guard of honour were present. A bottle, hermetically sealed, and containing the coins of the realm and medallion of the late Duchess, copies of the local papers and the *Times* of Friday, with an article on the reclaiming of the waste lands of Sutherland, was placed in the cavity of the stone, and covered by a brass plate with a suitable inscription, concluding thus,—“This foundation-stone was laid by Queen Victoria of England in Testimony of her Love and Friendship, 9th of September, 1872.”

#### 11. THE ST. LEGER STAKES (191 subs.).

Lord Wilton's b.c. Wenlock, by Lord Clifden, 8 st. 10 lb. (Maidment) 1  
Mr. J. Dawson's ch. c. Prince Charlie, 8 st. 10 lb. . . (T. French) 2  
Lord Aylesford's br. c. Vanderdecken, 8 st. 10 lb. . . (T. Cannon) 3

The following also ran:—Merevale, 8 st. 5 lb.; Intrepid, 8 st. 10 lb.; Wellingtonia, 8 st. 10 lb.; Simon, 8 st. 10 lb.; Prodigal, 8 st. 10 lb.; Patriarch, 8 st. 10 lb.; Strathtay, 8 st. 10 lb.; Young Sydmonton, 8 st. 10 lb.; Lighthouse, 8 st. 10 lb.; Lord Gough, 8 st. 10 lb.; Gladiolus, 8 st. 10 lb.; Xanthus, 8 st. 10 lb.; Drummond, 8 st. 10 lb.; Khedive, 8 st. 10 lb.

Betting: 3 to 1 each agst. Drummond and Prince Charlie, 9 to 2 agst. Wellingtonia, 8 to 1 each agst. Wenlock and Khedive, 100 to 6 agst. Vanderdecken, 20 to 1 agst. Gladiolus, 50 to 1 each agst. Young Sydmonton and Merevale, 100 to 1 agst. Prodigal, and 1000 to 8 agst. Lord Gough.

The pace throughout was good. The result is a complete substantiation of public form, as Wenlock was fourth in the Derby, and, having nothing to oppose that beat him then, he had no difficulty in asserting his supremacy. No one more deserves such a victory than Lord Wilton, who has long been known as one of the stanchest and most upright sportsmen of this or any other age. Wadlow, his careful trainer, sent the horse to the post in excellent condition, for which every praise is due to him. Maidment has now ridden two St. Leger winners in succession, having steered Hannah to victory last year. The success of Wenlock is not inappropriate

as far as his breeding goes, his sire, Lord Clifden, having won the same race in 1863.

12. THE AUTUMN MANŒUVRES.—The march past of the combined armies at Beacon Hill fitly brought to a close the campaign of this year, which has been fought in the open country of Wiltshire by the two divisions of regular troops, militia, and volunteers, each nearly 15,000 strong, under the commands respectively of General Sir Robert Walpole and General Sir John Michel. The former, whose force is styled the Northern Army, or the Army of Defence, had moved from his late head-quarters at Pewsey to encounter the latter, whose Southern Army, representing that of a foreign invader, had marched up from Blandford, so that they joined battle on ground between Warminster and Salisbury, near the village of Codford St. Mary, where the river Wiley, the high road, and the railway afforded a triple line of defence. The position of Sir John Michel was at Fonthill and Teffont Magna, on the opposite side of this ground, which is traversed by an old Roman road, and is diversified with hills and woods, providing cover for the advance of troops.

The following official programme, giving a general idea of the operations, is dated "Army Head-quarters, Salisbury, Aug. 31, 1872 :—

"The operations of the manœuvres are represented by the action of the two corps forming the advanced portions of the two opposing armies. The Blandford (or Southern) corps is part of a force which is marching from Weymouth to London. Dorchester is occupied, and a strong detachment has been sent forward towards Yeovil to cut the Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth line of railway. Another strong detachment has reached Sturminster Newton, on Sept. 5, in order to watch the Somerset and Dorset railway, and to prevent any attack being made on the communications of the Southern Army from the direction of Wells or Bath. The right flank is protected by a force of 10,000 men, which has been landed at Poole for the purpose of co-operating with the Dorchester corps, and has reached Ringwood by Sept. 5. Moreover, the whole of the invading force on this side of England (which may be taken at less than 50,000 men) is subsidiary to a main invasion on the eastern or south-eastern coast. This invasion is in process of being checked. On the north side a corps of 15,000 men is collected at Pewsey, and constitutes the advanced portion of a force assembled at Aldershot to stop the progress of the invader. In addition to this force, troops are being got together at Bristol and Bath, and are preparing to join the Pewsey corps should it advance to the Wiley, or to support it if forced to retreat from the line of that river. Part of these reinforcements are capable of being sent forward to the neighbourhood of Warminster by Sept. 6. A strong position, that south of Salisbury, as well as the city itself, is held by the defending army, the force here amounting to about 6000 men of all arms. Wilton is occupied by a force of 3000 men. The Salisbury position is sup-



posed to be too strong to allow of its being carried by the force advancing from the direction of Ringwood. The Generals in command of the respective corps at Pewsey and Blandford have, on the above suppositions, full liberty of action (subject, of course, to orders to be issued during the progress of the operations), with one restriction—viz. that neither force must cross the Wiley before four a.m. on Sept. 6. In naming this date, no reference is made to the movements of the cavalry and horse artillery. Salisbury Plain offers peculiar advantages for the manœuvring of these arms, and no doubt the Generals in command of the corps will make the fullest use of their services during the advance."

The execution of this programme was liable to be modified by the result of particular movements; and in the series of mimic battles, continued day after day, from Thursday the 5th to Tuesday the 10th, at Lamb Down, Codford, Wishford, and Yarnbury, the position of Sir Robert Walpole's army seems to have been turned, enabling Sir John Michel to cross the river Avon, near Amesbury, and to get upon the road to London. But in the last battle each army succeeded in turning the other's flank, with the curious result at the close that the communications of the invaders with the sea, and the defenders with London were both alike cut off. The Duke of Cambridge inspected the troops to-day (the 12th). The Prince of Wales and Prince Arthur have taken part in the service throughout the campaign. The Prince stayed at Bemerton Lodge, Salisbury, where he entertained the other princes and the foreign officers of distinction. A dinner at Fisherton Hall to the Prince on the 7th was enlivened by a graceful episode. After the toasts had been given, General Schonstedt, of Holland, the senior of the foreign officers, rose and thanked Col. Ellis, Capt. Wellesley, and Mr. Brydges for the kind and courteous manner in which those three officers had discharged the duties committed to them by the English Government. General Schonstedt went on to say that it was the wish of the foreign officers to present each of those English officers who had shown them so much attention and kindness with a souvenir of the manœuvres of 1872. Three beautiful pieces of plate were then placed upon the table, and Lieut.-Col. Ellis, Capt. Wellesley, and Mr. Brydges were asked to accept them. The Duke of Auerstadt, who is a nephew of Marshal Davoust, spoke to the same purpose in a few excellently chosen sentences, after which Lieut.-Col. Ellis rose, and having entirely deprecated the idea that he had done anything more than discharge to the best of his ability, and with great pleasure, a very pleasant duty, warmly thanked General Schonstedt and his brother officers of the different armies for the uniform courteousness and consideration with which they had encountered the many little rubs of the manœuvres, and for the beautiful presents on the table which he and the other English officers would always prize.

On his return home, the Duke of Cambridge issued the following order:—

"At the conclusion of the autumn manœuvres of 1872, his Royal Highness the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief has infinite pleasure in expressing to the troops generally his entire satisfaction at the manner in which they have been carried out.

"His special thanks are due to Lieutenant-General Sir John Michel, G.C.B., and Lieut.-General Sir Robert Walpole, K.C.B., the officers commanding the two corps d'armée, upon whom, with their immediate staff, the responsibilities have mainly rested.

"Divisional general officers, officers commanding brigades, and heads of departments, have carried out all the details of their respective duties with the greatest zeal and assiduity, setting an example to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, including those of the auxiliary forces, under their orders, which has found a ready and willing response on the part of the troops.

"The exemplary conduct of all ranks, and the cheerful manner in which they have met the fatigues and discomfort incidental to large operations in the field, have been thoroughly appreciated by his Royal Highness, and have elicited from the civil population with whom they have been brought in contact the highest and most deserved encomiums, producing a reciprocal feeling of cordiality which must be considered in a public sense as equally valuable and gratifying.

"The thanks of his Royal Highness are also due to the Umpire Staff for the efficient manner in which they have performed their important duties.—By Command, J. W. Armstrong, Deputy Adjutant-General.

"Head-quarters, Salisbury, September 12."

18. THE PRESTON ELECTION.—The election of a member of Parliament for Preston, which took place to-day, was the second since the passing of the Ballot Act. The examination of the ballot papers, which was finished by half-past eight at night, showed that Mr. Holker, Q.C., the Conservative candidate, had polled 4542 votes, whilst Major German, the Liberal, received the support of only 3824. There was thus a majority of 718 for Mr. Holker.

The votes polled at the last election, in 1868, were—for Mr. Hermon, 5803; Sir T. G. Hesketh, 5700; Mr. Leese, 4741; Lord E. Howard, 4663. There were, therefore, many more abstentions than four years ago. There was a good deal of excitement in the town, but no actual disorder, and it is said less drunkenness than usual.

19. DESTRUCTIVE GALES have been prevalent in the north of England during the last few days. The tide which rose about one o'clock this morning is said to have been the highest witnessed in the Mersey for six years. According to "Holden's Time Table" it was to have been high water at 12.26 a.m., and the prophesied height was twenty-one feet above the Old Dock sill. As a matter of fact, however, it was nearly two feet above that, an immense body of water having been blown into the Mersey by the strong westerly and north-westerly winds which have prevailed for some

days, and which caused a heavy swell at high water on Wednesday midday, so that the ferry-boats to Egremont and New Brighton could not land the passengers, and for some time had to cease running. At midnight the waves washed over George's Pier, and about twelve feet of the shore ends of the landing-stage bridges were awash for half an hour. The sea drove up the Dee with so much force that the boundary-wall of the Chester and Holyhead Railway between Mostyn and Tan-y-lan Point, where the line is on land won from the sea, was washed away, and the sleepers on the eastern line of rails nearest the water were so much undermined that traffic became dangerous. The Irish limited mail on the night of the 18th was brought to a standstill in this vicinity, and had to proceed very slowly, being thus considerably delayed in arrival in London. This morning the traffic had to be conducted in the most cautious manner along the down line of rails, a pilot engine escorting all trains between Mostyn and Prestatyn stations. Other parts of the railway along the Welsh coast, although more open to the sea at some points, received no damage, the style of construction being calculated to withstand dangers of the kind, which were quite unexpected at the point where the waves washing over and through gullies in the marsh-land broke down the boundary-wall.

21. RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—Railway accidents are now becoming of such frequent occurrence that unless a number of people are killed or seriously injured no notice is taken of them. Several have occurred during the past week, the principal of which we give.

What might have resulted in the most deplorable accident of our day took place at Westbourne Park station, on the Great Western Railway. A number of eminent singers and the principal members of the orchestra who had been performing at the Worcester Musical Festival were on their way to London. The express train from North Wales, which they joined at Worcester, had arrived within a few hundred yards of the Westbourne Park station when a luggage train, which was on its way to a siding, was by some miscalculation driven obliquely into the centre of the passenger train. The first carriage with which the engine of the luggage train came in contact was a van containing luggage and a large number of valuable musical instruments. This was smashed and overturned, dragging over with it one or two of the carriages that followed. A number of the passengers suffered from contusions and shakings; and one lady, who was with difficulty helped out through the window of one of the overturned compartments, was stated to be seriously hurt. In the carriage immediately preceding the overturned van, and in other parts of the train, were M<sup>rs</sup>. Lemmens Sherrington, Miss Fairman, Mr. Santley, Mr. Vernon Rigby, Mr. E. Lloyd, Mr. Lewis Thomas, and all the principal members of the orchestra. Many valuable instruments belonging to the last-named gentlemen were either irreparably destroyed, or sustained serious damage.

Greenhill Junction, on the Caledonian Railway, was the scene of a fatal accident on September 16. A goods train was proceeding northwards from Glasgow, but had stopped at Greenhill for the purpose of shunting into a siding, to enable a passenger train from Glasgow to pass. While this was being done, the signal was turned on so that the passenger train might be brought to a standstill before passing the post. Whether the engine-driver or the fireman observed the signal it is impossible to say, as both of them were killed, but the guard immediately applied the break. The train, however, was going at great speed, and dashed into the rear of the goods train with much violence. The crash took place just at the station, where a bridge crosses the line. A number of the waggons were dashed in pieces, blocking up both lines. One or two were thrown upon the platform, and turned upside down. A truck filled with cattle was turned over on the embankment, and the cattle were thrown out. They suffered very little injury, one or two being slightly lamed; but the whole were able to graze quietly in an adjoining field. At the bridge the line was completely covered, and the collision was so great that the engine of the passenger train was turned across both lines of rails, and fell over on its side immediately under the bridge. The tender became separated from the engine, and also fell over on its side. The engine-driver was instantaneously killed. The fireman was thrown out, and the tender, in turning over, came down upon his legs. He lived for about twenty minutes, and appeared to be in great agony. The passenger train only consisted of three or four carriages. It is marvellous how the passengers escaped.

On Sunday morning a collision occurred between the Midland mail from the South and a Leeds goods train, near Copmanthorpe station, about four miles to the south of York. The passenger train, which consisted of fourteen carriages, left Normanton station half an hour late.

The morning express train from London for Scotland, on September 13, met with an accident when about five miles south of Berwick, near Windmill-hill station. The axle of one of the wheels of the tender broke, and the tender, with three carriages, were thrown off the rails. Happily, none of the passengers were injured, but the line was not cleared till four o'clock next morning.

The boiler of a locomotive exploded in Bray station, county Wicklow, on September 16. The stoker, Patrick Smith, and the driver, Patrick Doolan, were killed. The former was blown against a wall, and the latter upon the roof of the station. The railway station is a complete wreck, the roof being partly destroyed and all the windows and frames smashed. Heavy pieces of the boiler were hurled a considerable distance from the scene of the explosion.

23. DEATH OF THE QUEEN'S SISTER.—Her Majesty received by telegraph the melancholy intelligence of the death of her beloved

sister, the Dowager Princess of Hohenlohe Langenburg, who expired at Baden-Baden at 2 a.m. to-day:—

The Princess's declining health of late had to a certain extent prepared the Queen for this event; but the rapid termination of the illness was unexpected, and has been a painful shock to her Majesty, who has lost a most affectionate sister, to whom the Queen has always been warmly attached, and which attachment has always been warmly returned. The Princess was a most amiable, high-minded, and kind lady, universally beloved by all who knew her, and by whom, from the highest to the lowest, she will be deeply mourned.

The Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Arthur at once proceeded to Baden-Baden, where the Princess was buried on the 4th October. The gathering was confined to her own family and those belonging to them, with the sole exception of the Empress of Germany, who was warmly attached to her. The Princess Alice and her husband were present with the Duke and Prince Arthur.

24. THE JAPANESE AMBASSADORS AT THE MANSION HOUSE.—The Lord Mayor, Sir Sills John Gibbons, entertained the principal members of the Japanese Embassy now in London at dinner at the Mansion House. The Ambassador Extraordinary occupied a seat at dinner immediately on the right of the Lord Mayor, and the rest of the Japanese guests, eight or ten in number, on his Excellency's right, each according to his rank. On the removal of the cloth, the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress drank to the guests in a loving cup, according to custom. The Ambassador, through an interpreter, expressed his high sense of the complimentary and flattering address of his lordship, and of the good will which he had evinced towards his country; adding that those expressions of amity would be the most welcome tokens he could take home to his Sovereign. His country would be much gratified by their splendid reception in the City of London.

25. GREAT FLOODS IN SCOTLAND.—The extremely cold, stormy weather in Aberdeenshire and the northern counties culminated, early this morning, in a heavy rainfall, which continued throughout the entire day. Rain fell in torrents, and a strong breeze blew from the north. The streets of Aberdeen were almost deserted, and by evening they were much flooded. The Dee is very much flooded, covering tracts of arable land along its banks. All along the Don the beautiful haughs of Colquhunny, Towie, and Alford have been a good deal encroached on by the river; and some of the grain crops, where cut, swept away. About Inverurie and Kintore, where the course of the Don is nearly level, much of the corn-land is submerged. All over the Buchan district every trifling rivulet became a roaring torrent, and the Ugie especially was much flooded. In the Huntly district the Bogle rose with extraordinary rapidity, and swept furiously over much of the fine arable land along its banks, bearing away some of the grain crops, and destroying more of what is left. The Deveron was not contained within its

ordinary high-water mark, and, like many other rivers, has done considerable damage to valuable crops along its course of thirty or forty miles. In Dee village, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood, the houses were flooded to a greater or less extent. The flood was higher in Aberdeen than it was on the memorable 16th of October, 1869, and far greater than was experienced for many years prior to that date or since. By nightfall the Don had inundated hundreds of acres in the Kintore and Inverurie districts. About Keith and Grange the Isla overflowed its banks, but not to such an extent as some of the Aberdeenshire streams. The rain did not begin quite so early north of Keith, and in Aberdeenshire it poured nearly twenty hours without intermission. All over the northern counties the crops are in a deplorable condition, almost beyond a parallel.

28. SHIPWRECK AND LOSS OF SEVENTEEN LIVES. — Another lamentable shipwreck has occurred near Liverpool, attended by the loss of all on board the unfortunate ship. It appears that about five o'clock this afternoon the distress flag was observed to be hoisted at Rock Lighthouse at the entrance to the Mersey, and it was soon made known that a large ship was in a dangerous position in the neighbourhood of Formby, as was indicated from the flags flying from the Crosby and Formby lightships. The New Brighton and Liverpool lifeboats were at once got ready, and proceeded in search of the distressed vessel. They were unable to find her, and returned to port. The next morning, however, all doubts as to the name of the vessel and the fate of the crew were cleared up, as at about eight o'clock the body of Captain Brewer, of the "Nazarene," was washed on to the Formby beach. The ill-fated vessel left the Mersey on September 22 for Havana, and must, therefore, have encountered the full force of the late severe weather which prevailed in the Channel and off the Irish coast. The general opinion is that the "Nazarene" was putting back for repairs when the disaster occurred, having become disabled, as the vessel, when first sighted, was evidently to a certain degree unmanageable. When the vessel left the Mersey she had on board a crew of seventeen men. The sands from Formby to Birkdale were strewn with broken timber, barrels, &c.

29. GERMAN DUEL IN LONDON. — Two German gentlemen, said to be well-known in the City, recently quarrelled about a lady, and, it is alleged, their feelings towards each other were so bitter that they could not be appeased without resort to a hostile meeting. Seconds and a medical man were accordingly engaged, and the duel was arranged to take place in Finsbury-park. The combat was not, however, permitted to take place there, and the belligerents were compelled to proceed some distance farther. It is asserted that they then fought with dagger-knives, having blades seven inches in length; that the distance they stood apart was only at arm's length, and the position toe to toe. The eyes of each combatant were protected by a vizard, and two of the fingers and the thumb were protected by the guard of the knives. Hostilities

commenced about seven o'clock, and in the first few passes the slighter antagonist wounded his adversary twice in the right arm. The wounds, however, were not of a character—in the opinion of the bystanders—to cause an end of the duel to be declared. The contest proceeded, and the thrusts and parries followed each other in fierce succession. The combatant who had gained the earlier success seemed to have lost nerve, for, after twenty minutes' severe fighting, he lost his guard, and received an ugly gash from the corner of the mouth to the end of the ear. The physician and seconds here interposed, and hostilities were suspended. The dangerously wounded man was conveyed in his carriage to the German Hospital.

## OCTOBER.

1. ROBBERY AT EARL RUSSELL'S.—To-night a robbery of a very daring kind was committed at the residence of Lord Russell, Pembroke-lodge, Richmond-park. It appears that about ten o'clock the housemaid had occasion to go to the countess's bedroom, when she found the door fastened. The bedroom had been entered by one or more thieves, and then a large quantity of valuable jewellery had been stolen. All the wardrobes had been ransacked, and the jewel-cases were found broken open and scattered about the room, their valuable contents gone. A ladder had been placed near the entrance-hall, and the window of Earl Russell's dressing-room having been reached, it was the work of a moment to effect an entrance. In order to prevent surprise, a wedge-shaped piece of wood had been placed under the door, and a gimlet bored through the wood into the floor to make it more secure. For some time past workmen have been engaged in the house. The stolen property consists of splendid bracelets, brooches, rings, &c., set with diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones, at their lowest value worth 700*l*.

— *DISESTABLISHMENT CONFERENCE AT BIRMINGHAM.* — The Conference convened by the Liberation Society and the Central Nonconformist Committee met in the Exchange Assembly Room, Birmingham, to consider the question of the disestablishment of the English Church. The chair was taken by Mr. W. Middlemore, of Birmingham. Mr. Miall and Mr. Illingworth were the

only members of Parliament who took part in the proceedings. Mr. Richard, Mr. Dixon, Mr. C. Villiers, and Mr. Brogden, sent letters expressive of general sympathy with the meeting.

2. SUICIDE OF MR. JUSTICE WILLES.—This morning, at about seven o'clock, the Right Honourable Mr. Justice Willes died by his own hand, at his residence, Otterspool, Watford, Herts. The circumstances attending the event were related at the inquest held by Mr. Brabant at the late judge's residence, Otterspool, when evidence was given which went to show that the deceased had long been suffering from ailments which demanded rest and relaxation. Mr. Barnes, who had been his clerk for more than thirty years, and who had been invited, as usual, during the vacation, to spend some time at Otterspool, related a number of circumstances proving that Mr. Justice Willes was seriously ill and mentally affected. He made mistakes such as the witness had never known him to make. On Wednesday morning (the 2nd) witness got up at seven o'clock. He then heard a fall and a scream in the direction of the judge's sleeping-room. At that moment one of the female servants knocked at the door. He ran down in two or three seconds. On going to the dressing-room he found the judge lying there on the floor. His eyes were three-parts open. Witness observed a revolver lying near his right knee, as if it had tumbled there from his hand when he fell. He saw a wound over his heart and put his hand to it. There was only a little trickling of blood. His eyes closed in about ten minutes. Dr. Brett came in about three-quarters of an hour. The deceased had always evinced the greatest horror of self-destruction when anything of the kind came before him. No one could be more particular than he was in criminal cases about fire-arms being loaded when brought into court. He was afraid of fire-arms, and was no sportsman. The revolver was purchased by Lady Willes's brother some years ago, and was kept in the house for protection from burglars. It was kept in a case on the mantelpiece of the dressing-room. The evidence of Dr. Brett, who had known the deceased eight years, and had previously attended him, was to this effect:—About five years ago he suffered from inflammation of the lungs and disease of the heart, which nearly proved fatal. He had always been very delicate since witness had known him, and required great care and nursing. He was not usually nervous about his health. During the last three years witness had attended him for three or four attacks of gout. This year he attended him during the whole of January and February and part of March. Since then he had not seen him until lately, as he had been on circuit. About three weeks ago witness called at his house, saw him, and asked him how he was. He said, "I feel worn out, and I mean to go to sleep for a fortnight." On Friday, the 27th, witness had a letter from Lady Willes, saying that the judge had caught a bad cold. He went to see him immediately, about twelve o'clock, and found him in bed. Witness saw him again on the 28th, and again on Sunday. On Tuesday he saw him about



four o'clock. He walked into the drawing-room. He said, "Well, I've thrown off my ——" He did not finish the sentence, but seemed lost. He sat with a fixed look towards the corner of the room. Judging from what had happened, witness should say the disease affected his brain. Witness was called to see him about eight o'clock on Wednesday morning. Witness said he thought the judge was rather an absent man. He had never known him to be strong; he had always had heart disease, and was only kept going with the greatest possible care. At the request of the coroner, Inspector Lucas, of the S Division, fired the chambers of the revolver that were charged. It then appeared that four were loaded. The jury returned as their verdict that "Sir J. S. Willes shot himself with a pistol, not being at the time of sound mind."

— FEARFUL RAILWAY COLLISION.—This morning a terrible accident happened upon the Caledonian Railway at Kirtlebridge station, about seventeen miles north of Carlisle, by which an engine-driver and ten passengers were killed, several other persons seriously injured, and a large amount of rolling stock destroyed. At Kirtlebridge the Solway Junction Railway joins the Caledonian, and sidings are provided for shunting trains. About a quarter of a mile south of the station there is a distance-signal placed at the north end of a sharp curve, and when within about 150 yards of the station the train passes under a bridge still upon the curve, called the South Bridge. At five minutes before eight o'clock a mineral train from Carlisle, which, under ordinary circumstances, leaves that city thirty-five minutes after the night express from London, arrived at Kirtlebridge station in front of the express train, which had been delayed nearly two hours at Greyrigg, on the Lancashire and Carlisle Railway, and consequently did not leave Carlisle until ten minutes before eight o'clock, or one hour and fifty minutes behind time. The men in charge of the mineral train had to deposit some waggons at Kirtlebridge, and for that purpose they shunted their train from the down line to the up line. About a quarter of an hour was occupied in this work, and the mineral train was being brought along the up line, after leaving some waggons in a siding, to wait for the passing of the express. Unfortunately, by some inexplicable blunder, the man in charge of the points turned them so that the mineral train, instead of proceeding along the up line, was directed across the road and upon the down line. At this moment, all the signals being clear for it, the express train came down from Carlisle at full speed. It was a heavy train of eighteen carriages, drawn by two large engines, and as it was travelling upon a curve the drivers and guards had no opportunity of seeing that the mineral train was in their way. The express therefore rushed on at full speed, and ran into the mineral waggons with a fearful crash. A man who was an eye-witness of the collision states that the mineral waggons were hurled into the air; two of them were afterwards found lying at a considerable distance from the actual point of con-

cussion, and quite to one side of the line. After cutting through the mineral train and scattering the mineral waggons in all directions, the two engines of the express train went on as far as the station-house, a distance of seventy yards, carrying with them two mineral waggons, one of which was hurled with great violence against the booking-office, one of the walls of which was broken down. Between the two stone platforms of the station the first engine appears to have come to a standstill; the pressure from behind turned it completely round, so that it was found facing the second engine, while the tender which had been between them was projected forward upon the west platform of the station. The guard's van in the front part of the train was very little injured, and the guard was unhurt. The first passenger carriage was not very much shattered. The three next vehicles were, however, completely broken up. The impetus had hurled them forward one on the top of another. They were broken into a thousand fragments. It was in the ruins of these three carriages that the dead bodies were found. The boiler of the first engine having been broken open the escape of steam, added to the smoke from the fires of both engines, concealed everything for some minutes, but when these had cleared away a scene of destruction presented itself. Rails had been torn up and twisted into fantastic shapes, portions of waggons were strewn about along the side of the line, while the broken carriages were heaped up in great confusion. The station workmen were speedily joined by a builder, who was at work upon an adjoining house, and his workmen. They set about the relief of the wounded and the recovery of the dead, of whom there were eleven. A remarkable escape is mentioned. A sailor was lying asleep on the seat of one of the carriages which were smashed. People were killed on each side of him, but after the accident he was found still asleep, and quite unconscious that anything extraordinary had occurred. Most of the injured were removed to Dumfries. Their injuries are very serious. The driver and stoker of the second engine of the express train escaped with slight bruises, and the guards all escaped.

— THE BURNING OF THE ESCURIAL.—The Escorial was struck by lightning to-day. The Pasco de los Reyes caught fire, and the flames instantly spread in the direction of the library, palace, and church. Great excitement prevailed at Madrid. With the assistance despatched from the capital the fire was localized, and active measures taken to save the grand library.

6. CRICKET IN AMERICA.—This autumn a team of twelve English amateur cricketers, led by the famous Grace, have visited Canada and the States. The first match in Canada was eleven against twenty-two of Montreal, in which the Englishmen scored 255 in one innings against 48 and 67. The second match was against twenty-two at Ottawa, in which the Englishmen scored 201 in one innings against 42 and 49. The third game was played in Toronto, against twenty-two, and again our team won in one innings, their score

being 319 to 97 and 117. The fourth match against twenty-two was played at London, and for the first time the M.C.C.'s had to go in a second time. Their score was 89 and 161, the Canadians making 55 and 65. The last match in Canada was played at Hamilton, when the Englishmen won once more in one innings, scoring 181 against 86 and 79. In the matches in the States the English were equally victorious.

The following are their batting averages in their eight matches against Twenty-Twos:—Mr. W. G. Grace, 49.1; Mr. C. J. Otta-way, 13.9; Mr. A. Lubbock, 13.3; Mr. C. N. Hornby, 12.9; Mr. E. Lubbock, 8.9; Mr. Appleby, 8.8; the Hon. G. Harris, 8.7; Mr. C. K. Francis, 7.6; Mr. Pickering, 7; Mr. Rose, 6.5; Mr. Hadow, 6.4; and Mr. Fitzgerald, 2.4. In the bowling department the slows appear to have been most destructive, Mr. Rose having taken 106 wickets in the 12 innings, against the same number of Mr. Appleby's in 14, and 67 of Mr. Grace's in 10 innings.

7. TERRIBLE COLLIERY EXPLOSION.—A shocking catastrophe occurred on Monday at Morley, a place, half village, half town, situated midway between Dewsbury and Leeds, and containing a large population of colliers. The largest among the colliery works is that of Messrs. W. Ackroyd and Brothers, who employ nearly 400 men and boys. On Monday afternoon, between half-past three and four o'clock, an explosion occurred in one of their three mains, called the Deep Pit, in which about 150 men and boys were employed, in a part of the working which extends in a northerly direction beneath the town, and in this portion of the colliery there were about forty-five persons at work. No time was lost in organizing a body of volunteers to descend and explore the mine, but the operation of these brave fellows was retarded very much by the presence of the fatal after-damp. When the exploring party came up for relief at six o'clock, they gave a fearful account of the sight which had met their gaze underground, one of the explorers stating that at one spot he stepped over no less than thirteen dead bodies. Altogether about forty lives were lost, and at the inquiry it was shown that the disaster was caused by an explosion of the inflammable gas; and there is too much cause for believing that it was due to the carelessness of some of the men, in using lucifer-matches where they were working. Evidence was given that in the pockets of the deceased, matches, fusees, tobacco, and pipes, and a key wherewith to open the safety-lamp, were found; and the underground steward, spoke to having smelt tobacco-smoke in the pit two hours before the explosion; but this did not strike him as being an out-of-the-way occurrence. The dead were found in various positions, but most of them had apparently fallen on their faces to escape from the suffocating gas, called "after-damp," which at last overcame them. The bratticing and other means of ventilation were completely destroyed, and much labour was entailed in providing temporary means of ventilation.

## 8. THE CESAREWITCH.—

Mr. J. Radcliffe's Salvanos, by Dollar—Sauvagine, 3 yrs., 5 st. 7 lb. . . . .	(Archer) 1
Lord Wilton's Sylva, by Gladiateur—Lady Evelyn, 6 yrs., 6 st. 8 lb. . . . .	(Ashworth) 2
General Peel's Enfield, by Brother to Strafford, dam by Weatherbit, 5 yrs., 7 st. 8 lb. . . . .	(Loates) 3

Betting: 9 to 2 agst. Bethnal Green, 6 to 1 agst. Laburnum, 100 to 15 agst. Barmston, 12 to 1 agst. Salvanos, 14 to 1 each agst. Inveresk, Bertram, and Field Marshal, 100 to 6 each against Soucar and Sylva, 20 to 1 agst. Enfield, 25 to 1 agst. Astrologer, 40 to 1 agst. Sir Bertram, 50 to 1 each agst. Chérie, Shannon, and Protomartyr, and 66 to 1 each agst. Palmerston and Outsider.

— THE CHURCH CONGRESS assembled at Leeds this day, Tuesday, under the presidency of the Bishop of Ripon. The papers read related to parochial work, lay help, and church architecture. The subjects of discussion on Wednesday were the relations of the Establishment to Nonconformity, religion to science, and clergy to laity. Several hints were thrown out by lay speakers of the necessity of making sermons more attractive. On Thursday the Congress was engaged in discussing the reform of Convocation, the reorganization of the cathedral system, ritualism, &c. The debate on ritualism and doctrine, which took place, led to some animated passages between the High and Low Churchmen towards the close of the discussion.

15. THE "DEVASTATION."—The trial of the "Devastation" turret-ship took place on October 15. After reaching Spithead the speed of the engines was tried at seventy revolutions. The speed was then twelve knots. The ship steered with remarkable ease under steam, the steering gear answering the helm quickly. There was an inclination of the deck with the helm hard over, and the vessel exhibited only the slightest appreciable vibration. The engines were working with unexceptionable smoothness and efficiency, when a crack opened out in the cover of the discharge cistern of the starboard circulating pump. Immediately afterwards a similar crack was discovered at the top of the port cistern, and the trial was suddenly suspended.

On October 12, Lord Henry Gordon Lennox, M.P., and Mr. E. J. Reed, C.B., ex-Chief Constructor of the Navy, arrived at Portsmouth Dockyard from London for the purpose of inspecting the "Devastation." The usual visit of courtesy was first paid to the Admiral Superintendent of the Dockyard, and Rear-Admiral Sir Leopold M'Clintock afterwards accompanied his two distinguished visitors to the "Devastation." A general inspection was made on board, without, however, descending below the berthing deck.

In the course of the look round the upper deck and its "fixings" the *cul-de-sac* formed aft by the superstructure was pronounced by Mr. Reed to be, in his opinion, even more objectionable than he had

supposed from the description which had reached him. Mr. Reed also expressed his astonishment at finding the "Devastation" immersed beyond the maximum draught of water which he, as her designer, had assigned to her.

16. THE FUNERAL OF FIELD-MARSHAL SIR GEORGE POLLOCK took place in Westminster Abbey. It was not a state funeral, and Sir George had expressed a wish to be buried quietly and unostentatiously beside his first wife at Kensal Green. To the Tower as a last resting-place he was greatly averse, though he held the high office of "Constable" in that place of gloomy memories, and had attended there the funeral of his old comrade in arms, Sir John Burgoyne. It was felt, however, by the Duke of Argyll and the Council of India, that the soldier whose long career had just closed well deserved a place in "The Abbey."

Of the hostages given up by General Elphinstone to Akbar Khan, and rescued in 1842 by General Pollock, two were standing by the grave of their deliverer, and are probably the only survivors—Sir George Lawrence (brother of Lord Lawrence) and Major-General Airey, of the Coldstream Guards. Major-General Sir H. Rawlinson, who was present, began his career under the late Field-Marshal. Two or three officers wore the Ghuznee medal. The gathering was mainly of an Anglo-Indian type, but all arms of the service were anxious to pay their respects to the veteran.

17. RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—Several railway accidents are reported to have occurred to-day. One was on the Great Western Line, at Maidenhead, to a goods train. The axletree of one of the trucks broke, and coming into contact with the up platform, threw the truck, with three or four others, off the line. Another was on the South Devon Railway, at Totnes Station, where a passenger train from Plymouth ran into a goods train, by which several passengers were injured. The third occurred near the Kenyon Junction of the London and North-Western Railway. A passenger train ran at full speed into a stationary goods train, damaging the latter, and frightening the passengers, but it is stated that none of them were seriously hurt. The fourth occurred at the Kelvedon Station on the Great Eastern. As the Yarmouth express approached the station, there was a violent oscillation, and five or six carriages were precipitated down the embankment. A lady named Haines was killed, and several other deaths are probable. On the Chatham and Dover Railway two plate-layers were run over and killed at Nunhead by a Crystal Palace train.

19. THE WEST AUCKLAND POISONINGS.—A woman, named Mary Ann Cotton, who has been committed for trial on the charge of having poisoned her husband and four children at West Auckland, is now implicated in a series of other charges, which, if verified, will prove her to have been a systematic poisoner from her youth. Cotton, who died in September, was her fourth husband. The first two had had their lives insured at her instance, and when they died, of what was medically certified to be "gastric fever," she promptly realized

her widow's consolation. The third spouse, Robinson, would not insure himself, and it is said that she pledged his clothes, drew heavily on his bank account, and ran him into debt. During the first marriage seven children died. The second appears to have had no issue; the third was fatal to six more; and the fourth, at West Auckland, had reached its fifth victim, when this horrible career of crime was stopped. It is now remembered that Cotton's own mother died under mysterious circumstances similar to those noted in all the other cases, and with hers there will be twenty cases of suspicion.

Mary Ann Cotton went to Walbottle as Mary Ann Mowbray, and became acquainted with the man Cotton, who on July 9, 1870, installed her as his housekeeper, and in the early part of the October following married her at St. Andrew's Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the name of Mary Ann Mowbray. Within three months of the marriage the child Robert Robson Cotton was born, and the neighbours began to throw out unpleasant insinuations respecting her former life. At this time a number of fat pigs belonging to persons with whom she was on unfriendly terms, died mysteriously, the symptoms being those of poisoning, and Mrs. Cotton was at once blamed for poisoning them. The feeling in the village ran so high against her, that Cotton thought it wise to leave the place, and he went to West Auckland, where he obtained employment at the colliery which bears that name.

Mary Ann Cotton's first husband was William Mowbray, a pitman, who, with three children which were born to him, died. The name of the second husband does not appear. She then married James Robinson, a foreman in a shipbuilding yard at Pallion, near Sunderland, who is alive, but who lost five children by a former wife while he lived with the prisoner, and before they separated. And then, as already stated, she went to Walbottle and married Francis Cotton, and his family lived a quiet and apparently peaceable life for four or five months at West Auckland, when in September of last year Cotton fell ill in the pit, went home, and died after a few days' illness, his death being followed in rapid succession by those of his eldest and youngest sons, both of whom died suddenly, after exhibiting the same symptoms. The prisoner appeared on the occasion of each death to feel it acutely, and appeared much depressed and grieved at her loss, and she so far obtained the sympathy of her neighbours that a subscription was made in the village on her behalf. The owners of the colliery, also, besides contributing liberally, allowed her to live rent free, and supplied her with coals for some time afterwards. Cotton and his sons were buried at the expense of the parish; and though the prisoner was in receipt of parish relief after the death of her husband, and also received sums from an insurance company, where the deceased were insured for small amounts, she always appeared to be in deep poverty. Natrass went to lodge with the prisoner after the death of her husband, and after staying with her four or five months, and making over to her his watch, money, and clothes,

he became ill and died, after suffering great agony during about a week's illness. The poor fellow evidently suspected all was not right, for, on being visited by one of his companions, he remarked, "If I was only better I will be out of this." The day before his death he told his medical attendant, who had been treating him for gastric fever, that he had no more fever than the doctor had, and if it was not for that grinding pain in his stomach he was all right, and he actually refused to take any more of the medicine prescribed for him shortly before his death, which occurred on April 1 last. On July 12 the remaining child, Charles Edward Cotton, aged seven years, died after a short illness, and attended by similar circumstances.

With scarcely an exception, the persons who died in the Sunderland and West Auckland groups were treated by the medical men who attended them as suffering from gastric fever, and their deaths were registered as such. The woman seems to have had all the members of her household who have died, with the exception of Natrass, insured. She received the money.

19. MYSTERIOUS TRAGEDY IN GOLDEN-SQUARE.—A melancholy and fatal occurrence has just been brought to light in Golden-square. A respectably-dressed lady and gentleman took apartments at No. 18, stating they had arrived from the Continent, and required the room for a week only. They slept there on Thursday night, the 17th, had their breakfast in the house on Friday morning, dined at a restaurant in Regent-street, and returned home at ten o'clock p.m. Nothing was afterwards heard or seen of them until eleven o'clock this morning, when Mrs. Cunningham, the landlady, went upstairs to clean the rooms, and on coming to the door of the apartments of her new lodgers she was much startled to find it locked, and the key tied to the handle outside. On entering the room she saw the lady seated in an arm-chair, with a railway rug partly over her face, and the gentleman stretched on the floor tightly clenching what afterwards proved to be a Bible in his hands. She instantly gave an alarm, when Dr. Slight, of Brewer-street, was called in, and he discovered that the bodies had been dead some time, and a phial labelled strychnine was found on the table. There was also by its side, apparently in a man's handwriting, a note in English to the following effect:—"You will find 3*l*. on the table, which I have left to bury us with; let it be done as quietly as possible; one pound is to be given to Mrs. Cunningham for her kindness to us, and also what remains in the trunks besides." On searching the bodies, no papers of any description which could lead to their identity were to be found; but from the appearance of the grate in the room, there is no doubt a number of papers were destroyed before the terrible act was committed. The bodies were removed to St. James's Workhouse. The man appears to have been about forty-five years of age, and the woman fifty.

Both evidently belonged to the upper middle-class, and appeared to be highly respectable, so far as could be judged from their

outward appearance. At the inquest the jury returned a verdict that the deceased man and woman died from the effects of strychnine, but under what circumstances it was administered there was not sufficient evidence to show.

Much excitement was caused by a belief which for a time prevailed, that the deceased were to be identified with a Captain and Mrs. Douglas, who had lived at Richmond, and had left suddenly and not been heard of since the 8th. The statement, however, proved to be without foundation.

— **LOSS OF THE STEAMER "BATAVIER."**—The "Batavier," passenger steamer, the finest and most commodious of the vessels of the Netherlands Steam-packet Company, left Blackwall soon after noon to-day, in charge of Captain C. Janses, with passengers and a valuable cargo for Rotterdam and the Rhine. On arriving in Barking Reach, near the pumping-station of the Southern Outfall Sewer, the large Turkish screw man-of-war "Charkee" came up the river. She carried the Turkish ensign, and, favoured by the tide, was steaming up through Barking Reach, the river being unusually free from other craft, when a fearful collision ensued. The Turkish man-of-war penetrated the "Batavier" eight feet, striking her with tremendous force. The boats of the two steamers were instantly lowered; the women and children were placed in the first boat, and a tug coming up at the time rendered material assistance. In the confusion and alarm a child sleeping in the cabin was overlooked, and a boy of the crew was also drowned. The rest of the passengers and crew were saved, but the "Batavier" foundered. The place where she sunk is very near where the Dublin steamer "Foyle" was lost some years ago.

21. **MR. H. M. STANLEY**, the correspondent, was entertained at a banquet at Willis's Rooms, by the Council and the Clubs of the Royal Geographical Society, and some officers of the late Abyssinian expedition. The company numbered about 100 in all, and included most of the leading Fellows of the society and members of its associated clubs, the Kosmos and the Geographical.

In proposing the toast of the evening, the chairman expressed his own regret and that of the Geographical Society, that they could not have met at an earlier period to do honour to the guest of the evening. Mr. Stanley responded in a friendly and pleasant speech.

On the 28th, being entertained at luncheon by the corporation of Paisley, he was very humorous and contemptuous at the expense of his hosts of the previous week.

At a lunch given on the 30th at Helensburgh to Mr. Stanley, Mr. Oswald Livingstone said he did not like to hear Mr. Stanley speak as he had done of the Geographical Society, many of the members of which were his personal friends; and after the ample apology made on the part of the society, and when his father (Dr. Livingstone) had written, saying he did not wish to retain any ill-feeling against them, he (Mr. Livingstone) thought Mr. Stanley



should allow the matter to drop. Mr. Stanley made no response.

25. JEWEL ROBBERY AT KNOWSLEY HALL.—A burglary was committed at Knowsley Hall, the residence of Lord Derby, and diamonds and jewellery worth 3000*l.*, the property of the Hon. Miss Constance Grosvenor, were stolen. A reward of 50*l.* was offered for the apprehension of the thieves. The robbery must have been committed between eight and eleven o'clock.

29. WONDERFUL ESCAPE OF A TRAIN.—A terribly exciting scene occurred on the Cornwall Railway this afternoon. A train laden with 150 tons of china-clay left Burngullow Station at 4.20 p.m. for St. Austell, where it should have been shunted while the mail train, then shortly due, passed it, the Cornwall Railway being a single line. Owing to insufficient or defective brake-power, the clay train overshot St. Austell Station and passed on at high speed down the incline beyond. The passengers on the platform were horror-struck, for the mail was known to have left Par seven minutes previously, and it seemed inevitable that the two trains should meet engine to engine with frightful force. The station officials were as powerless as the passengers to avert the impending disaster, and all with one consent began to run along the line, following the clay train, to witness the catastrophe they feared. Meanwhile the driver of the mail, Samuel Westlake, when about one mile from St. Austell, saw the truant train rapidly coming towards him on the same line of metals. With bravery and presence of mind which cannot be too highly extolled, instead of seeking his own safety by jumping off at once, he blew the brake whistle to stop the train, reversed the engine, and commenced to run backwards at full speed to Par, chased by the mineral train. The passengers were by this time aware more or less clearly of the position of affairs. Some shrieked, others fainted, and the boldest were alarmed at the possible issue of the terrible chase, for the heavy mineral train for some time gathered impetus from the incline, and rapidly gained on the mail; but happily when the two engines had approached within twenty yards of each other the balance of speed was reversed, and the mail train was followed into Par Station at a respectful distance by its dangerous competitor. The passengers, relieved of their anxiety, and now become fully aware of the peril they had encountered and of the means by which they had providentially escaped, gathered round the driver, overwhelming him with thanks and pressing gifts on his acceptance. A subscription on behalf of Samuel Westlake was set on foot, with the consent of the railway directors, who will also make him an acknowledgment on their own account.

31. A SOUTH SEA MASSACRE.—The greatest indignation has been felt and expressed in Australia at the discovery of most frightful atrocities which were perpetrated on board the brig "Carl," when on what is termed a labour-cruise amongst the South Sea Islands. It appears that the "Carl" was owned by a Dr. James Patrick

Murray. She left Melbourne in June, 1871, Dr. Murray going with her as surgeon. She took from thence a general cargo, and no suspicion was entertained that she was to be engaged in any but a legitimate trade. On arriving at Levuka, the captain of the brig left; the mate, a man named Armstrong, was appointed in his stead, and, having obtained authority from Mr. March, the British Consul, to go on a labour-cruise, he, still accompanied by Dr. Murray, the owner, started on a kidnapping expedition amongst the islands. Then commenced the perpetration of a series of the most horrible atrocities. The unsuspecting natives were decoyed in their canoes alongside the vessel, and the canoes were suddenly smashed by heavy pieces of iron being thrown into them. Struggling in the water, the unhappy wretches were caught, hauled on board the brig, and thrust into the hold, and thus the atrocious trade was carried on until the slaver had nearly completed her living cargo. But then, maddened by being stolen from their homes, and by hard usage, these natives began to fight, and in utter desperation set fire to the ship. To check this the captain, Dr. Murray, and his myrmidons commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of their captives, firing promiscuously into the crowd. The morning after these murders had been perpetrated, on the hatches being taken off, it was found that no fewer than seventy were either dead or wounded, and both dead and wounded were at once thrown overboard. Some time after a few of the particulars of these atrocities leaked out, and at Sydney the captain and some of the crew were committed for trial for their share in them. Dr. Murray himself is the principal witness, and it is from his mouth that the details of this horrible affair have been obtained. It is said that he has turned Queen's evidence, and that, moreover, he is protected by a certificate from the British Consul at Fiji, so that it is feared he cannot be prosecuted. Meantime, the Government of Victoria have been most untiring in their endeavours to procure every item of evidence that may serve to render the proceedings taken in Sydney effectual, and have transmitted all the information obtained to the Government of New South Wales.

## NOVEMBER.

1. SIR BARTLE FRERE, the Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society, having accepted a mission to the East Coast of Africa with a view to putting down the slave-trade in that country, was entertained by the society at a farewell banquet at Willis's Rooms. Sir Henry Rawlinson, the president, occupied the chair, and the company numbered some 250.

Sir Bartle Frere, in acknowledging the principal toast, said,—My lords, ladies, and gentlemen,—It would indeed be very difficult for me to find in any language which I could command, words that could express what I feel for the kindness with which Sir Henry Rawlinson has proposed my health and the manner in which you have received it. But I can most truthfully say, that I never till this moment realized the heavy responsibility of what I have undertaken, because I hardly realized before how much was expected of me by many men, not only with whom I was officially connected, but with whom I have been connected by the dearest ties of fellow-service during the greater part of my life. I am glad to know that this undertaking, in which I have embarked, is one which is supported by the entire sympathy of those nations with which we are allied throughout the civilized globe. I believe there is not at this moment one nation that boasts of being a civilized nation which has not sent in to the Foreign Office its adhesion to the efforts which her Majesty's Government have made and are making to put a final stop to the slave-trade on the coast of Africa. I can claim nothing more than a hearty desire to do good in my generation by giving some effect to this very limited effort, which it is a mistake, I think, to say is to be the extinction of the slave-trade; because I fear that as long as human nature is what it is, you will be liable to find the slave-trade again showing its head if you do not look after it and keep it down. But I believe I may say that the measures which her Majesty's Government have now undertaken are such as practically will entirely disconnect all nations having any pretensions to civilization from this abominable traffic. And if it remains in after-ages it can only be by stealth, and as a thing which will attempt to raise itself up, whatever may be done by civilized States to put it down. It will be very much like crime in civilized countries, which may never be entirely eradicated, but which may be kept under by the exertions made to suppress it as soon as it exhibits itself. But there is another fact which strikes one very forcibly in regard to all that is done by the Royal Geographical Society, and that is that we do not stand here as representatives of any member of your Society who is here present. I feel that all the light which has been thrown on this subject of late—all the brilliancy that we see around us this evening—is, as it were, but reflected from your great associate Livingstone. It is to him, to his persevering efforts through a whole lifetime, that you owe the knowledge which you possess of this great evil, and also, to a great extent, your knowledge of the means by which it may be counteracted. I am afraid that Sir Henry Rawlinson was a little sanguine in hoping that Dr. Livingstone and I might have the pleasure of meeting before I returned from this mission. If I know the Doctor aright, as long as there remains any part of the work that he has undertaken undone, nothing whatever, not even the whole of her Majesty's Government itself assembled at Zanzibar, would induce him to refrain from honestly and thoroughly

completing it. At the peril of his life he will do it, whatever may happen. And it is because I feel that at some humble distance we are all endeavouring to do the work which Livingstone commenced, and which has so long been and is now prospered by this society—a work which was also the work of our late President, and which, as I can testify from what I have seen, is now the most congenial work of the council of this institution—it is, I say, because we are doing at a humble distance a small part of that work that I feel we have a guarantee of success. And in returning you my most hearty thanks for the honour you have done me, I can only hope that we may all of us adopt what I believe is the motto of the good Dr. Livingstone, and what has long been the motto of our Indian empire—"That Heaven's light may be our guide."

— DESTRUCTION OF THE OXFORD MUSIC-HALL. — Early this morning a fire broke out at the Oxford Music-hall, which is situated a few doors west of Tottenham-court-road, in Oxford-street. This is the second time this elegant and popular place of amusement has been destroyed by fire, the previous calamity having occurred on the morning of February 11, 1868, when Mr. Morton, whose name was for so many years closely connected with the Canterbury, the parent of music-halls, was the proprietor. A great part of the interior was destroyed.

5. HIPPOPOTAMUS BABY.—The birth of a son and heir to "Madame Hippo," in the Regent's-park gardens of the Zoological Society to-day, led the managers to give young hippo the name of "Guy Fawkes." The dam has brought forth two other cubs or calves, but they could not be taught to suck, and so they died, in spite of an attempt to feed them with goats' milk. This young animal, which thrives well, is 4 ft. or 5 ft. long, and above 2 ft. high, weighing more than 2 cwt. Its back and legs are slate-coloured, but the belly has a pinkish or fleshy tinge. The superintendent of the gardens, Mr. Bartlett, who watches over mother and child with the most constant and intelligent care, has prepared a wholesome kind of pap, which the young one seems to relish, but it has taken kindly to the maternal source of nourishment.

9. TERRIFIC FIRE IN BOSTON, U.S.—An enormous fire broke out at Boston this evening, which has destroyed nearly one-seventh of the city; thirty-five persons have been killed, 959 warehouses and private dwellings destroyed, and upwards of 2000 firms and individuals will suffer great pecuniary loss, the total of which is estimated to reach one hundred million dollars.

The fire began in an engine-room in the basement of a large granite building at the corner of Summer and Kingston-streets, spread rapidly up the elevator, and soon appeared from the roof. An alarm was promptly sounded from the fire department on the ground. By this time the roof was in flames. The engines were all working before any other store caught. This was in the heart of the business portion of Boston, where there are large buildings, chiefly granite. The wind was calm at the beginning, but it soon

blew a gale from the west and north-west. The granite crumbled, and the buildings being filled with goods, this caused the flames to spread rapidly. The fire extended north-west and south-east along Summer-street, also from that street in a north-easterly direction. By four o'clock on Sunday morning twenty-two blocks were destroyed, the burnt district at that time covering about sixty acres, bounded by Summer-street on the south-west, Big Broad-street on the south-east, Pearl-street on the north-east, Milk-street on the north, and Washington-street on the north-west. The intervening area, filled with costly buildings and goods, had then been destroyed. On Summer-street the line of fire then extended over one-third of a mile from the Bay front at Broad-street to within one block of Boston-common. From this line the burnt district extended north-east about a quarter of a mile in this area, where the fire destroyed Winthrop-square, Franklin-square, Beebes-block, Franklin, Devonshire, Federal, High Kingston, Atkinson, Williams, Lincoln Arch, Otis, Chauncey, Hawley, and the neighbouring streets. Beebes-block was valued at two millions, and the total loss is estimated at one hundred millions.

10. GREAT FIRE IN THE CITY.—The largest fire which has occurred in London since that of Tooley-street, in June 1861, when Mr. Braidwood, the chief of the Fire Brigade, lost his life, took place to-day. This morning, at about half-past six o'clock, flames were seen at the windows of the City Flour Mills—an enormous building, eight storeys high, built on the site of the Puddle Dock, on the eastern side of Blackfriars and the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Bridges. The damage is estimated at about 100,000*l*. One fireman, unfortunately, has lost his life, and two or three others have been injured by the falling girders and beams.

The mill was known as the largest flour-mill in the world, and a gigantic example of mechanical skill. It was constructed entirely upon piles, extending from Thames-street to the water's edge, and was 250 feet long by 60 feet wide. The fire was discovered in the first storey by a police-constable, who found Winter, the watchman, washing himself previous to leaving, and quite unacquainted with anything being wrong.

Intimation soon reached Watling-street, whence engines were despatched, and Captain Shaw was speedily on the spot. By half-past seven o'clock the ravages of the fire assumed a fearful aspect, the flames having reached each of the upper storeys. The second was used as the stone floor, where thirty-two pairs of millstones were employed; the third storey being called the "smutter" room, where the process of cleansing the wheat took place; the fourth and fifth storeys being set apart for flour dressing; and the sixth, seventh, and eighth as wheat stores. Telegraphic communication was sent for all available assistance, and shortly after eight o'clock there were about sixteen land-steamers in operation, as well as four powerful "floats," besides a number of manuals present. There were nearly 200 fireman engaged in work, or more than half the

number comprising the brigade. From the river twelve branches were directed on to the fire, and from the housetops in Vulcan Wharf and Wheatsheaf Wharf, on either side, and from Mugeridge's Granaries opposite, the water was copiously applied. About nine o'clock, while a number of men were engaged in the building, a brick fell, and doubt was expressed as to the safety of the huge pile. The engines near thereto were stopped and ordered "back." Notwithstanding the presence of the Salvage Corps, it was deemed advisable not to remove anything; and the firemen continued their work until the afternoon, without any particular result.

About four o'clock, however, several of the men entered the fifth storey, when a portion of the top fell in, and it was with great difficulty they escaped with their lives. Two of the men received much injury, and were conveyed in cabs to obtain surgical aid, and one poor fellow, named Guernsey, was unavoidably left in the burning ruins. He and another man were working side by side on one of the floors, when the floor above them suddenly gave way. His companion, as it happened, got out of danger; but he saw nothing of Guernsey after the crash, and, although several gangs of firemen went about in every direction shouting his name, they got no answer. The fire was spreading so rapidly, that there was no time for them to clear away the ruins in which they supposed he was buried. His body has since been found.

The building is said to have been built in accordance with a plan brought forward in the year of the Great Exhibition, by which it was thought that a fire if it broke out might be strictly confined to that part in which it originated. The floors sprang chiefly from massive pillars of stone resting on foundations of the utmost solidity, and each storey was supported by iron girders of great strength. The lofty chimney-shaft, which remains uninjured, has a foundation of its own, independent of the building itself. The mill had a stowage for 40,000 quarters of grain, and the loss occasioned is estimated at little under 100,000*l*. Much valuable machinery has been destroyed; and the five upper storeys and the extensive property contained therein have been destroyed. The damage to the lower part has also been great. Messrs. J. and J. Hadley, the owners of the mill, which was composed principally of iron girders and stone and brick-work, are only partially insured. How the fire originated cannot be ascertained. It is usual to keep the mill open from Monday morning till Saturday night, a double set of hands being employed; but on the 9th, being Lord Mayor's day, the place was closed at three o'clock.

12, 13. HURRICANE IN DENMARK.—A terrible hurricane visited the Danish coast. At Copenhagen much damage was done by the rains and wind, and the sea ran very high, causing injury to the shipping; but on the whole the capital escaped any very serious calamity. At Kjøge (or Kiøge), five Danish miles south-west of Copenhagen, the lower part of the town, the harbour, and the rail-

way station were submerged, and all communications interrupted. On the Wednesday evening at six o'clock the water was a foot and a half above the rails, and it took a week to repair the damage done. At Svendborg, at Assens in the island of Funen, at Sreaneke in the island of Bornholm, at Dragør in the island of Amock, and elsewhere, the waves invaded the streets, causing great injury to the public buildings, especially the custom-house establishments and harbour works. One small island, Falster, disappeared under the waters, and the inhabitants, comprising several families, are believed to have perished. Two towns particularly suffered from the storm. These are Praestae, nine miles and a half south-west of Copenhagen, and Roedby, on the southern coast of the island of Laaland. The whole of the latter town, with its environs for a mile round, was under water for twelve hours. The water in the middle of the town rose to a height of three mètres, and passed over the roofs of the houses near the shore. All the inhabitants, fortunately, were saved, but the loss of property was immense. Praestae was almost destroyed. By early morning on Wednesday the water covered the lower part of the town, and by midday fully half of it was submerged. Despairing of help from without, the people sought to save themselves on floating rafts or whatever offered. The towns situated on the Baltic have suffered most, those in the Kattegat having escaped with comparatively slight losses. Of course, the disasters at sea have far surpassed those on shore. About a hundred vessels observed on the coast of the island of Bornholm before the storm, were afterwards found to have disappeared during the hurricane, and the whole east coast of Zealand and the south of the bay of Kjøge was strewn with wrecks.

14. SERIOUS COLLIERY ACCIDENT.—At the Pelsall Hall Colliery, near Walsall, a great volume of water burst from some old and unsuspected workings into the pit, sweeping all before it. Eleven men who were near the pit bottom were rescued; but twenty-two others, who were in the remote workings, were hopelessly shut off from aid, the water rising rapidly in the shaft, notwithstanding the pumping appliances, which raised upwards of 60,000 gallons of water per hour. From about eight feet high it had risen upwards of eleven feet at five o'clock, but during the next hour it was slightly reduced. The entombed men were working in the cross of the shallow seam, and were hopelessly lost. The work of exhausting the pit of choke-damp was sufficiently completed on November 19, to allow of the Government inspector and others descending.

They penetrated about twenty yards up, and then were arrested by the sudden obliteration of the inset. The roof had fallen in, and displaced the props supporting it. A dead block was created through a little natural culvert in which percolated a stream of water. The abrupt wall of coal and clay was a stern fact, and the exploring party returned to bank with the bad news. Old miners, who know the workings, believe that the lapse of the roof extends for at least eight yards, and that behind is a great dam of water.

In this case, and the belief seems feasible, the greatest caution will have to be exercised to avert another catastrophe when the fall is excavated by the working parties of miners. The work must take hours, it may take days; and there may be found a mournful satisfaction in the belief of the most experienced, that the imprisoned twenty-two could not possibly have survived the influx of the water beyond a few hours.

15. CAPTURE AND PROSECUTION OF BETTING-MEN.—Great excitement was caused in the City by the capture of a large number of betting-men, which was cleverly effected by the police this afternoon. About one o'clock a large body of the City police, under Superintendents Foster and Pitt, made a raid upon the Alliance Club, in Whitefriars-street. The surprise was so sudden that it is believed not one of the inmates was able to effect his escape. It is computed that over 300 persons were assembled. Frantic efforts were made by the captured persons to escape, and it is stated that an attempt was made to get through the roof by tearing off the tiles. Every effort, however, was futile. The prisoners then began destroying their betting-books and papers. As soon as possible, the officers removed the prisoners to the police-station. This was done by means of cabs and other conveyances; but the supply of vehicles being limited, the task was very slowly proceeded with. In the meantime the police in the house took down the names and addresses of those in their custody. A descent was also made upon the Exchange Betting-rooms, Water-lane, Blackfriars, where a large number of persons were captured. In both cases only the book-makers were detained. Those who were present for the simple purpose of making bets were set at liberty.

On the following day the fifty-seven men who were detained were brought before the Lord Mayor. Upon them nearly 2000*l.* in money was found by the police searchers.

The case of Morgan, who was the landlord of a public-house in Cloth Fair, Smithfield, was first taken. Mr. Straight, in opening it, dwelt upon the serious consequences that would ensue if licensed victuallers were allowed with impunity to use their licensed houses for purposes of sheltering members of the betting-ring, and permitting them to carry on their illegal transactions. He added that the Licensing Act dealt with publicans so infringing the law, but the present prosecution was instituted under the Prevention of Betting Act.

Mr. Buchanan urged that the defendant had done nothing but what he was justified in doing as a licensed victualler, and that he was in no way cognizant of the betting transactions. The Lord Mayor believed the defendant knew full well what was going on, and inflicted the full penalty of 100*l.*, or in default, three months' imprisonment.

Mr. Straight then applied that the charges against the members of the Alliance and Exchange Clubs might not be gone into that day, as the complaint was somewhat different against them, and he



had not had time to consider the evidence which affected them. He might perhaps find that against some of the accused there was not sufficient evidence to detain them ; and he should therefore suggest that the case should be remanded.

The counsel for the defendants assenting to that proposition, the Lord Mayor adjourned the case for a week, and admitted the defendants to bail in the meantime in substantial sums.

Two of the men captured at the Swan Tavern, Leadenhall Market, were then brought before the Lord Mayor, who said he thought the case would be fairly met by Mr. Bacon paying a penalty of 100%. Lee he regarded as a servant, and he had no doubt if he fined him the same amount he would not be able to pay it, and he would have to go to prison. He, therefore, thought justice would be met in his case with a penalty of 25%. The penalties were paid.

15. TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH AUSTRALIA.—A grand banquet in celebration of the opening up of telegraphic communication with the Australian colonies was given at the Cannon-street Hotel. The Earl of Kimberley was in the chair. The telegraph wires were brought into the room, and placed in connexion with the wires to Australia.

On sitting down to dinner the chairman announced that he had just sent off the following message to the Governors of the various Australian colonies :—"The Company, on the occasion of the telegraphic dinner, join me in drinking prosperity to the colonies, and in rejoicing at this great bond of union between the different members of the Empire." The message was sent, in the first instance, to Sir James Fergusson, the Governor of Adelaide, undergoing six re-transmissions before it arrived at that station, and from Adelaide it would be sent to the several Governors of the other Australian colonies.

During the delivery of the noble earl's speech, congratulatory answers were received from Sir James Fergusson, at Adelaide, the Governor of New South Wales, Victoria, and from San Francisco.

16. CHILD-SEAMANSHIP.—Admiral Craigie writes from Dawlish a striking account of the bold seamanship of a boy of fourteen, carried out from Exmouth to the open sea by the tide. It was blowing hard from the north-east, so the little chap got his tiny mast and sail up, and ran along the coast outside the line of breakers in the hopes of finding a landing. Outside Dawlish he let go his little anchor, and lowered both mast and sail, hoping to be able to hold on outside the breakers till the tide rose and calmed the sea, but this seemed impossible, and the Dawlish lifeboat did not dare brave the breakers, in which it could not have lived. So he again put up his mast and sail and raised his anchor, and with perfect precision steered for the only point at which it seemed possible he might shoot over the line of breakers. The boat rode over the first line, and then got becalmed for a moment between that and the second, and everybody expected the boat would broach

to and the child be lost; but he waited with perfect equanimity with the tiller in one hand and the sheet in the other, till the gale caught his sail again, and he skimmed over the second line of breakers and safely beached the boat. There must have been not only infinite pluck, but hereditary breeding in the boy of fourteen who could manage all that for himself with such equanimity. While we have such a class of boy-sailors our naval power can hardly be in danger of collapse.

21. THE NEW CONSTABLE OF THE TOWER.—Field-Marshal Sir William Maynard Gomm, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., and colonel of the Coldstream Guards, was invested with the honours of Constable of the Tower and Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the Tower Hamlets, recently vacant by the death of Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock, G.C.B. Of late years it has been considered one of the most distinguished offices that our military veterans can hold, and by her Majesty's gracious favour it has now been conferred upon a Peninsular and Waterloo veteran in the person of Field-Marshal Sir W. Maynard Gomm, born about 1784.

The Second Battalion of the Scots Fusilier Guards stood to arms on the occasion, the front of the chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula being lined with a detachment of the Coast Brigade of Royal Artillery. The yeomen of the Tower, in their antiquated costume, paraded on Tower Green, where many civilians and ladies who had received invitations were present.

23. THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS has finally decided that a Peer cannot vote at an election to the House of Commons. The point was raised by Lord Beauchamp and Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Wills, counsel for the former Peer, admitted from the first that he had no case. The "unbroken stream of authority was the other way." The Court held that the resolution of the Commons in the Maldon case, 1669, was not a law, but was an interpretation of the common law made by the House in its judicial capacity as to its own affairs, and therefore binding on the judges. It had been obeyed for 170 years, a Peer's vote having been invariably struck off the register, and it must be obeyed by the Election Judges.

25. LOSS OF THE "ROYAL ADELAIDE."—The emigrant-ship, "Royal Adelaide," Capt. Hunter, on her voyage from London to Sydney, ran ashore near the Passage Bridge, Portland. The wind was blowing a fierce gale from the south-west, and the breakers and surf on the beach were appalling. The Weymouth Coastguard had received from Lyme Regis intimation of a vessel being in distress, and were on the alert. Two rockets were passed over the ship as quickly as possible, and the life-saving apparatus got in working order. The vessel had thirty-five passengers and a crew of thirty-two. As soon as the rope was made fast, the first man jumped over and sank; he was hauled up, but his strength was gone, and he fell into the breakers and was lost. Two cradles were soon passing to and fro, and the passengers and crew were got ashore rapidly. One poor woman fell over and was drowned, and it was

said a second also was lost, but this could not be ascertained in the confusion. The poor fellows came ashore in a most pitiable plight, with only the clothes they wore, and one was quite naked. The scene on shore was very painful, crowds gathering from all quarters. The rescued persons were taken, some to Portland, and others to the Weymouth Sailors' Homes. The work of rescuing the passengers and crew of the "Royal Adelaide" continued for two hours after she struck the beach. The last three persons left on board were lost, making the total number drowned five. Soon after seven o'clock the vessel parted amidships, the iron masts went by the board, and she commenced to break up rapidly. The beach was speedily strewn with broken pieces of iron and timber, passengers' luggage, and all manner of miscellaneous articles. The work of destruction continued very fast until about ten o'clock, when there was nothing left intact but a portion of the iron hull.

The *Times* gives a graphic account of the wreck. It is stated that she was so near land, that it looked as if those in peril might have leaped ashore. Some brave fishermen took a rope to the ship. The Coastguard also threw her one by means of their rocket apparatus, but the crew were so intent upon the first that they paid no attention to the second. A cradle was then rigged, and many lives were saved, though the casualties were estimated at from ten to fourteen. At last the ship began to break up. Shortly after the masts had gone by the board, the vessel's back was broken with a noise resembling the report of a volley of musketry, and the beach was strewn with bales and boxes of all descriptions. Still the stern remained firm, and two or three people were saved, one brave fellow coming in the cradle with a little boy, who was almost frightened to death. The man wanted to return to the ship to render aid, but the Coastguard would not allow him. The last to leave were two men and a little child, who all got into the cradle together; but, unfortunately, they were caught by an immense wave, which snapped the rope asunder, and all three were drowned. There was still one human being left on board, an aged woman, who had refused to trust her life in the cradle; but as the rope had broken, and there was now nothing to hold another line, she had to be left to her fate—that of death. One negro, who it appears had acted very bravely in assisting people to get into the cradle, was in his turn landed, but so severely injured that for some time his life was despaired of. Large quantities of spirits were washed on shore in the night, and as the barrels floated in they were broached by the crowds who were assembled on the beach. In a short time scores of people were lying about in all directions dead drunk; indeed, they had drunk so much that medical assistance had to be obtained, and one man is in such a dangerous state that he is not expected to recover. There was a strong patrol of the 77th Regiment and Coastguard men on the beach to protect the property as it was washed on shore, but their efforts were useless, a great quantity of valuables being made away with.

Two men were brought into the Passage House at Portland, almost dead, from the quantity of spirits they had partaken of. One died soon after his removal, but the other, owing to the care of a medical gentleman who happened to come by, was brought round. Several respectable persons have been apprehended with stolen things from the wreck in their possession. The passengers speak in the strongest terms of disapprobation as to the conduct of the captain of the "Royal Adelaide," who was the third person to leave the ship, and even forced his way into the cradle.

An inquiry was directed by the Board of Trade, and the following is a copy of the judgment of the Court:—"In reviewing the circumstances attending the loss of the 'Royal Adelaide,' the Court must notice the great want of caution exercised by the master in attempting to run into Portland Harbour, without having made the Shambles' light-vessel. From the courses steered it seems a miracle that the vessel was not lost on that dangerous shoal. At seven a.m. a bearing of the Portland light was obtained N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. At eight a.m. the ship was steered N.N.E. towards the roadstead. At that time the weather was so thick that the Shambles' light-vessel could not be seen. Nevertheless, the master, though uncertain of his position, altered the course to N.N.W., fortunately cleared both the Shambles and the Bill of Portland, and took the ship into West Bay. The Court is of opinion that the master was not justified, under these circumstances, in thus attempting to run into Portland. His ship was neither crippled nor in distress, and being doubtful of his position he had the alternative of hauling his ship to the southward, and awaiting clearer weather. Again, when he found himself in a difficulty, had he had recourse to his deep-sea lead instead of the hand-lead, he would have found, by a reference to his chart, that he was to the westward of the Bill of Portland, instead of to the eastward of the Shambles as he supposed. Taking all these circumstances into consideration the Court cannot attribute the loss of this ship to stress of weather, but rather to the rash neglect of those precautions which an experienced master mariner is expected to exercise in cases of difficulty and danger. The Court cannot, therefore, overlook the want of due care manifested by the master, whereby a valuable ship has been lost, and several lives sacrificed. The judgment of the Court is that the certificate of competency of the Captain (William Hunter) be suspended for the term of twelve calendar months. The Court think it right to observe that they have not been directed to inquire into any of the circumstances which occurred subsequent to the stranding of the ship, an official investigation having already been made at Weymouth, and a report sent in to the Board of Trade."

28. SIR DONALD MACLEOD, C.B., K.C.S.I., died to-day by a shocking accident. At half-past six o'clock he was at the Gloucester-road station of the Metropolitan Railway, and in endeavouring to enter the train while in motion, he fell beneath it and the platform. Both legs and the left arm were almost completely severed from the

body. Sir Donald was at once taken to St. George's Hospital, where he received surgical attendance; but the unfortunate gentleman was so severely injured that no hopes of recovery were entertained from the first. Although unconscious when admitted, Sir Donald became perfectly sensible before his death, which took place at about ten o'clock.

30. SEVERE GALES AND SHIPWRECKS.—In the early part of the week severe gales of equinoctial severity visited the western and northern coasts, and many reports of shipwrecks and other disasters reach us. Following the usual course of gales from the Atlantic Ocean, the present one struck the British Islands at the south of Ireland and at Land's End—one part of the storm sweeping over the greater part of Ireland and the midland and northern counties of England, while the centre of the other part of the storm passed over the Channel in s.w., w., and n.w. direction.

Off Looe, on the Cornish coast, a wreck with loss of life is chronicled of the "Albion" schooner. The master and mate contrived to get ashore after she struck, but the rest of the hands were drowned. The crew of the ship "La Fleur," on nearing land, took to their boat, and attempted to land on Looe Bar; they had got to the breakers, when the boat upset, and they were all drowned. It is supposed that the crew numbered about fifteen.

At Portland, a schooner was lost, with all hands, on the Chesil beach. Only about five minutes elapsed from the time of the schooner striking and of her breaking to pieces, so there was no time to use the rocket apparatus. It was a piteous sight, indeed, to see the crew of the ill-fated vessel appealing for help to the spectators on shore; but who, although within speaking distance, were utterly unable to render the slightest aid. She proved to be the "Jane Catherine," William Jones, master, of Port Madoc.

At Plymouth, ten men of H.M.S. "Himalaya" took a shore-boat to return to their ship, when their craft upset, and eight of them, besides the waterman and his son, were drowned. The gates of Mr. Bank's dock were washed down by the sea, and several minor casualties are reported. During the gale the brigantine "Laurel" parted from her anchors and drove on shore under Mount Batten. The "Prince Consort" lifeboat, of the National Institution, succeeded in saving the master and his wife, and his crew of seven men.

A very heavy storm raged in Mount's Bay, Penzance, during which a barque, name unknown, was driven ashore. The boats, to which the crew betook themselves, were capsized before the lifeboats could reach them. The next day eight bodies (three mulattoes and five whites, the latter evidently foreigners) were washed ashore at Lamorna, about five miles from Penzance. All were young men and entirely destitute of clothing. The barque "Lochlevin's Flower," of Sunderland, also ran into the bay; the master and seven men tried to land in the boat, which was capsized, and all were lost. It was feared the "Trois Amis" had foundered.

The barque "Canada Bell," of Whitby, struck on Whitburn rocks. The lifeboat went out, in spite of a fearful sea, and brought the first time two women, two children, and four of the crew. A second effort was then made, and the remainder of the crew were saved, making in all fifteen persons.

Three hundred sail rode safely at anchor in Falmouth harbour during the terrible storm. Several vessels have since arrived in a damaged condition.

The Holyhead boat did not arrive in Kingstown until ten minutes past nine on Sunday morning. She experienced the full brunt of the storm. Seamen who were on board say they never had such weather on the passage over the Channel. The Clyde Shipping Company's steamer "Kinsale," having broken her main shaft in the Irish Channel, was driven on shore near Waterford, and all hands except the mate and two others, were drowned. This wreck is remarkable for the heroism of a girl named Dunphy, who saved these three lives by catching the drowning men by the hair of the head, and pulling them on shore. The Waterford schooner "Pearl of Days" is reported as having foundered with all hands. The steamer "Olwega" put in at Waterford disabled, her machinery having broken down during the gale.

The schooner "Maria," of Aberystwith, which was at anchor in St. Tadwal's Roads, North Wales, parted her chains, and went ashore under Castellmarch. The lifeboat "Mabel Louisa," stationed at Abersoch, fortunately saved the shipwrecked crew. The Italian barque "Ginlietta," from Barletta to Gloucester, with a cargo of grain, was driven ashore near Pendine Point, in Carmarthen Bay. The crew were clinging to the rigging from eight p.m. on Saturday night until six a.m. next day, when the tide left her. Of the crew twelve men were saved and one was drowned.

The floods inland have been very heavy. Tens of thousands of acres of land in Somerset, along the valleys Parrett, Yeo, and Tone, are flooded. The bank of the Parrett, which recently gave way at Aller Moor, and thus relieved Langport from the flood, has been repaired, and the town is again deluged. The lower parts of scores of houses are under water, and the inmates have to take refuge in the upper rooms. Miles of roadway are covered with water, and drivers have to guide their horses between the willow trees which line the track. In some cases the water reaches to the horses' backs. The waters, of course, are "out" at Oxford—the towing-path by the side of the river being quite submerged. The Leam, in Warwickshire, which has been steadily rising for several days past, has overflowed its banks, and submerged the adjacent fields for miles. The waterfalls at Warwick Castle, Guy's Cliffe, and Leamington are altogether inadequate to pass the water away. The Avon is flooded all through the country. Several fatal accidents are reported.

— RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—At an inquest held at Appleton Roebuck, near York, on the body of James Judge, a farm-servant, who had

been killed, along with two horses, on the North Eastern Railway, the evidence disclosed the fact that an express train had a very narrow escape from being thrown off the line. The train was proceeding from York to Normanton, and just before it came up to the place where the accident occurred, Judge was driving two horses attached to a waggon across the railway, where there is a private road used by the occupier of the adjoining farm. The horses were struck by the engine, one of them and the driver being carried alone for some distance; eventually the engine passed over the horse, and the train retained its position on the line. The death of Judge was instantaneous; both the horses were also killed. The coroner said that this was a matter seriously affecting the safety of the public, it being clear that the express train had had a narrow escape of being thrown off the line, and felt it his duty to direct farther inquiry.

The train which leaves Burton shortly after eight o'clock, and arrives in Leicester at 9.20, was approaching Bardon Hill Station, on November 26, when an empty waggon train, belonging to a stone quarry close by, was being shunted, and, before the driver could get the waggons into the siding, the passenger train dashed into the middle of the empty waggons as they stood across the up and down lines, cutting the waggon train almost in two. Several of the passengers were severely shaken.

On November 23, the 1.30 p.m. express from Beverley to York ran into a goods and passenger train just outside the Beverley Station, causing a considerable amount of damage and serious injury to the driver of the express. The express left the station and was nearing the junction when the composite train was seen approaching the points from the opposite direction. The driver of the express evidently imagined that the goods train would get clear of the line before he got up, and continued his pace. He, however, misjudged the distance, and went into the middle of the goods train, shattering three laden waggons and his own engine. The poor fellow paid for his miscalculation, for he was subsequently found to be seriously injured by the shock. The line was covered with rubbish, and the permanent way was blocked for some hours. The guard of the express was also injured, and several of the passengers were more or less shaken.

An accident occurred on the Midland Railway, near Barrow, on November 23, by which two men lost their lives, and a third experienced a narrow escape. Three navvies employed on the line were proceeding to their work, and in stepping aside to allow a coal waggon to pass, they unfortunately stepped right in front of an express train, which came up at that moment unobserved. One succeeded in escaping uninjured, but his two companions were knocked down and mangled so fearfully that death was almost instantaneous.

At Ratho Junction, on November 23, a goods train was being shunted to the main-line when another goods train, from Glasgow, came forward and ran into it. A number of waggons were thrown

off the rails, and the line was blocked up for about three hours. The accident is said to have been caused through one of the signal-lights having gone out.

30. THE TOUR OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.—Arriving at Guildhall, in the City of London, Colour-Sergeant Bates, of the United States Army, bearing the American flag, completed a pilgrimage extending over 330 miles, which he had voluntarily undertaken, in pursuance of a bet, to prove an assertion of his, that he would carry the ensign of his country from the northernmost point of England to the metropolis without insult, affront, or contumely of any kind. The wager, which appears to have been made in his own country, and somewhat hastily, was 1000 to his 100 dollars, and he landed at Glasgow about the beginning of last month to undertake the enterprize.

On November 6, about one o'clock in the day, he started from Gretna-green, on foot, on his long journey of more than 300 miles, bearing the star-spangled banner, unfurled, across his shoulder, and travelled on an average from thirteen to fourteen miles a day. His first halting-place was Carlisle, and there, as at every other town at which he stayed for a night, he is said to have been well and kindly received. At one stage of the journey, it is said, he was presented with a Union-Jack, which he received with right good-will, and intends to carry to his country, in the spirit in which it was given, as a memorial of the enterprize and a fresh proof in its way of the amity subsisting between the two great kindred nations. In all the large towns especially, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Oxford, and Leamington, through which he passed, he is said to have been received with marked cordiality, and to have been escorted for miles on his way by admiring and sympathizing crowds.

The last stage of his journey was from Shepherd's Bush to the Guildhall. He started in a carriage shortly after eleven o'clock, displaying the Stars and Stripes and the Union-Jack. He was much cheered on the way, though the rain which fell later in the day tended much to damp the prevailing enthusiasm. In Bond-street, nevertheless, the crowd became so demonstrative that they took the horses from the carriage and dragged it through the thoroughfare along Piccadilly and the rest of the journey.

The American papers do not take a very flattering view of this feat, one of the best of them describing its hero as "an American ass called Bates," and his assertion of the safety of his flag from insult in England as "a fact the truth of which needed no proof, and which proved nothing if it was true."



## DECEMBER.

6. RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—Three serious railway accidents are reported as having occurred on December 6. The express train from London to Leeds, leaving Derby at 1.10, had just left Ambergate, and was passing a place known as Bull Bridge, when one of the wheels of a horse-box broke, which caused two of the passenger-carriages to leave the metals. The shock for the minute was so alarming that one of the passengers, in fright, jumped out of the carriage and was killed on the spot. The train was stopped as speedily as possible, but the greatest excitement ensued among the passengers, who, although somewhat shaken, were not apparently further injured. A portion of the train was made up after a short delay, and proceeded on its journey.

The second accident happened on the London and North Western Railway. The connecting-rod of the engine of a goods train (which was on its way to Carlisle) broke, and was forced through the firebox and boiler, causing the boiler to burst. The driver and fireman were severely injured—the latter seriously. A bridge near was destroyed by the explosion.

The third was a collision which took place near Sheffield, between two goods trains, by which great damage was done to the rolling stock and permanent way. One of the men was injured, and the traffic was stopped for some hours.

We record all these accidents not from any special feature distinguishing any one of them, but to mark the dangerous increase in this description of casualty at the present time. The average of railway accidents has recently been estimated at four per week.

7. IN 1869 great fear was expressed that the choice of Dr. Hayman as head-master of Rugby School, by a Board of Trustees whose term of office was shortly to expire, was a mistake which would bear evil fruit. Even the old Board of Trustees had some reason to think so, for before they went out of office they refused, after a full hearing, to remove Mr. Scott, one of the under-masters, against whom Dr. Hayman had made bitter complaints. But the new Board of Trustees, which contains at least six of the members of the old Board, some of them strong Conservatives, must have had still further reason to regret the choice made, as they have just passed a resolution, in relation to this serious quarrel, to the following effect:—"The Governing Body, upon a review of all that has taken place between Dr. Hayman and Mr. Scott, desire to express their conviction that the course taken throughout by Dr. Hayman in dealing with Mr. Scott has not been marked by that spirit of justice which the circumstances of the case required. They regret extremely that charges against Mr. Scott, which have been

shown to rest on no foundation, have been withdrawn only on compulsion, and that no apology has been offered, as the Governing Body understand, for the serious evil which the statement of such charges has occasioned to Mr. Scott, or for the heavy pecuniary loss which the prohibition to take private pupils has inflicted upon him, on account of personal reasons which will not bear examination. If Dr. Hayman is not prepared to act in future in a spirit of cordial good-will towards Mr. Scott, the Governing Body think it is due to the interests of the school that Dr. Hayman should lose no time in retiring from the office of head-master." A "very pretty quarrel" arose out of this minute, and the publication of an extremely lengthy correspondence which did not tend to raise Dr. Hayman in the public estimation.

8. GREAT GALE IN LONDON.—This day (Sunday) a violent south-westerly gale, accompanied by very heavy rain, burst over London at about 4 p.m., and continued with hurricane-like force until Monday morning, doing much damage to property, and injuring numbers of persons, though, considering the violence of the storm, few cases of loss of life are recorded. The storm will be remembered as the most severe which has been experienced for years. London, however, did not suffer alone. The southern and south-western parts of the country felt the full force of the gale, and on the coast the casualties have been very numerous, the index in *Lloyd's List* to the names of ships which had been disabled occupying on Tuesday and Wednesday nearly as much space as the complete information in ordinary times.

The appearance of the streets of London at daybreak on Monday morning was such as has only been witnessed once during the last six years. Tiles, chimney-pots of earthenware and zinc, sign-posts, and other materials, were strewn in the roads and pathways; and in some of the crowded thoroughfares, where the houses are not very substantially built, full evidence was afforded of the danger to life and limb which persons would have run had the gale prevailed during the day. Many persons were injured by the falling of heavy notice-boards, though the greater number who attended at the hospitals received their injuries in their own houses.

Amongst the numerous accidents which occurred was one to a City policeman, upon whom a large mass of hoarding at Ludgate-hill Station fell. Between the station and Ludgate-hill heavy boards have been raised to a considerable height, and these have been covered with advertisement placards. The boards have been held together by uprights, which experience has now shown were entirely insufficient. Shortly after eight o'clock several feet of this hoarding were blown into the street, to the great danger of passengers who were coming from the station. A little before nine o'clock some children were close to the hoarding, when Police-constable 411 ran towards them in order to get them away from the danger which threatened them. In this he succeeded, but in another moment a fierce gust of wind arose, bringing down several

yards of the hoarding, which fell upon the officer and severely injured him. In Newgate-street, close by, a singular accident occurred. The tradesman who told the tale said, "The wind unlocked all my shutters, and blew them right out into the street." In the north-west corner of St. Paul's Churchyard, where, according to an old legend, Boreas is perpetually waiting for his Satanic Majesty, who has dropped into the cathedral for a minute or two and has not returned, people were blown about in the most ludicrous fashion, and were obliged to take refuge in the adjacent courts and alleys. Six houses, five of them in course of construction, are stated to have been blown down; and in the sixth case, which occurred at Shepherd's Bush, three of the inmates were very severely injured. A large building in Bermondsey, which was being erected for business purposes, was so shattered by the wind that it will have to be re-erected. In the parks young trees were torn up from the ground by the force of the wind.

Great damage has been done on the Thames. The scene near the mouth of the river was of the most exciting nature, all sorts of small craft making for the Medway, which, on Monday, was full of shipping. The water was very rough, and made clear breaches of the decks of the numerous sailing-barges bound for Rochester, Maldon, and Colchester, and it is feared that two at least of them have sunk with all hands. Three barges were driven with terrific force against the new pier opposite Lambeth Palace, laden with coal, and were shattered and sunk. Below London Bridge a large number of similar accidents were reported, and in one case, which occurred near Woolwich, a man was drowned.

Great destruction has also been caused in the south of London. Along Dulwich, Norwood, Nunhead, Cheam, Epsom, and in the neighbourhood of the Crystal Palace, trees have not only been stripped of their limbs, but some that have been in the ground for twenty or thirty years have been uprooted.

The accounts from the country are in proportion. At Oxford we learn that the wall and pinnacles of the chapel at Oriel College were blown down, and at the Great Western Railway the new goods station, in course of erection, was completely prostrated. Great fears were entertained that the spire of All Saints' Church, which is being taken down as unsafe, would not escape; but with the exception of the displacement of a few loose stones, the old tower withstood the gale. At Christ Church about fifty feet of the ornamental parapet wall over the Vice-Chancellor's residence were blown on to the lead roof, which was severely damaged in consequence. Some of the University barges on the Thames were sunk. Two or three of the large elms in the Broad-walk were blown down, and large branches of others broken off. The end wall of a house at Cowley St. John's fell, but the occupants escaped unhurt. Garden-walls in several parts of the city fell, and some ornamental stonework was blown off from All Souls' College.

A drive in Savernake Forest on Monday showed signs of terrible

devastation. In a few miles ninety magnificent trees were torn up by the roots; some even twisted by the force of the wind. The road is blocked by fallen trees, and in many places the grand avenue presents a terrible wreck, the direction of the hurricane being discernible by the fallen trees and heaps of timber torn off. One barn was lifted bodily in the air, and in other parts of Wiltshire the damage appears to have been excessive.

From Exeter, Aldershot, Plymouth, the Mersey, the tales of disaster were numerous.

11. A NARROW ESCAPE.—An accident, which might have been attended with the most terrible consequences, but happily confined to the slight personal injury of one man and the destruction of three racehorses, occurred at Watford Station. The Northampton train, due in London at 10 a.m., had arrived at Watford a few minutes late, and in consequence of the crowd of passengers waiting at that station to proceed to the Cattle-show in London, the engine was detached to obtain a further supply of carriages from a siding. While the carriages were thus stationary and well guarded by the up-block signals, the Scotch mail due in London at 9.40 a.m., which is accustomed to run through Watford at full speed, was observed emerging from the Watford tunnel, and coming rapidly towards the station. Happily the foreman of the station, Mr. James, observed the Scotch train approaching, and fearing that the driver had not got it under sufficient control, he ran along the train, and alarming the passengers, called upon them to jump from the carriages on to the platform. They all did this, and fortunately escaped. A few moments later the Scotch train came up at reduced speed, but still with sufficient force to strike the rear of the Northampton train heavily, crushing up the horse-boxes and killing three racehorses. The driver of the Scotch mail, seeing a collision was imminent, jumped off his engine, and was consequently shaken, but none of the passengers in either train were at all hurt.

13. THE INCOME TAX.—At the Guildhall, a meeting against the Income Tax was very numerously attended, seventeen or eighteen M.P.'s appearing on the platform. The principal speaker was Mr. Massey, who informed his audience that the tax was inquisitorial; that the United States did not levy it even under the pressure of the War—an entire mistake; that Lord Brougham objected to the tax as favourable to extravagance; that no Minister had ventured to make it perpetual; that the country was prosperous; that it was no part of his business to fill up the deficit the abolition of the tax would create; that he did not know whether it would or would not be possible to repeal the tax next year; and that if the trading classes were to pay two millions, it ought to be in some less objectionable way. Sir J. Bennett said that the tax was mainly spent on "regiments of cocked-hats and feathers which did not necessarily cover either brains or courage," from which we gather that he would disband the Army partly to get rid of Schedule D, and partly for fear lest it should run away. Resolutions, condemning

the tax as inquisitorial and demoralizing and a breach of faith' were passed unanimously.

19. FUNERAL OF VISCOUNTESS BEACONSFIELD.—The mortal remains of Mary Ann Disraeli, Viscountess Beaconsfield, were interred in the family vault in Hughenden Church.

The ceremony, in accordance with the wish of the deceased lady, was of the simplest character, yet possessed every element of impressiveness and reverence. Many of Mr. Disraeli's political colleagues and others of the highest classes in society desired to manifest, by their attendance to-day, their sorrow for the death of the lamented mistress of Hughenden and their sympathy for the bereaved statesman. The reply was in every case the same—that the funeral would be strictly private. Hughenden, a comfortable-looking English country-house, embosomed in trees, is built upon a spur of one of the Chiltern Hills. On the eastern side of the hill is the quaint little church of St. Michael. It has a tower of great antiquity, but the interior is plain to baldness. In the churchyard, near the end of the chancel, the funeral was solemnized.

Almost all the paraphernalia of mourning—hearse, mourning-carriages, plumes, scarves, and flowing hatbands—were absent from a ceremony which differed little from a humble village funeral, and was touching in its simplicity. At half-past one the coffin was removed from the saloon of Hughenden Manor to a low bier, covered by a black velvet pall, and carried by the cottage tenants of the estate of Hughenden.

As chief mourner, Mr. Disraeli walked alone, next to the coffin; and in succession came Mr. Montagu Corry, Mr. Philip Rose, and Mr. Alfred Leggat, the medical attendant of the family. Then followed Mr. Arthur Vernon, the steward of the estate, and after him the tenant-farmers on the Hughenden property—Mr. James, Mr. Thomas Lee, Mr. Thomas Coates, and Mr. D. Cartwright. The servants of the household came next in order, and were followed by a number of the wives and children of the cottagers. Many of this humble class had also assembled within the church.

21. ROYAL VISIT TO CHATSWORTH.—The papers have been filled this week with glowing accounts of the festivities at Chatsworth, where the Duke of Devonshire has been entertaining the Prince of Wales in almost royal fashion. The presence of the Prince, the beauty of the place, the magnificence of the house and its decorations, the lavish expenditure of the Duke, and the concourse of guests of all classes, and from three counties, made the entertainment quite an event in the midland counties. On the 18th a grand ball was given, and the park and gardens illuminated. The Emperor Fountain, one of the finest in Europe, was illuminated with forty coloured Bengal lights, the Sea-horse Fountain with eighteen similar lights; and the Cascade, one of the most striking works of the late Sir Joseph Paxton, was illuminated with 500 Roman candles, which lighted up the cascade. The long waterfall was illuminated with the limelight. In addition to the different

coloured lights, the temple at the top of the cascade was also lighted by limelights. The whole of this splendid illumination concluded with the simultaneous discharge of 500 rockets and thirteen bombshells charged with golden rain. In addition to the fireworks, there was a general illumination of the statuary in the gardens, effected by the aid of 500 Russian tallow pots. The guests and the royal party viewed the scene from the dining and drawing-room windows.

— **COLLIERY EXPLOSION.**—To-day an explosion of gas occurred in the Sheriff pit of Messrs. Stanier and Co.'s colliery, Silverdale, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, causing the death of at least eight men and injury to several others. The Sheriff pit is about 400 yards deep, and the catastrophe happened about 400 yards from the shaft. It appears that on Saturday morning between 300 and 400 men descended the pit shaft, and were soon occupied in the various seams of coal in different directions. About twenty of them went to the Bullhurst seam, and were, or should have been, working with locked lamps. About eight o'clock a very severe explosion happened. The workings were very much damaged, and the shock was felt on the bank of the colliery. All the workpeople in the mine who were able, hastened to the shaft and were as quickly as possible drawn to the surface. Mr. Lucas, manager of the colliery, Mr. T. Wilkinson, mining engineer, and Mr. Downing, underground bailiff, assisted by others, soon afterwards formed an exploring party. They found five men who were in the greatest agony from choke-damp, and whom they were enabled, by timely aid, to save from death, electricity being successfully used to restore them from their delirium after they were brought from the pit. At the inquest on the bodies of those afterwards found dead, a collier gave some startling evidence, to the effect that in the heading where the dead body of John Edwards, a butty, was found were three lamps, a Davy lamp with the top off, and a glass lamp with the top unlocked. Evidence as to the identity of the deceased was given, and the inquest was adjourned. Some of the poor fellows, it was said, appeared as though they had been roasted.

— **SEVERE GALES AND FLOODS.**—From all parts of the country accounts are reaching us of the damage done by the continuous rains and consequent floods. Drenching rains in the south, and snow in the north, floods in the midland counties, the interruption of telegraphic communication with railway traffic, fearful storms at sea—scores of vessels having, it is feared, foundered in the Atlantic—and a suspension to a large extent of agricultural labour—such are the characteristics of a period when tradition would lead us to expect a dry atmosphere and hard frosts. The flying squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral Campbell, consisting of six steam frigates, has left Portland for a short cruise in search of overdue vessels.

One of the most terrific hurricanes on record passed over the port of Grimsby on December 17. Hundreds of telegraph poles were blown down, and all telegraphic communication with London

and other places stopped. There have been several serious collisions both in the Humber and the Basin. The whole of the lowlands for miles have been flooded.

A violent gale prevailed at Hartlepool after midnight from the south-east, exceeding in fury any for two years, and on the coast at South Shields it is said to have been beyond description, and several sad accidents occurred. One of the lifeboats, named the "Northumberland," was capsized by a fearful sea. Seven of the men were thrown into the water, the remainder scrambled ashore, and four of the seven were drowned.

At Wick, the new harbour works suffered seriously, the concrete block of a thousand tons having been dislodged, and fears were entertained that the building will not stand the storm.

In Worcestershire the Severn has overflowed its banks, flooding the low-lying lands, and doing considerable damage to property.

In Leicestershire miles of the country are under water, the flood being the greatest for some time past. Nearly a foot of snow fell in Yorkshire and Derbyshire during Monday night. All the rivers are much swollen. The streets of Leeds were almost impassable, owing to the heavy fall of snow and sleet. The River Stour has been higher than for twenty years. The flood-gates and the low-lying parts of Kidderminster are under water. Mill-street, one of the principal thoroughfares, is impassable, and pedestrians have to make a long circuit. The occupants of the Parkgate Inn have had to lock up their house and were taken in by their neighbours, and other families living near are also obliged temporarily to abandon their homes. The new sewerage works have been damaged, and some of the sewers have burst from the force of the water. The flood has caused great excitement in the town.

23. THE IMPRISONED GAS-STOKERS.—An appeal to the working-men of England on behalf of the gas-stokers sentenced to twelvemonths' imprisonment by Mr. Justice Brett, on account of the gas-strike,<sup>1</sup> has been issued. Aid is sought for the effort now being made to mitigate their punishment, and for the relief of the sufferings of the mens' families. Mr. Trewby, the superintendent of the City of London Gas Works at Becton, was summoned at the Woolwich Police-court on Saturday the 21st, to answer the complaint of a gas-stoker for having discharged him without notice. For the defence it was stated that the complainant had so conducted himself as to give rise to a suspicion that he was in confederacy with the men on strike to coerce and damage the company, and that any appearance of treachery at such a time would justify the superintendent in getting rid of him. The magistrate took this view of the matter, and dismissed the summons.

A large and influentially-attended meeting of delegates representing the metropolitan trade societies, convened by the London Trades Council, was held to-night at the Sussex Hotel, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, for the purpose of "considering the critical

<sup>1</sup> See English History, chap. v.

legal position of all trades societies and their officers, consequent upon the recent convictions of the London gas-stokers at the Central Criminal and Police Courts, and the steps necessary to be taken thereon." Odger, delegate from the West-end shoemakers was in the chair. The following resolutions were passed :—"That this meeting, composed of delegates from the various trade societies of London, expresses its astonishment and indignation at the unjust, cruel, and unprecedented sentence passed on the gas-stokers by Judge Brett at the Central Criminal Court, and feels convinced that if the employers of labour had been placed before him instead of workmen, no such violation of the law would have been attempted." "That this delegate meeting empowers the London Trades Council to convene, at the earliest possible date, an aggregate meeting of the London trades, for the purpose of protesting against the sentence passed on the gas-stokers, to request the Government to effect the immediate release of the imprisoned men, and to take such steps as may be found necessary in the interests of trades' unions during the present crisis."

Another meeting to protest against the sentence passed on the gas-stokers, was held in the Working Men's Club, King's-road, Chelsea.

A general committee was also formed for defending the five gas-stokers, and met on the 21st at No. 10, Bolt-court, Fleet-street; Mr. George Potter in the chair. This committee is distinct from the London Trades Council, and comprises gentlemen who usually take an interest in industrial questions, and several of the influential trades' unionists. Amongst those present at the meeting were Mr. T. Hughes, M.P., Mr. Mackenzie (barrister), Mr. William Cobbett, and others. The chairman said the object of the meeting was to ascertain really under what law the men had been convicted, and the best means to be adopted for obtaining a remission of the monstrous sentence, both at the Old Bailey and the police-courts. Letters throwing some light upon the question have been received from Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, the solicitors who conducted the defence at the Old Bailey, and from two members of the committee unable to attend that day, viz., Mr. H. Crompton (barrister), and Mr. F. Harrison (barrister). After some discussion, the following resolution was adopted :—"That the Home Secretary be requested to receive a deputation on the question of the gas-stokers' trial, with the view to lay before him a memorial praying for the remission of the sentence passed on the five men at the Central Criminal Court, and also to ascertain the law or laws under which these men were tried; and, further, to ascertain the exact position which working men occupy in relation to recent legislation on combinations of workmen." An appeal to the public and the working classes generally for subscriptions in aid of the funds for supporting the families of the imprisoned men was then agreed to.

25. MURDER IN GREAT CORAM-STREET.—This morning or last night a mysterious murder was perpetrated at 12, Great Coram-street, Russell-square. The victim is a young woman, known as



Clara Burton, aged twenty-seven, who only three weeks ago took apartments at the above address. She was, it is said, in the habit of accepting engagements as a supernumerary at the various theatres and music-halls; but at all events this much is certain, that she regularly frequented the Alhambra, the Argyll Rooms, and other places of entertainment. On Tuesday night, according to her usual custom, she left her apartments about ten o'clock, having previously borrowed a shilling from a fellow-lodger named Nelson. About midnight she returned with a foreign gentleman, supposed to be a German, and, in conversation with the landlady of the house and others, she appeared to be unusually lively, and talked in a pleasant manner. She stated that the gentleman who had accompanied her home had presented her with a quantity of oranges and nuts, which he had purchased after they had left the Alhambra, and the fruit she entrusted to the care of the landlady. She then went upstairs to the second floor back room, and directly afterwards returned with half a sovereign, from which the landlady deducted 9s. on account of rent, and gave the remaining shilling to the deceased. The unfortunate young woman appeared as if she had been drinking, and spoke rather loudly, but there was nothing in her demeanour to excite much attention. Shortly after she had retired to her room, she again came down-stairs, and asked the landlady for some bottled stout, which, however, it was impossible to obtain, as all the public-houses were closed. Nothing more was heard of the deceased and her companion until this morning about half-past six, when a man was heard cautiously descending the stairs and proceeding along the passage, and instantly the front street-door was hurriedly and violently slammed. No notice whatever was taken of the circumstance; but about midday the son of the landlady, a young boy of eight years of age, went to call the deceased and provide her breakfast. There was no response to the call, and the landlady, suspecting that something was wrong, summoned the other lodgers in the house, and burst open the door, when a ghastly sight presented itself. The deceased was found in bed, weltering in blood, her throat being cut in two places. Her clothes were found strewn about the room, but otherwise there was no appearance of any struggle. The door had been locked on the outside, and the key cannot be found; but there are no marks of blood on the door or on the walls, or any indication that blood had spurted from the wounds inflicted. The face of the victim was perfectly calm. On the forehead, however, there was the distinct print of a thumb, and a little lower down that of the palm of a hand, as if after the first wound had been inflicted, the poor creature had been held down by the left hand while the second wound was given. The pillows were completely saturated and steeped with congealed blood. The most careful examination of the room and its surroundings failed to throw any light on the means by which the deed had been committed. A basin and can filled with water had not been touched, but in a second large can there was a mark of blood. In front of the washstand

there were ten large drops of blood, and on the towel a mark as if a small pocket-knife had been wiped, and this was the only clue to the kind of weapon used for the accomplishment of the deed. The suspicion is, therefore, that the murderer wiped his hands on his handkerchief. There were two empty match-boxes on the table, one of tin, used generally for carrying wax vestas, and on that were two spots of blood. The blinds were down and the windows closed, and no marks of blood on either, so that it would seem, at all events, that the weapon was not thrown out at the window.

Searching inquiries have resulted in learning somewhat of the past history of the deceased, whose real name, it appears, is Harriet Boswell. She had a child eight years old out at nurse, and only came to her lodgings on Tuesday, to spend the Christmas. She resided for three years in Manchester-street, Argyle-square. She was on good terms with the people of the house, and was always supposed to be an actress. She left there a few weeks ago, and went to live at 34, Regent-square, where she seems, from a bill that has been found, to have paid 33s. a week rent. The motive for the murder is not at present known. It is, however, supposed that the man who went home with the deceased might have imagined a woman living in such a house would have jewellery, clothes, or money. The matter is in the hands of Superintendent Thompson, of the E Division, who is doing his utmost to elucidate the mystery surrounding the murder; but at the time at which we write, at the close of the year, with no effect whatever. The inquest disclosed nothing.

29. STORMS AND WRECKS form again the burden of the week's news. The "Germany," an English packet of 3000 tons, has been wrecked at the entrance of the Gironde, having run aground on a sand-bank; ninety-seven of the persons on board were brought on Sunday evening, the 22nd, to Rochelle in sloops; thirty were drowned. The greatest attention was paid to the shipwrecked persons by the Rochelle people. From Saturday evening until Sunday morning the crew and passengers remained clinging to the wreck, a furious sea running all the time. They were at last perceived by a French steamer, which not being able, in consequence of the terrific storm raging at the time, to approach them, sent out its boats, and by the heroic exertion of the men, the survivors on the wreck were saved. Twenty-four persons in all perished—twelve of the crew and twelve passengers. A Miss Bayley was the only cabin passenger lost; the remaining eleven passengers were intermediate and steerage, and, without exception, it is believed, were all foreigners. Of the crew lost, six were sailors, two were firemen, and four were stewards. All the officers of the ship survive. On Christmas Day there was a collection in the churches of La Rochelle on behalf of the persons rescued from the mail-steamer "Germany." A private letter from La Rochelle says that all the rescued persons left for England on Sunday last. The inhabitants thronged the quays to see them off, and responded to the cheers with which they were

greeted by the sailors with waving of hats and handkerchiefs. During their stay in La Rochelle the shipwrecked persons were treated with great kindness and attention. A concert was given in their behalf, which was well attended, the front seats being reserved for them; and various collections were made, the result being that a sum of 2996 francs was obtained. Before leaving La Rochelle, the officers and crew of the "Germany" drew up and signed an address to the Mayor, thanking him for the kindness with which they had been treated, and expressing the hope that at some future time they might be able to show their gratitude in a more substantial manner. It seems there is but little prospect of saving anything from the wreck, as the vessel is completely buried in the sand.

Shortly after one o'clock on Friday morning, the 27th, a violent thunderstorm broke over Cork, lasting for nearly an hour. The flashes of lightning were incessant, each being followed by loud peals of thunder.

At ten o'clock on Friday morning dark clouds gathered over Birmingham, and a terrific storm of hail, thunder, and lightning followed, being most severe in the southern suburbs. The streets were flooded.

At one o'clock the same morning a heavy storm burst over Queenstown, attended by vivid lightning and a hurricane of wind from the south-west. Heavy rain also fell. The storm continued with great violence until 3 a.m. Such a furious thunderstorm is not remembered to have occurred before in that part of Ireland.

Over sixty yards of permanent way on the South Devon Railway were washed away by the sea at Dawlish on Wednesday, the 25th, and a further adjoining portion of the railway soon followed it.

30. DOUBLE MURDER NEAR BELFAST.—A retired villa residence at Holywood, in the vicinity of Belfast, has been the scene of a horribly cold-blooded murder. Miss Kerr, an elderly lady, and her servant-girl were the only inmates of the house in which this morning their bodies, shockingly mutilated, were discovered, lying in pools of blood. A postman observed two females coming out of the house at eight o'clock in the morning. One was tall and muscular, and the other low in stature. They were also met by a second postman. They both carried bundles—one containing articles of apparel which can be identified, and the other, which was covered by a piece of waterproof cloth, seemed to be made up of pieces of plate. Miss Kerr was a middle-aged lady and a Presbyterian. She was somewhat peculiar in her habits, but was a very intelligent person. From her many acts of charity she had an excellent reputation in Holywood, and was highly esteemed by all who were either directly or indirectly connected with her. The servant was a Roman Catholic. No other intention but that of plunder is assigned as the cause of the murder, and the building being so far removed from the scene, the noise of a struggle would not be heard.

On Tuesday an arrest was made. The prisoner is a servant woman named Mary Raw, aged about twenty-eight years. On

being arrested a quantity of blood was found on several parts of her clothing.

31. SPECIAL SERVICES were held in many of the principal London churches, in connexion with a rapidly growing practice of "seeing the old year out and the new year in." It is believed that the system was first adopted by the Wesleyan Methodists, who called the last few hours of the old year "Watch Night;" but now Dissenters of all sorts follow out the plan, and Churchmen—high, low, and broad—have their special midnight services. In the churches in connexion with the Establishment the proceedings, as a rule, began at eleven o'clock with the Litany, or what is now popularly known as "the shortened service;" then came a brief sermon. In the Wesleyan chapels the services were of a similar character, except that no set form of prayer was used. Deep silence was observed during the passing away of the year, and in all cases a joyous hymn was sung before the congregation dispersed.

## METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE following summary of the meteorological calculations of this extraordinary year, sent to the *Times*, by Dr. Allnatt, of Frant, from observations taken at his residence, 495 feet above the mean level of the sea, may be fitly appended to our "Chronicle:"—

### JANUARY.

This wet and tempestuous month was marked by specific features characteristic of great elemental perturbation. The cloud modifications often presented forms of the most symmetrical structural beauty, and at sunset ponderous radii were produced by the action of the dynamical electro-magnetic forces of the atmosphere. Gales of disastrous violence swept over England and the Continent of Europe, some straight and persistently equatorial, and some cyclonic, with sudden alternations of direction. A hurricane on the 17th came in squalls of impetuous force, and another on the 23rd—24th was accompanied with vivid lightning, thunder, hail, and bursts of heavy rainfall. Pressures were generally low, and during the culminating squall of this great gale the barometer ran down to 27·70 in.—the lowest point I ever remember to have recorded at Frant. On twenty-four days the temperature was in excess, and on five nights it was below the freezing-point of Fahrenheit. The ultimate range of the mean was from 31·6 deg. to 44·3 deg. There were no severe frosts, and the mean of the month was 1 deg. in excess.

A despatch from Adelaide describes a wave of intense heat that visited South Australia for 12 days; the thermometer never fell below 80 deg., and ranged to 108 deg. in shade. Great mortality ensued.

The rainfall in England during this month was in excess, and the low lands in many districts were flooded. In some parts of Devonshire the guage exceeded 12 in. In this part of Sussex the surplus was 3·87 in.

### FEBRUARY.

During the 29 days of this month the mean temperature was in excess on 24 days, storm-cloud was the predominant modification, and the wind was almost persistently equatorial. On some days, after sunset, the ascending vapour was wrought by the electro-magnetic conditions of the atmosphere into symmetrical radii. On the 18th an equatorial gale blew all night and far into the following day. On the 25th a rough and squally wind brought up flying rain clouds, and in Scotland and on the Yorkshire coast freshened into a wild tempestuous gale destructive to human life. On the 29th a stiff gale passed over the southern coast.

On the evening of the 4th there was a grand and a simultaneous display of the Austral and Boreal Aurora. Advice subsequently reached us that it was

seen in England, France, Lisbon, Constantinople, Alexandria, Bombay, Suez, and Aden. Probably an electro-magnetic zone surrounded the earth.

Rain fell on 16 days, and, notwithstanding the copious falls of the preceding month, the gauge was again in excess. On the evenings of the 16th, 18th, 19th, and 22nd lunar coronæ and halos existed with marked chromatic peripheries.

On the night of the 11th a great atmospheric wave of cold passed over the continent of America. At Chicago the mercury suddenly fell 33 deg. The wave then passed s.e. at the rate of 25 or 30 miles an hour. The thermometer dropped 15 deg. below zero, and the barometer rose as rapidly as the thermometer fell.

#### MARCH.

Advices from South Australia state that up to the 15th of this month no such continuous heat had been for many years known at Adelaide and throughout the colonies. There existed also an unusual dearth of water. In England, on the contrary, the consecutive months of the new year had been preternaturally wet, and March, from the 20th, abnormally frigid. From the 1st to the 26th there were 13 days on which rain fell, and the ultimate range of excess over the estimated value was upwards of 5·25 in. In Devonshire, near the coast, the rainfall exceeded 12 in. This is the third or fourth time I have placed in apposition the coincident meteorological conditions of the opposite hemispheres, and in all cases the equilibrium of the atmosphere appears to have been destroyed.

From the beginning of the month to the 9th the temperature was above the average; then came a period below the computed value. The temperature again rose, but was soon followed by another fall, and from the 20th to the 27th was a season of great rigour. The night temperature ranged from 24 deg. to 29 deg., and on each occasion hard frosts prevailed. On the 22nd the mean was 12·1 deg., and on the 26th 10·2 deg. below the average. On the evening of the 28th the wind backed from Pole to Equator, and a tempestuous gale sprang up and raged in paroxysms of great force throughout the night into the evening of the following day, with squalls of heavy rainfall. In 48 hours the mean temperature had run up from 32 deg. to 51 deg.—a range of nearly 20 deg. During the last four days the temperature was in excess.

#### APRIL.

The temperature of this month shows 18 days of excess, 11 of deficiency, and one day of equal temperature—that is to say, it tallied with the computed average of 50 years. The range was from 37 to 57 deg.; the difference, therefore, between the *maximum* and *minimum* was 20 deg.

On the 4th a frigid wave passed over and sent down the thermometer to 29 deg. On the following morning the mercury stood at 40 deg.

Equatorial winds prevailed on 18 days, and rain fell on 15 days, and was again excessive.

Widespread and destructive thunderstorms raged on the 25th and 26th, with vivid lightning and loud peals of thunder. On the 10th an aurora appeared in n.w. that consisted of bright homogeneous light, interspersed with the dark lenticular Polar matter so often seen in auroras. On the 21st a luminous solar rainbow, with well-defined chromatic periphery, spanned the

N.E. horizon, and on the following day another was produced by the setting sun. On the 28th and 29th there were solar halos for several hours.

In South Australia the heat this month was excessive; "no such continuous heat," says the report, "has been known for several years, and the colonies throughout are threatened with drought."

In Southern India a cyclone of great force bore up from the Bay of Bengal, traversed the coast of Ceylon at the speed of 170 miles an hour, and committed great havoc in its onward course. This great wind current is stated to have been 400 miles in circumference.

#### MAY.

This month presents an aspect peculiarly ungenial. From the 1st to the 4th the diurnal averages of temperature were somewhat in excess, but from the 5th to the 25th inclusive a consecutive run of temperature occurred far short of the normal standard. On the 11th it was no less than 12·3 deg. below the mean, and on the 12th the night temperature sank to 30·0 deg. of Fahrenheit. On the whole day the average was 9·4 deg. below the mean of 50 years. On the 18th and 19th the defalcation was 13·3 deg. and 11·5 deg. respectively below the acknowledged mean.

From almost all parts of England the prevalence of cold and stormy weather is reported, and during this inclement period snow and sleet were of frequent occurrence, and the electro-magnetic conditions of the atmosphere were so abnormally developed that even during the prevalence of frigid polar winds thunderstorms of destructive violence raged. In Yorkshire the hills were covered with snow, and by the biting winds vegetation throughout the whole country was greatly retarded, and early crops of vegetables destroyed.

In accordance with the preternatural development of the elemental forces the cloud modifications often presented a grand and imposing spectacle, especially during the violent storms which prevailed throughout the month. Heavy thunderclouds often overspread the whole heavens, and sometimes the sky was chequered by a canopy of silvery ripple marks. On the evening of the 28th an aurora appeared in the eastern horizon, and the stars shone with preternatural lustre as through a gauze veil, produced by the interception of the polar matter of the aurora.

#### JUNE.

This was a variable month, and somewhat remarkable for the demonstration of the local diversities of its thermal conditions. On the 5th the night temperature was 44·0 deg.; morning, 56·0 deg.; and afternoon, 65·0 deg.; mean of day, 55·0 deg. On that date at Egremont, Cheshire, a sheet of ice formed on exposed water, and at Newton it was reported that ice as thick as a shilling appeared on the morning of the 6th. The highest night temperature here was on the 17th, and registered 61·0 deg.; the lowest, 40·0 deg., was on the 1st, 2nd, 7th, and 8th; the range, therefore, was 21·0 deg. The highest morning temperature was 72·0 deg., the lowest 48·0 deg., the range 24·0 deg. The highest mid-day temperature happened on the 18th and 19th, when 76·0 deg. were respectively registered. This was the culminating point of day temperature in shade, and the *maximum* excess over the computed value reached 10·5 deg.

The predominant cloud modification was the nimbus or storm cloud. Two

days alone were cloudless. The wind was almost entirely equatorial, and when accompanying thunderstorms blew in intermittent squalls of considerable force. A gale raged on the night of the 27th and morning of the 28th.

Atmospherical pressure was persistently low, and never attained 30·0 in. On the 9th it stood at its most depressed point, 28·85 in., and on the 16th at its highest, 29·95 in. The range was therefore moderate, and the diurnal oscillations were gentle.

The electric storms of the month occurred under somewhat anomalous elemental conditions. On the 5th a thunderstorm raged in a cold N.E. wind, and a mean temperature, 5·4 deg., below the average. On the 8th another storm, with a bitter wind, sleet, and hail, traversed the Chilterns. On the 9th, up to the 28th, no less than nine equatorial thunderstorms visited England.

### JULY.

The meteorology of this month may almost be summed up by stating that it consisted of one grand prolonged series of demonstrations of the powers of elemental electricity. Thunderstorms invaded England and the Continent of Europe. Streets were submerged, houses flooded, and the low-lying lands of England buried deeply beneath the waters. Horses and cattle were drowned, and great damage to property ensued. In Switzerland, among the Alps, the scenes during the electric storms are described as of surpassing sublimity.

Throughout the month warm, humid, equatorial winds predominated; on four days only polar winds blew. The coldest day was the 15th, when a transient north-easterly wind brought down the temperature, and produced an opaque land fog.

The temperature during the first eight days was, with one exception, above the mean. On the 6th it was 6·5 deg., and on the 7th 7·9 deg., in excess. On the latter day, at 2 p.m., the shade heat reached 78 deg.

It is a curious fact that the accession of this sultry weather should be almost coincident with abnormal heat in America. On the 21st, at 2 p.m., shade heat in England was 75 deg., and solar radiation 118 deg.; Fahrenheit's thermometer, with blackened bulb, enclosed in a glazed box, and excluded from air, rose to 165 deg. The 25th and 27th were the hottest days, and the mean respectively was in excess 12·2 deg. The coldest day, or rather the day of *minimum* heat, was 5·9 deg. below the average.

Ozone attained its *maximum* development on 20 days.

### AUGUST.

Equatorial and polar winds were this month tolerably fairly balanced. On the 5th a moderate gale blew from the south, and on the 10th a south-westerly gale raged with considerable fury on the Kentish coast, and extended to Suffolk and the eastern shores. From the 18th to the 24th the wind was polar, but the effect on temperature was barely perceptible. On the 25th the wind again became tropical, until the 27th, when it shifted to north-east, and became variable.

The range of pressure was from 28·80 in. to 29·90 in. The diurnal oscilla-



tions were considerable, and the period of *maximum* change was on the 7th and 8th, when in a few hours the barometer leaped from 28·95 in. to 29·60 in.

After a uniform run of excessive temperature throughout the greater portion of July, on the 31st of that month a sudden depression occurred, and the temperature fell from 64·4 deg. to 54·8 deg.—a fall in a few hours of 9·6 deg. This depression ran into the present month, and continued, with one exception, from the 1st to the 15th inclusive. A rise then occurred, and, with another single exception, bore on to the 26th. The mean then became below par to the end of the month. On the 7th and 8th a range was made in 24 hours of 11·3 deg.

Destructive thunderstorms of wide area ranged on the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 7th, 23rd, 25th, and 26th. Much damage to life and limb ensued, and great destruction to property; and a wide expanse of country was laid beneath the floods.

During the humid south-westerly winds ozone reached its *maximum* development on 20 days.

#### SEPTEMBER.

Floods and disastrous thunderstorms again characterized this month. On the morning of the 3rd, which was oppressively sultry, an electric storm passed over the meridian of Sussex, with lightning, thunder, and heavy rain-fall. At Liskeard a flash fired the coil of a telegraph instrument, melted a gas-pipe, and set fire to the chamber in which it was placed. In North Shropshire, Montgomeryshire, and Edinburgh fatal effects were produced, and at Jersey the storm appeared to traverse the island twice as a circumscribed cyclone before it took its departure for the French coast.

Equatorial winds almost exclusively prevailed, and in the evening of the 26th a gale of great force blew from s.w., some of the squalls of which were of impetuous violence.

Temperature was variable, and from the 2nd to the 7th daily above the average. On the 4th it was 9·9 deg. in excess. Then occurred suddenly a wave of great depression, and from the 19th to the 28th the temperature was consecutively below the average. Frosts covered the ground, snow fell among the hills of Scotland, and on the 24th the Fells in the neighbourhood of Lowgill, in Westmoreland, were coated four inches deep in snow.

The lowest night temperature was on the 22nd, when the thermometer sank to the freezing point of Fahrenheit. Ozone was well developed; and on ten days storm clouds covered the sky.

#### OCTOBER.

This month came in with a rough and squally wind, and on the 10th an equatorial gale raged which proved of destructive violence on the Northumberland coast. On the 18th, the barometer having fallen below 28·00 in., the wind chopped from pole to equator, and another gale blew in impetuous squalls for some hours. On the 26th a gusty wind brought up a ruck of heavy storm cloud, which passed over Sussex with vivid lightning and loud peals of thunder. On the 30th a heavy gale raged which continued through the night into the following morning. Winds were tropical on 23 days, and

polar or semi-polar on the remainder. The hygrometrical range was from 70 to 100—the latter representing complete saturation of air.

In this part of Sussex there were 16 days on which rain fell, and the ultimate gauge was 5·32 in. The reputed average for October is 2·54 in.; the excess, therefore, amounted to more than double the acknowledged standard.

Atmospherical pressure ranged from 28·70 to 29·80 in., an ultimate variation of 1·10 in. The period of *maximum* oscillation was from the 1st to the 4th inclusive, when the barometer ranged twice in four days through nearly half an inch.

From the 4th to the 9th there was a consecutive run of abnormally low temperature, and the diurnal averages were 8, 9, 10, and 11 deg. below the acknowledged means. The ultimate monthly range was from 39·3 deg. to 58·6 deg.—a variation of 17·3 deg.

Ozone was fairly developed. On the 2nd a frigid polar wind produced a perfect bleaching of the tests. The wind changed, and the ozonoscopes regained their colour.

#### NOVEMBER.

We now arrive at a period of universal elemental perturbation, when wind and cloud and storm prevail, and floods are poured upon floods throughout England, the Continent of Europe, America, and portions of South Australia. The month came in with a heavy gale from the English Channel, accompanied with mist, hail, and rainfall, and ships of all descriptions ran for shelter into the harbours of refuge. On the night of the 3rd and morning of the 4th another tropical gale raged, with heavy squalls of rainfall. On the evening of the 5th a furious hurricane swept the North of England, and committed great damage to the shipping and produced many fatal accidents. On the evening of the 10th, after a comparatively calm day, a cold, rough, polar wind rose in squalls, died away at night, and on the following day, at 7 p.m., raged with increased energy. On both these days fierce gales are reported from the French coasts. In Northumberland such stormy, wintry weather prevailed that vessels had great difficulty in making the passage from the North to the Tyne. High seas and great casualties are reported. On the 12th and 13th a polar wind blew in fierce gusts, which burst at intervals like thunder. On the afternoon of the 15th, after a day of cloud and rainfall and comparative calm, the wind rose in boisterous squalls, bringing up flying storm clouds. On the 19th and 23rd tropical gales raged in gusts of inordinate pressure, with heavy rainfall. On the night of the latter date the blasts swept the coasts at every point with abnormal violence. Equatorial gales also raged on the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th, with lightning and thunder and strongly developed telluric electricity. The range of pressure was from 28·23 in. to 29·80 in.

#### DECEMBER.

The initials of the following table denote date, cloud, wind, barometer, thermometer (night, morning, and afternoon temperature), rainfall, ozone, mean temperature, the mean of 50 years, and the ultimate variations. The observations were taken at Frant, 594 ft. above the mean level of the sea:—

D.	C.	W.	B.	T.			R.	O.	M. T.	M. T. 60 years	Var.
				N.	M.	A.					
1	Nimbus . .	S.S.W.	28.45	40	46	47	0.15	10	44.3	42.6	p. 1.7
2	Cirro-cumulus .	E.N.E.	28.90	36	40	44	0.06	10	40.0	42.0	m. 2.0
3	Nimbus . .	N.E.	28.75	38	40	42	*	8	40.0	41.0	m. 1.0
4	Cloudless . .	N.	29.00	32	35	33	0.86	8	38.0	41.9	m. 3.9
5	Cloudless . .	N.W.	29.35	28	30	34	*	2	30.6	43.1	m. 12.5
6	Cirro-cumulus .	S.S.W.	28.90	30	40	44	0.42	10	38.0	42.0	m. 4.0
7	Cirro-cumulus .	N.W.	28.85	35	36	40	0.69	8	37.0	42.2	m. 5.2
8	Cirro-cumulus .	S.W.	29.00	33	36	42	*	8	37.0	41.4	m. 4.4
9	Cirro-cumulus .	S.W.	28.40	34	40	42	0.30	5	38.6	40.8	m. 2.2
10	Nimbus . .	S.E.	28.45	32	36	36	*	8	34.8	40.5	m. 5.7
11	Cloudless . .	E.N.E.	28.70	29	35	35	0.52	4	33.0	39.5	m. 6.5
12	Cloudless . .	N.W.	29.40	25	29	32	—	5	28.6	40.3	m. 11.7
13	Nimbus . .	S.S.W.	29.25	32	38	41	*	10	37.0	40.3	m. 3.3
14	Nimbus . .	E.N.E.	28.85	33	38	40	0.26	5	37.0	40.5	m. 3.5
15	Nimbus . .	S.W.	29.15	38	33	44	0.19	10	41.6	40.6	p. 1.0
16	Cirro-stratus .	N.W.	29.25	35	39	42	0.04	5	38.6	40.4	m. 1.8
17	Nimbus . .	S.W.	28.75	38	40	44	0.73	5	40.6	40.1	p. 0.5
18	Cirro-cumulus .	N.W.	28.95	35	36	39	0.11	2	36.6	40.6	m. 4.0
19	Nimbus . .	W.S.W.	28.95	34	38	42	0.50	10	38.0	39.6	m. 1.6
20	Nimbus . .	S.W.	29.05	34	36	41	0.03	8	37.0	39.6	m. 2.6
21	Nimbus . .	S.W.	28.80	38	46	47	0.78	5	43.3	39.0	p. 4.3
22	Cirro-cumulus .	S.S.W.	29.30	44	50	53	0.08	8	49.0	38.2	p. 10.8
23	Cirro-cumulus .	S.S.W.	29.10	42	46	47	—	5	45.0	38.0	p. 7.0
24	Cirro-cumulus .	S.S.W.	28.80	40	43	44	0.05	5	42.3	38.0	p. 4.3
25	Nimbus . .	S.S.W.	28.55	43	47	48	*	10	46.0	37.2	p. 8.8
26	Cirro-cumulus .	S.W.	29.10	44	48	50	—	—	47.3	36.7	p. 10.6
27	Cirro-stratus .	S.S.W.	29.30	44	46	46	—	10	45.3	37.1	p. 8.2
28	Cloudless . .	S.	29.10	42	45	46	—	10	44.3	36.7	p. 7.6
29	Cirro-cumulus .	S.	29.20	41	42	47	—	10	43.3	37.2	p. 6.1
30	Cirro-cumulus .	S.S.W.	29.35	40	43	43	0.08	8	42.0	38.8	p. 4.0
31	Nimbus . .	S.S.W.	29.10	38	44	44	0.68	10	42.0	38.2	p. 3.8

On the days marked thus (\*) rain fell.

The letters p. and m. in the last column denote plus and minus, or excess and deficiency of mean temperature.

#### ANALYSIS.

CLOUD, WIND, AND RAINFALL.—The atmospheric disturbance which characterized the preceding month persisted with little variation throughout the greater portion of the present month. On the 1st the wind was equatorial, and on the three following days polar. On the 5th, about noon, the atmosphere was perfectly calm, scarcely a perceptible breath stirring; but at 1.30 p.m. the wind suddenly backed from n.w. to s.s.w., and in the evening rose in gusts to the force of a moderate gale, with squalls of rainfall. At 9.30 p.m. a blast of immense force occurred, and soon died away here, but in the north of England and in Scotland proved a heavy and persistent gale. The 7th was calm, with light rainfall, until the evening, when a hollow gust of wind came from s.w., which proved the precursor of fitful squalls of great force. Again, on the 8th the day was calm, with alternate cloud and sun, but at 6.30 p.m. the wind rose into a paroxysmal gale, with intervals of high pressure. At seven o'clock the voluminous blasts roared like thunder. This gale visited England with fearful violence, and produced by sea and land unprecedented disasters. It was accompanied with hail, rain, lightning, and thunder, and was followed on the succeeding day—the 9th—by rainfall and a snowstorm. On the evening of the 10th, about nine o'clock, the wind, after a

calm day, again freshened, and a culminating blast occurred which carried down the barometer to 28·02 in. At midnight the storm mitigated, and the mercury rose 0·85 in. Then came another comparative lull; but on the 16th, at 3 p.m., the wind having suddenly shifted from n.w. to s., the barometer again fell to 28·80 in., and a gale swept over England with disastrous violence, producing shipwrecks and great loss of life. An interval of moderate wind succeeded, but every day up to the 21st was marked by rainfall. At the latter date the continuous rains from the 14th, inclusive, amounted to no less than 2·72 in. One fall—that on the 20th—gauged no less than 0·78 in., and was the product of another gale which blew with great violence for several hours. The 22nd was a beautifully calm springlike day, on which the mean temperature rose 10·8 deg. above the computed average of 50 years. Again, on the 25th, Christmas Day, the temperature rose to 46·0 deg., and the wind freshened into an equatorial gale, with gusts of considerable force. At 4 p.m. atmospherical pressure was 28·55 in., and the mean temperature was 8·8 deg. in excess. On the following day—the 26th—the mean was no less than 10·6 deg. above the average, and, as will be seen by the table, the plus sign persisted from the 21st to the end of the month.

On several occasions during the tempestuous gales atmospherical pressure was abnormally low. On no less than 15 days the barometer was below 29·00 in. On the 10th, at 9 p.m., it sank to 28·02 in. The ultimate range of the month was from 28·02 in. to 29·40 in.

The range of night temperature was from 25 deg. to 44 deg.—total, 19·0 deg. On the night of the 5th there was a sharp frost, and ice on exposed water half an inch thick. The mean temperature on that day was 12·5 deg. below the standard average. The *maximum* mean was on the 22nd, when it was 10·8 deg. above the average. The range of mean temperature was, therefore, 18·4 deg.

The rainfall was enormous, and every month showed an excess. There were 51 cloudless days, and 165 days of raincloud, 276 days of tropical wind, and the remainder polar or semi-polar.

RAINFALL OF 1872, AND THE RESPECTIVE MEANS OF FIVE YEARS (FROM 1860 TO 1865 INCLUSIVE).

Month.	The year 1872.	Means of five years.	Excess in inches.
January . . .	5·82 ..	1·95 ..	3·87
February . . .	2·23 ..	1·22 ..	1·01
March . . .	2·25 ..	2·08 ..	0·17
April . . .	2·14 ..	1·13 ..	1·01
May . . .	4·95 ..	2·40 ..	2·55
June . . .	3·43 ..	3·05 ..	0·38
July . . .	2·26 ..	1·79 ..	0·47
August . . .	2·55 ..	1·64 ..	0·89
September . . .	2·80 ..	2·26 ..	0·54
October . . .	5·32 ..	2·54 ..	2·78
November . . .	6·30 ..	2·41 ..	3·89
December . . .	6·53 ..	1·50 ..	5·03
Totals . . .	46·56 ..	23·97 ..	22·59

England contains 33,000,000 square acres of land, and an English acre consists of 6,272,640 square inches. An inch of rain on an acre yields 6,272,640 cubic inches of water, which, at 277,274 cubic inches to the gallon, makes

22,622·5 gallons; and as a gallon of distilled water weighs 10 lb., the inch of rainfall on the acre is 226,225 lb. avoirdupois; but 2240 lb. are a ton, and consequently an inch of rain weighs 100·993 tons, or nearly 101 tons, per acre. For every 100th of an inch, therefore, upwards of a ton of water falls.

Here, then, we have upwards of 2000 tons of surplus water falling on each of the 33,000,000 square acres of England; or, in other words, there have been 66,000 million tons above the estimated average; and some of our *savants* have assured us that the springs have scarcely yet begun to flow.

The old year closed as it began, in cloud and wind, and rainfall standing at 28·95 in.

Wonderful displays of meteors are reported from various parts of England and the world, and on the 27th of November our earth is supposed to have been swept by the *disjecta membra* of Biela's lost comet.

# OBITUARY

OF

## EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1872.

### January.

#### DOWAGER COUNTESS BROWNLOW.

THE death is announced, at Belton Lodge, her residence at Torquay, of the Dowager Countess Brownlow. The venerable countess died on Sunday, January 28. She was the eldest daughter of Richard, second Earl of Mount-Edgumbe, by his wife, Lady Sophia Hobart, third daughter of John, second Earl of Buckinghamshire, and was born July 28, 1791. Her ladyship married, July 17, 1828, John, first Earl Brownlow, she being his third wife, by whom (who died in September, 1853) she leaves surviving issue Lady Caroline Mary, unmarried, and Lady Catherine, widow of Viscount Cranley. The late Lady Brownlow was one of the six ladies of the bed-chamber selected by Queen Adelaide when she became Queen, and continued a member of her Majesty's household until her death in December, 1849, when Lady Brownlow followed her illustrious mistress to the grave, having performed the part of chief mourner at Queen Adelaide's funeral. The late Countess Brownlow about two years ago wrote a pleasant, gossiping book of her "Reminiscences," extending over a period of nearly fifty years.

#### GENERAL CHESNEY.

Francis Rawdon Chesney, General in the Army, and Colonel-Commandant 14th Brigade Royal Artillery, D.C.L., F.R.S.,

the pioneer of the Overland Route to India, died at his residence, Packolet, in the county of Down, on the 30th inst. He was born at Ballyrea, in Ireland, 1789 (deriving his Christian names from his sponsor, Francis Rawdon, the celebrated Earl of Moira), and obtained his first commission, Royal Artillery, 1805; but he had to reach his fortieth year before an opportunity occurred of obtaining distinction. In 1829 he sailed for Constantinople, with a view to assist in the defence of Turkey; but by the time he reached his destination the preliminaries of peace had been signed. At this time Captain Chesney undertook the solution of the problem of regular steam communication with India, and in 1835-6 he accomplished his famous Euphrates expedition. Chesney returned to England in 1837, and subsequently, from 1843 to 1847, commanded, as Brigadier-General, the Artillery in China, and from 1848 to 1852 the Artillery in the south of Ireland. In 1850 he published his "Survey of the Tigris and Euphrates," and in 1852 his "Observations on the Past and Present State of Fire-arms." He attained the rank of full General in 1868.

#### SIR F. CROSSLEY.

Sir Francis Crossley, Bart., M.P., died at his residence, Belle Vue, Halifax on January 5, aged 54. The deceased, who was created a baronet in 1863, represented Halifax (where he had great local influence) in the House of Commons from July, 1852, till August, 1859, when he was elected for the West Riding of Yorkshire in conjunction with

Sir John Ramsden, defeating the Right Hon. James Stuart Wortley by nearly 2000 votes; and since July, 1865, had represented the Northern Division of that Riding. He was son of Mr. John Crossley, the extensive carpet manufacturer of Halifax, and married in October, 1846, Martha Eliza, daughter of Mr. Henry Brinton, of Kidderminster. He was a Liberal in politics, in favour of free trade and vote by ballot, and opposed to all endowments of religious bodies by the State. He is succeeded in the baronetcy by his eldest son, Saville Brinton, born in 1857.

#### MR. GILLOTT.

Mr. Joseph Gillott, the eminent steel pen manufacturer, died of pleurisy on the 5th, at his residence, Westbourne-road, Edgbaston. He was the first to use machinery for making steel pens. Originally a grinder at Sheffield, his first employment was that of steel toy or tool making. His attention, however, was soon directed to steel pens, which were then made by hand in very limited quantities, at a cost of about 3s. 6d. each. The present annual production at Mr. Gillott's factory is estimated at 150,000,000 per annum, and the number of work-people employed 450. Mr. Gillott was a liberal art patron and collector, and leaves behind him one of the finest private galleries in the country, valued at from 80,000*l.* to 100,000*l.*, containing many works of Etty, Turner, David Cox, Linnell, David Roberts, Leslie, Ward, Wilkie, Muller, William Hunt, MacIise, Collins, and Frith. Mr. Gillott leaves eight children, who are all arrived at manhood, and a large fortune chiefly invested in land and real estate.

#### MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK.

Death has removed another conspicuous actor in the late American Civil War. On the 10th the Atlantic cable announced the decease, at the comparatively early age of 55, of Major-General Halleck, who for one-third of the time during which that conflict raged, was General-in-Chief of all the armies of the United States, and who, by his calm judgment and strategical skill, contributed largely towards the final triumph of the North. He was born in 1816, at the village of Western, near Utica, in the State of New York; and after studying for a brief period at Union College, Schenectady, entered the Military Academy at West Point in 1835, graduated there with dis-

tinguished honours, and immediately afterwards received his commission as a second lieutenant of Engineers. His scientific attainments were so great that he was appointed an Assistant Professor of Engineering at West Point, but he resigned this position in 1840, and during the next five years was employed in engineering operations in New York harbour. In 1845 he was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant; he served on the lower Californian coast during the Mexican war; was breveted a captain in 1847; and became a captain of engineers in 1853. In 1854, however, he retired from the army and settled at San Francisco, where he carried on business as a lawyer, commission agent, and manager of mines, until the outbreak of the civil war in 1861, when, on the recommendation of General Scott, he was nominated a major-general of the United States' army. On the resignation of the aged General Scott, who had in the first instance been intrusted with the direction of the movements of the Federal armies, that arduous and responsible task devolved upon Major-General Halleck, to whose combinations must be attributed that series of successes achieved with such rapidity by the North, from the taking of Fort Donelson till the evacuation of Corinth by General Beauregard and the capture of Memphis. In November, 1861, Major-General Halleck succeeded General Fremont in the command of the Military Department of the West. In this capacity he displayed the greatest firmness. He established the most severe discipline in his army, expelled from it the negroes and newspaper correspondents, and gave notice that all rebels and those who lent them aid would be arrested and their property confiscated, and that spies would be shot. He placed under the absolute control of the military authorities the navigation of the Missouri and the Mississippi, threatening all offenders with martial law; and, finally, he required all clergymen, members of Universities, railway directors, and other public functionaries to take the oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States. On the 11th of March, 1862, Major-General Halleck was placed at the head of the Department of the Mississippi. After the battle of Pittsburg Landing, fought between the Confederates under General Beauregard and the Federals under General Grant, the victory being claimed by both sides, General Grant was superseded by Major-General Halleck, who assumed the command of the army. Cautiously advancing to Corinth, he compelled the Confederates to evacuate that village, where he fixed

his head-quarters on the 30th of May. The States of Tennessee and Kentucky having been added to his command, he made himself master about the 15th of June of Chattanooga, in Tennessee, on the borders of Alabama and Georgia. Immediately on gaining this important position, which was the centre of a railway system and a mining district, he attempted to re-establish railway communication with the North-west in order to facilitate the transport of troops and munitions of war. A few weeks later he was made General-in-Chief of the armies of the United States, and retired to Washington, whence he issued his orders and directed the movements of the various armies that were in the field. The campaigns he devised and ordered were partially successful; but in some instances failure was caused partly by the jealousy of his subordinates, and partly by the political difficulties he encountered in carrying out his plans. In March, 1864, Lieutenant-General Grant became General-in-Chief, and took the field, Major-General Halleck, who was now appointed Chief of Staff, remaining at the War Department in Washington. At the close of the war he was placed in command of the Military Division of the James, with head-quarters at Richmond, in 1865; was shortly afterwards assigned to the command of the Military Division of the Pacific, with head-quarters at San Francisco; and finally, in March, 1869, was transferred to the command of the Military Department of the South, with head-quarters at Louisville, Kentucky. Major-General Halleck is the author of several works, both original and translated. The most important is his "Elements of Military Art and Science," published in 1846, and republished in 1858 with the addition of "Critical Notes on the Mexican and Crimean Wars."

#### GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER LINDSAY.

General Sir Alexander Lindsay, K.C.B., one of the oldest Generals of the Bengal Artillery, died, on the 20th ult., at his residence, Earlybank, Perthshire, in his 90th year. He was son of James Smyth Lindsay, Esq., and received his education at Woolwich. He entered the Bengal Army in 1804, and saw much service in India; he commanded the artillery of the right column of Sir David Ochterlony's army in 1816, and was severely wounded in the action on the heights of Hurrlypore. He was again, in 1825, appointed to command the artillery

in the division under Brigadier-General Morrison in the Burmese war, and took part in the capture of Arracan. He had the medal and clasps for Nepal and Ava, was made C.B. in 1831, and K.C.B. 1862. He married, 1820, Flora Loudoun, daughter of Captain Mackenzie, of Hartfield, Ross-shire, and became a widower in 1863.

#### CANON MOSELEY.

The Rev. Henry Moseley, Canon of Bristol Cathedral and Vicar of Olveston, Gloucestershire, died on the 20th. He was born about the year 1802, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his Bachelor's degree in 1826, coming out a high wrangler. He was ordained in due course, and for some years held the Professorship of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in King's College, London; and he was one of the first clergymen who were appointed her Majesty's inspectors of schools. In 1853, under Lord Aberdeen's Administration, he was nominated, in reward of his services in the cause of national education, to the canonry now vacant by his decease, and a year or two later was preferred by the Dean and Chapter of Bristol to the living of Olveston. In 1855 he was appointed one of the chaplains to the Queen. The late Canon, according to "Crockford's Clerical Directory," was the author of many important works, including a "Treatise on the Mechanical Principles of Engineering and Architecture," which he published shortly after obtaining the "learned leisure" of his canonry, and which has since been reprinted in Germany and in the United States. He also wrote a "Treatise on Hydrostatics," &c., and contributed more than one article on applied mathematics to the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana." Besides these larger and more important works, his active pen found opportunities for contributing a variety of scientific papers to the "Transactions" of the Royal Society, of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, &c., and also several Reports on various subjects connected with education, which are published in the Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. Canon Moseley's name, we may add, was well known in learned circles abroad as well as at home; he was for many years one of the Corresponding Members of the Institute of France. He was also an honorary member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, and of the Philosophical Institute of Cornwall, an honorary Fellow



of King's College, London, a Vice-President of the Society of Naval Architects, a member of the Natural History Society of Brisbane, and formerly of the Council of Military Education.

#### THE DUKE DE PERSIGNY.

The Duke de Persigny died at Nice, on Friday, January 12, from an affection of the spinal marrow. M. de Persigny early embraced the cause which he served so long and so steadfastly. He was a Bonapartist when the very name appeared an anomaly, and he took an active part in schemes full of difficulty and danger, in the success of which it seemed as though none but an enthusiast could have believed. In time his devotion had its reward. The Second Empire was established to a great extent by his aid, and then power, rank, and wealth came to him in full measure. He was made a count, and afterwards a duke; he was a Minister, a Senator, an Ambassador. It was impossible for services to be more distinctly recognized or more liberally rewarded. Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin was born at St. Germain-Lespinasse, in the Loire, on January 11, 1808. After studying at the College of Limoges, he entered the army when seventeen years of age, and served in a cavalry regiment. He was, however, accused of insubordination by his superiors, and had to leave the service. In 1831 he went to Paris, and wrote for the press, and shortly afterwards adopted the name of Persigny, and the title of viscount, which had belonged to his family for a couple of centuries, though it had fallen into disuse. He was converted to Bonapartism by reading the "Mémorial de St. Hélène;" and strong in his new convictions—he had formerly Royalist views—he published in 1834 a review called the "Occident Français," of which, owing to his want of means, only the first number appeared. It introduced him, however, to the ex-King Joseph and to Louis Napoleon, who then resided at Arenenberg. From that time he attached himself to the fortunes of the Bonaparte family, and laboured for them with extraordinary ardour. He was the principal instigator of the Strasbourg plot, and made all the arrangements for carrying it out. He succeeded in escaping when it failed, and sought refuge in England, where, in 1837, he published an account of the circumstances. In the Boulogne plot, four years later, he was also concerned; but this time he did not succeed in escaping, but was tried

and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. Owing to illness he enjoyed considerable liberty while in confinement, and employed his leisure in writing a long essay on the "Utility of the Pyramids of Egypt," which he sent to the Institute. On the fall of Louis Philippe, M. de Persigny hastened to Paris, and again devoted himself to the Bonapartist cause. In 1849 he became a member of the Assembly, and in this position rendered good service to the Prince President, crowning the work by playing a prominent part in the *coup-d'état*. The hard work was now over, and he began in earnest to reap the results of it. He was made Minister of the Interior in 1852, and signed the decrees confiscating the Orleans property. In 1854 he resigned office, and sat for a while in the Senate, to which he had been elevated two years previously. In 1855 he came to London as Ambassador, and remained until the commencement of 1858. He filled the same post a second time the next year, replacing Marshal Pelissier. In November, 1860, he returned to fill the post of Minister of the Interior, and resigned in June, 1863. Shortly afterwards he was created a Duke by the Emperor. From that period he ceased to play a prominent part in political affairs, but from time to time he spoke and wrote upon current topics. He was a declared enemy of the parliamentary system, and approved of the restrictions placed upon the French press. M. de Persigny married in 1852 the only daughter of the Prince of Moskowa, and received from the Emperor Napoleon on the occasion a wedding present of 20,000*l*.

#### THE REV. W. SCOTT.

The Rev. William Scott, vicar of St. Olave, Jewry, died on January 12. Mr. Scott was for upwards of twenty years, from 1839 to 1863, perpetual curate of Christ Church, Hoxton. He vacated this incumbency on being nominated by Lord Chancellor Campbell to the vicarage of St. Olave, Jewry. He was distinguished not only for zealous discharge of his clerical functions, but for numerous contributions to theological and general periodical literature. For many years he was editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*, but he was perhaps even better known in recent years for his connexion with the *Saturday Review*. Mr. Scott's literary style is familiar to a probably much wider circle of readers than his name. It was as an anonymous writer for the press that Mr. Scott displayed a scholarship and

brilliancy sufficiently rare in this generation. He occupied a foremost place in that select company, the vigour and felicity of whose writing established the success of the *Saturday Review*. Mr. Scott had all the antithetical pungency of Sydney Smith, whom he resembled not a little in the effect with which he handled the special argumentative method, the *reductio ad absurdum*, of the author of "Peter Plymley's Letters." He belonged to a race of divines which is rapidly becoming extinct, and reminds us of a generation that has well-nigh passed away in the richly assorted combination of his erudition—for erudition it was—wit and force. Seldom has satire been expended with happier effect than in the series of articles in which Mr. Scott, in the pages of the *Saturday Review*, exposed the contemptible and malicious inanity of the nascent anti-constitutional and anti-religious tendencies of the day. As a clergyman Mr. Scott has left a place which it will not be easy to fill; while in that special vein of contemporary literature in which he so pre-eminently excelled, it is not an easy matter to name his adequate successor.

#### MAJOR GENERAL A. R. VON STUTTERHEIM.

The sudden death is announced, at the age of 63, of Major General A. Richard von Stutterheim, a man of undoubted military talents and personal courage. The gallant baron, so well known in Dover as commander of the German Legion raised to assist in the Crimean war, entered the Prussian service as lieutenant in a regiment of Dragoons. A duel, which unfortunately ended fatally to his opponent, obliged him to retire from the Prussian service and come to England, where he entered the English Legion which was being raised under the command of General Sir George De Lacy Evans for Spain, where he served with great distinction. When the British Government during the Crimean war had decided to raise a Foreign Legion, Stutterheim's plans for organization were so highly approved of that he was sent for and appointed colonel in the British army on October 11, 1855. Scarcely had recruiting commenced at Heligoland than from all parts recruits flocked in. General Stutterheim had the satisfaction up to April 1, 1856, of raising ten regiments 800 strong each, besides two splendid cavalry regiments, part of which Legion was sent to the Crimea; the other part

was to follow, but unfortunately too late to take part in the action, peace being concluded. After the peace the Indian Government were anxious to take four regiments, which, however, Stutterheim declined. With the whole Legion as it stood he was willing to go to India. Had the Indian Government accepted the offer, most probably Stutterheim's name would have been highly recorded in the history of that Government, particularly at that critical moment of the Indian mutiny.

### February.

#### GENERAL BEATSON.

This distinguished officer died on Sunday, February 4, at the Vicarage, New Swindon, aged 67. General William Ferguson Beatson will be best remembered as having successfully organized the Bashi-Bazouks during the Crimean war. He entered the Bengal army in 1820. Being on furlough, he served with the British Legion in Spain in 1835-36, when he was wounded, for which services he received the Cross of San Fernando. He returned to India in 1837, and was thanked by the Indian Government for the capture of Jigree, in Bundelkhand, in 1840, and Chirgong, in 1841. During the Scinde campaign, in 1844, he captured the forts and strongholds of Kachwahagar. In 1845 he served under Sir Charles Napier in the Boogtee hills. In July, 1848, he received the approbation of the Government of India for taking the fort of Rymow from the Rohillas. In 1850 and 1851 he was on active service, and in 1854 performed the special service of organizing the Bashi-Bazouks. Since then he has held an important command at Umballa, and has only recently returned on leave to England, where, his condition being pronounced precarious, he was recommended to Malta for change of climate. Thence he had but just returned to England to join his only surviving daughter, Mrs. M'Mullan, who has recently lost her husband, Major M'Mullan, whilst on active service in India.

#### COLONEL W. N. BURNS.

William Nicol Burns, the second of the three sons of Robert Burns who alone of his six children survived infancy, and the

last survivor of those three, died at his residence at Cheltenham, on the 21st, in his 82nd year, having been born on April 9, 1791. Like his younger brother, James, who died in November, 1865, William was an officer in the East India Company's service, from which he retired nearly thirty years ago. His elder brother, Robert, died at Dumfries about ten years ago. Of the three brothers (says the *Scotsman*) only one, though all were married, left children, namely, the second, James, who had two daughters. The eldest of these, Sarah, married an Irish physician, Dr. Hutchinson, and had several children, the eldest survivor of whom, Robert Burns Hutchinson, has lately finished his education at Christ Church Hospital, in London. He and his sisters are the only descendants of the poet in the fourth generation; Miss Annie Burns, Colonel James's second daughter, being unmarried. Since his retirement from active duty, Colonel William Burns has resided mainly at Cheltenham, as did his brother. Having been born on April 9, 1791, Colonel Burns was little over five years of age at the time of his father's death, in 1796, and his recollections of him were consequently slight. He remembered his father's taking him to school, and his walking about the room with him in his arms during night to comfort and soothe him in some childish illness—all his recollections being of tenderness and kindness. Colonel Burns was named William Nicol, after his father's friend, the master in the High School at Edinburgh, one of the trio celebrated in "Willie brewed a peck o' maut." Colonel Burns is buried in the mausoleum at Dumfries, beside his illustrious father, and where his mother, the immortal Jean Armour, and his two brothers, are also interred.

#### DOCTOR HINDS.

The death is announced of the Right Rev. Samuel Hinds, D.D., late Bishop of Norwich. He was born at Barbadoes in the year 1793, and was therefore in his 79th year. He became Bishop of Norwich on the death of Bishop Stanley in 1849; in 1857 he resigned his bishopric. Since that time (says a Norwich paper, the *Eastern Daily Press*) he has been a confirmed invalid, and for many years a great sufferer. Dr. Hinds made many contributions to literature, and his books are too well known to require any notice at our hands. As a speaker, he always

said what was pertinent to the point, while his diction was classical and elegant in the extreme, and always showed that he had fully mastered the subject, whatever it was. In his interviews, whether with the clergy or laity, we are sure we do not say more than his memory deserves, when we add that he was attentive, kind, ready to listen, to warn, or to advise to the best of his ability. Dr. Hinds was a moderate Liberal in politics, and one of the most "advanced" school of thought on religious questions, especially during the last few years of his life. He was the author, *inter alia*, of an "Introduction to Logic" (based on Whateley's "Elements"); "An Inquiry into the Proofs, Nature, and Extent of Inspiration, and Authority of Scripture;" the "Catechist's Manual and Family Lecturer;" "A Free Discussion on Religious Topics;" "Scripture and the Authorized Version;" "Bishop Hampden's Consecration Sermon;" and a "History of the Rise and Progress of Christianity," originally contributed as an article to the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," and subsequently republished in two volumes.

#### THE EARL OF MAYO.

The death of Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, K.P., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, by the hand of an assassin, on the 8th inst., at Port Blair, Andaman Islands, has excited the strongest feeling of regret among the public of all classes. An able statesman, an admirable administrator, and a most excellent and kind-hearted man, Lord Mayo will leave behind him, in the words of the Duke of Richmond, "a name second to none of the illustrious men who have filled before him the high office of Governor-General of India." In Ireland, where he was personally beloved, his untimely death has cast the deepest gloom. The lamented nobleman was long known here as an active and useful member of the House of Commons by the name of Lord Naas. The Right Hon. Richard Southwell Bourke, sixth Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of Monycrower and Baron Naas of Naas, in the county of Kildare, in the Peerage of Ireland, was born at Dublin, on Feb. 21, 1822. His father was Robert, the fifth Earl. His mother was Anne Charlotte, only daughter of the Hon. John Jocelyn, third son of the first Earl of Roden. The Bourkes, of the county of Kildare, whom Lord Mayo represented, have been connected by the ties of family and property with that county ever since

the Irish rebellion of 1641, when their ancestor, John Bourke, a son of Bourke of Monycrower, in the county of Mayo, and a descendant of the Bourkes of Bullinrobe, and having held a captaincy of horse under Lord Ormonde, settled at Kill, in the county of Kildare. His son became "of Palmerstown," near Naas, which is still the seat of the family; and his grandson, the Right Hon. John Bourke, of Kill and Monycrower, was raised to the Irish Peerage as a Baron, and subsequently advanced to the viscounty and earldom. The third Lord Mayo became Archbishop of Tuam; his son, grandfather of the late Governor-General, was Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and died in November, 1832. The late Earl of Mayo was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, being then Mr. Bourke, and took the degree of M.A. in that University, which afterwards gave him the honorary title of LL.D. He travelled in Russia, and published, in 1845, a book of descriptive and historical notices, called "St. Petersburg and Moscow." Mr. Bourke held, from July, 1844, to July, 1846, the appointment of gentleman of the bedchamber to Lord Heytesbury, then Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He bore the courtesy title of Lord Naas from the date of his father's accession to the earldom in 1849. During more than twenty years he occupied a seat in the House of Commons, and represented in his time three constituencies. Entering the House in August, 1847, as M.P. for Kildare, he retained that seat nearly four years—until March, 1852. He was then returned for Coleraine, for which he sat five years—until March, 1857—when he was returned for Cockermonth, in Cumberland. Upon the death of his father, on Aug. 12, 1867, he succeeded to the earldom of Mayo. He was throughout life an earnest and consistent Conservative. As such he held a conspicuous position in each of the three Derby Administrations. The post he occupied in the first he resumed in the second, and again in the third Government formed under Lord Derby's premiership. In all of them the Tory Prime Minister appointed him the Chief Secretary of State for Ireland. Lord Naas first held that office nine months—namely, from March till December, under the Cabinet of 1852. On the restoration to power of the Conservatives he was reappointed to the same office in February, 1858, holding it that time upwards of a twelvemonth, until the June of 1859. Exactly seven years afterwards—namely, in the June of 1866—he was again named to the Irish Secretaryship. On the reconstruction of the Conservative Ministry nearly two years later,

when Lord Derby having, through ill health, on May 25, 1868, tendered his resignation as First Lord of the Treasury, the Premiership passed into the hands of Mr. Disraeli, Lord Mayo, under the latter, was still the Irish Secretary. During the latter part of the autumn of that year, however, when the Disraeli Government was fast approaching its close, Lord Mayo's career as Secretary for Ireland was terminated by his political chief, with a view to his advancement. In the early winter of 1868, having been created a Knight of St. Patrick for his Irish services, he was gazetted as Governor-General of India. His arrival at the scene of his viceroyalty took place on Jan. 12 following. On his entrance into Calcutta his Excellency was received with every demonstration of respect, and even of enthusiasm. On March 27, 1869, the memorable meeting took place between himself and Shere Ali, the Sovereign of Afghanistan, when a subsidy and presents were publicly accepted in token of subjection by that potentate. It was during Lord Mayo's rule that his Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh paid his visit to various parts of Hindostan, the sojourn of the Prince there extending from the December of 1869 to the April of 1870. On Oct. 10 in the latter year the Viceroy held a grand durbar at Bhurtapore with all Oriental state and ceremonial. Twenty-four years ago the future Earl and Viceroy married, on Oct. 31, 1848, the Hon. Blanche Julia Wyndham, third surviving daughter of the first Lord Leconfield. By her he had seven children, six of whom are survivors, four sons and two daughters. The eldest son and heir, Dermot Robert Wyndham Bourke, hitherto known as Lord Naas, and now succeeding to the title as seventh Earl of Mayo, was born on July 2, 1851, and is fast approaching his majority.

#### MR. PATTERSON, F.R.S.

Robert Patterson, Esq., F.R.S., the distinguished zoologist, died, on the 14th inst., at his house in College-square, Belfast, in his 70th year. He acted for some years as one of the secretaries of the Natural History section of the British Association, and was one of the founders of the Natural History Society of Belfast. His works on zoology are held in high estimation.

**MR. SERJEANT PAYNE.**

Mr. Serjeant Payne died at his residence in Brunswick-square on February 25. Mr. Payne entered the service of the Corporation of London more than half a century since. He was appointed coroner of London and Southwark in 1829, was called to the bar at Gray's Inn in 1843, elected high steward of Southwark and judge of the Borough Court of Record in 1850, and created a serjeant-at-law in 1858, when he became a member of Serjeant's Inn. Mr. Payne was a magistrate of the counties of Middlesex and Westminster, a commissioner of taxes for London, Middlesex, and Surrey, and a governor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The only son of the deceased, Mr. William John Payne, is recorder of Buckingham, and has been for the last twenty-five years acting coroner for London and Southwark.

**MR. PEASE.**

Mr. Joseph Pease, of Darlington, died on the 8th, after a lingering illness. He was 72 years age. He was the first Quaker member sent to the House of Commons, and represented South Durham several years. Mr. Joseph Whitwell Pease, M.P., is his eldest son. To Mr. Pease's sagacity and administrative ability the successes of the Stockton and Darlington Railway were greatly owing. Mr. Pease may be described as the father of the South Durham coal trade. He and his sons owned a very large amount of mining property in South Durham and North Yorkshire, and he was the last survivor of the original Middlesbrough estate-owners. Mr. Pease spent some thousands a year in promoting education and the moral welfare of the workpeople, and he was associated with the late George and Robert Stephenson in establishing the first large engineering works in the north—the well-known Mr. Stephenson's engine factory at Newcastle. Mr. Pease leaves several sons and daughters, the sons being all actively concerned in the coal and iron trade of South Durham and Yorkshire. He was brother-in-law of the late J. J. Gurney and Mrs. Fry, and was related, through marriages of relatives, to Mr. Bright, the late Joseph Sturge, and other eminent members of the Society of Friends. His brother, Mr. Henry Pease, formerly member for South Durham, survives him.

**MR. J. POOLE.**

The death is announced of Mr. John Poole, the dramatist. So many years have elapsed since Mr. Poole has been heard of as a dramatist that it seems strange to hear the veteran author of the famous comedy of "Paul Pry" died only a few days ago. Mr. Poole had attained his 87th year. For a considerable period he had resided in Paris, but he returned to this country a few years ago, and his death took place at his residence, Highgate-road, Kentish Town. Principally owing to the exertions of the late Mr. Charles Dickens, Mr. Poole was for the concluding years of his life in the receipt of a pension from the Civil List. He had outlived all his contemporaries, and after Mr. Dickens's death he was left entirely deserted.

**CAPTAIN W. SWABEY.**

The death of Captain William Swabey, one of the few remaining heroes of the old French wars, in his 84th year, took place on the 6th inst. We believe that Captain Swabey may be justly said to have been the father of the Royal Horse Artillery, inasmuch as he was present with a battery at Copenhagen in 1806. He also served under Sir Robert Gardiner through the Peninsular campaigns, had a medal and clasps for the actions at Toulouse, Vittoria, Salamanca, and Ciudad Rodrigo, receiving a bullet in the knee during the battle of Vittoria. He was also present at the final triumph of the British arms at Waterloo, for which he received a medal, and at the subsequent occupation of Paris. His faculties were perfect to the last. He leaves ten children to mourn his loss.

**March.****GENERAL HON. THOMAS ASH-BURNHAM, C.B.**

The death of General Hon. Thomas Ashburnham, C.B., colonel of the 82nd (the Prince of Wales's Volunteers) Regiment of Foot, took place at his residence in Park-street at 11 a.m. on March 3. General Ashburnham had been long suffering from heart disease, and during the fortnight preceding his death his paroxysms were frequent and his case was

daily urgent. General Ashburnham was a most liberal contributor to the different charitable institutions of the metropolis, and, being possessed of ample wealth and without a family, he devoted the great bulk of his income to relieving the poor and needy. He was the third surviving son of George, third Earl Ashburnham, K.G., by his second marriage with Lady Charlotte Percy, eldest daughter of Algernon, first Earl of Beverley. He married, February 8, 1860, the Hon. Adelaide Georgiana Frederica Foley, youngest daughter of Thomas, third Lord Foley, who died in January in the following year. The late general entered the army in 1823, and served for several years in India with his regiment, and commanded the 29th Foot in 1850, having served previously in the command of a brigade in the Sutlej campaign of 1845-6, and took part in the battles of Ferozeshah and Soobraon, for which he received a medal with clasp, and was rewarded with the Companionship of the Order of the Bath, and was also appointed aide-de-camp to the Queen in recognition of his military services. He subsequently, in 1857, was appointed to the chief command of the forces in China, and from thence was transferred to a military command in India, but returned to England in the early part of 1858 without entering upon his appointment. Since then the hon. and gallant general has not held any military employment. In December, 1859, he was appointed colonel of the 82nd (the Prince of Wales's Volunteers) Regiment of Foot. His commissions bore date as follows:—Ensign and lieutenant, January 30, 1823; lieutenant and captain, June 22, 1826; captain and lieutenant-colonel, March 27, 1835; colonel, April 1, 1846; major-general, June 20, 1854; lieutenant-general, August 3, 1860; and general, April 19, 1868.

#### HANNAH, LADY BUXTON.

Hannah, Lady Buxton, died at Northrepps Hall, Cromer, on the 20th inst., in her 89th year. Her ladyship was the fifth daughter of John Gurney, Esq., of Earham, sister of Mrs. Fry, the prison reformer, and first cousin of the late estimable Hudson Gurney. She was married, May 13, 1807, to Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., so distinguished by his philanthropy and his exertions for the abolition of slavery, and by him (created a baronet in 1840) she had three sons and two daughters. The present Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, third baronet, M.P., is her grandson.

#### THE EARL OF LONSDALE.

The Right Hon. William Lowther, Earl of Lonsdale, died suddenly on Monday, March 4, at his house on Carlton House-terrace. His death was quite unexpected, as he had been out for a drive during the day, and appeared in his usual health and spirits. After dinner his lordship retired to the library, and while dozing, as was supposed, in an easy-chair, he expired without the slightest convulsion. The deceased peer—Earl of Lonsdale, county Westmoreland, Viscount and Baron Lowther, of Whitehaven, county Cumberland, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and a baronet—was born July 30, 1787; consequently he was in his 85th year, and succeeded to the family honours and large estates on the death of his father, William, first earl, K.G., in March, 1844, his father having attained the great age of 86 years. The deceased nobleman was educated at Harrow School, and afterwards completed his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1808. The same year he entered Parliament as member for Cockermouth, which borough he represented in the House of Commons up to 1813, when he was returned for Westmoreland. At the general election, in 1831, he resorted to the obscure and long disfranchised borough of Dunwich. At the general election in 1832, while on the Continent, he was elected both for Cumberland and Westmoreland, but took his seat for the latter county, which he represented till September, 1841, when he was summoned to the House of Peers in his father's barony of Lowther. The late Lord Lonsdale entered upon official life shortly after entering the House of Commons, for in 1809 he succeeded the late Viscount Palmerston as one of the Lords of the Admiralty, which office he filled till 1813, when he was made a Lord of the Treasury, a post he filled up to 1826, with an interval between 1817 and 1820. From 1828 to 1838 he was Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, being on his appointment made a Privy Councillor; and during Sir Robert Peel's first Administration he discharged the office of Treasurer of the Navy and Vice-President of the Board of Trade. On Sir Robert Peel regaining power, in September, 1841, he accepted the office of Postmaster-General, an office he filled till his resignation in 1845. On the late Earl of Derby's advent to power, in February, 1852, the late Earl of Lonsdale again joined his political friends in office, Lord Derby selecting him for the distinguished post of Lord President of the Council. He remained in the Cabinet till the dis-

solution of Lord Derby's Government in December of that year. It will be gleaned from the above that the late Lord Lonsdale had served in the Administrations of the Duke of Portland, Spencer Perceval, the Earl of Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Derby. The late Lord Lonsdale was a staunch Conservative, and an admirable business man. Latterly, owing to his increased years, he had not taken a very active part in politics, but on all important occasions during the last three sessions his name is to be found among the "pairs." The late earl was the eldest surviving Commissioner of the Metropolitan Roads, and had for many years discharged the duties of chairman of the Commission. He was for some years lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum for the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which he resigned in 1858, and was lieutenant-colonel commandant of the Westmoreland Militia from 1818 to 1861. The deceased peer is succeeded in the earldom and extensive hereditary estates in Westmoreland and Cumberland by his nephew, Mr. H. Lowther, M.P. for West Cumberland, eldest son of the late Colonel the Hon. H. Cecil Lowther, by his wife, Lady Lucy Eleanor Sherard, eldest daughter of Philip, fifth Earl of Harborough. He was born March 27, 1818, and married, July 31, 1852, Emily Susan, eldest daughter of Mr. St. George Francis Caulfield, of Donoman Castle, county Roscommon. He entered the 1st Regiment of Life Guards in September, 1841, but retired from the army in 1854. The hon. gentleman has represented West Cumberland in the House of Commons since 1847. He was lord-lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmoreland, hon. colonel of the Royal Cumberland Militia and of the Cumberland Rifle Volunteers, and major in the Westmoreland and Cumberland Yeomanry Cavalry.

#### MAZZINI.

The death of Giuseppe Mazzini, a man who has played a most prominent part in European politics, is announced as having taken place at Pisa, on Sunday, March 10. Giuseppe Mazzini was born at Genoa, where his father was a physician of note and of good private means. The year of his birth is variously given as 1806, 1808, and 1809. He was an only son, and his early education was conducted with great care and pains by his parents, who sent him to one of the public schools, and afterwards to the university of his native city. In youth he was noted for the warmth of

his friendships, the strength and determination of his will, and the susceptibility of his feelings. From childhood, it is said, sentiments of social equality were fostered in him by his parents. As a youth he was intended for the legal profession; but the strong Liberal opinions he had imbibed as a child, and his conviction that the oppressed condition of his country called for men of action and public spirit, and that a noble course lay open before any one who would give himself up, heart and soul, to the work of reforming her, led him to devote himself to a political career. In his ardent aspirations for the national unity of Italy, it seemed to him that her deliverance from foreign tyranny was to be achieved only by a return to the Republican glories of ancient times. His patriotic enthusiasm in this direction was fostered by his early studies, which developed in him a passionate idea of the glories of a Republic, and by the success which he had achieved in literature while still little more than a youth.

In 1827 appeared his maiden essay, "Dell 'Amor Patrio di Dante," which was published in a Liberal journal, the *Subalpino*. This led him to contribute other historical, philosophical, and critical papers to the *Antologia* of Florence and the *Indicatore Genovese*. But the authorities, perceiving that the periodical literature of Italy was becoming far too strongly tainted with advanced Liberal opinions, suppressed these journals, and hoped, no doubt, thereby to have silenced their writers also. This result, however, by no means followed; they were gagged for the moment, but their voice was left to find an utterance elsewhere. About the year 1830 Mazzini was affiliated to the secret society of the Carbonari, and this affiliation was the introductory step to his subsequent political life; he was active, able, bold, and impetuous, and he soon rose into a position which gave him great influence in the councils of that body. At one time it appeared as if his career was likely to be cut short, for he was betrayed by a Piedmontese spy, arrested, and detained for six months as a prisoner in the fortress of Savona. He was set free at the end of that time only on condition of quitting Italy. In 1831 he removed to Marseilles and established the more famous journal, *La Giovine Italia*, the origin of his party designation of "Young Italy." It was during his sojourn at Marseilles, as successful in diffusing contraband politics throughout Italy as if they had come duly licensed from the presses of Genoa and Leghorn, that Mazzini acquired a skill in evading the police which has con-

nected his name with so many of the European conspiracies and *canards* in our generation. In 1833 Mazzini appeared in Switzerland, and launched a small army against the Sardinian kingdom. The attempt failed, and he began again. In February 1834 a new expedition was sent over the border under the command of General Ramorino, but Ramorino turned traitor, and this expedition also failed. For three years he now remained quietly in Switzerland, but in the end the Swiss Republic was obliged to ask him to take refuge in London. He came here in 1837, and supported himself by keeping a school, while publishing a journal for Italian working men, called the *Apostolato Popolare*. During this time he kept up an active correspondence with his friends in Italy, and in the year 1844 attracted great public attention by a complaint that his letters had been opened in the English Post Office, and their contents communicated to the Italian Governments. At that time the Government of Naples was singularly obnoxious to Englishmen, and it was with a burst of indignation that the public learnt that Sir James Graham had got knowledge of the conspiracy of the brothers Bandiera by post-office espionage, and had warned the Neapolitan Government of it, and thus given over some noble and patriotic men to its vengeance. When Pope Pius IX. came to the chair of St. Peter, and seemed inclined to put himself at the head of the Liberal movement in Italy, Mazzini wrote to him from London, and the letter rallied the Italian Liberals at once to the Pope's side. The revolution of February followed, and Mazzini at once went to Paris to interest the newly enfranchised French in the cause of Italian freedom. M. de Lamartine encouraged him, and as the infection of French enthusiasm spread over the Peninsula, Mazzini found himself able to make his appearance first at Genoa then at Milan. When Radetzky took Milan, Mazzini joined the band of volunteers under Garibaldi, and afterwards retired to Lugano, whence he issued a famous manifesto, declaring that the war of the Kings was finished, and that of the people must begin. Rome threw off the yoke of the Papal Government, and declared itself a Republic. Soon after Mazzini himself went to Rome, where he was received with enthusiasm. When, at the end of March the news of the battle of Novara arrived in Rome, a second triumvirate was appointed by the Roman Assembly, and consisted of Signors Armellini, Mazzini, and Saffi.

This short experience of power was the culminating point of Mazzini's life. He

became the animating spirit of the Republic, and developed wonderful capacity for diplomacy, organization, and defence. He completely out-generalled M. de Lesseps, and when the French Envoy was repudiated by those who accredited him, and the siege of Rome was finally resolved on, Mazzini became the inspiring spirit of the resistance. An army was created, cannon were cast, and the crazy walls of Rome put into a state of defence. Nobly seconded by Garibaldi, who had but 14,000 troops under his command, Mazzini kept the French forces for two months outside the city. In July, however, the defence collapsed; the Assembly made terms with the invader; and Mazzini quitted Italy and took up his abode at Lausanne, in Switzerland.

At this period he made his name famous in France by addressing to M. de Tocqueville and other French statesmen some most bitter and reproachful letters on the high-handed policy pursued in that country; and, finding his Continental residence too hot to hold him, he returned to London, not, however, with any idea of abandoning his long-cherished hopes for Italian unity. It was at his instigation that the insurrections at Milan in 1853, and in Piedmont some three or four years later, were attempted. In 1859, while lending the whole weight of his influence to the revolutionary movements in Italy, he opposed with vigilance and foresight the threatened predominance of France in the South of Europe, and refused to place faith in the Liberal programme of the French Emperor. The Sicilian expedition of 1860 owed, perhaps, as much to the subtle prudence and secret organization of Mazzini as to the personal heroism of Garibaldi, with whom at one time, shortly after the return of the Austrians to Milan, he wandered about as a volunteer. How far it is true that in the course of subsequent events he helped on the cause of Italian unity, as his friends assert, or how far, by his impracticability, he stood in the way of the realization of Italian hopes, we must leave the future historian to decide. His warm advocates, however, do not scruple to assert that, "as the price of seeing an Italy strong enough to live her own life, even under a monarchical form of government, he willingly renounced the far dearer dream he had ever cherished of a united Italian Republic."

Of late years Mazzini's health was such as to help to keep him in comparative seclusion, although he still contrived to exercise a considerable, though silent, influence on the affairs of the Continent. Once, at least, he was elected by Messina as its representative; but he declined or



neglected to take his seat, and his election, consequently, was declared informal. Early in the present year he took up his residence at Geneva, where he was recently described as very feeble, shattered in health, and able to walk about on bright sunny days only by the help of a stick.

Mazzini was a copious writer. The list of his works fills nearly ten pages of the catalogue of the British Museum. A perfect master, not only of Italian, but of French and of English literature, he became years ago a commentator upon Dante, the author of works on philosophy, and a constant contributor to some of the most thoughtful periodical literature in Paris and in London. He could spare time from his philosophic study to provide for the relief and education of the poor Italian organ-boys who wander about the streets of London; and he would turn from the warfare of politics to write in his *Apostolato Popolare*, for the benefit of Italian workmen, sermons "on the duties of man." There is no more masterly analysis of the faults and shortcomings of the Economic and Socialist schools than that which he contributed some years ago to the columns of the *People's Journal*, or any more profound criticism on Thomas Carlyle's writings than that which is said to have proceeded from his pen in the *Westminster Review*. His works have been collected by Daelli, of Milan, into twelve volumes, which, if not already published in a complete form, are shortly to appear, with a dedication to Garibaldi.

In private life Giuseppe Mazzini was accomplished and courteous, and gifted with a genial manner which won regard almost instantly, at least unconsciously. In London he lived in the humblest manner, occupying often only a single room, and generously bestowing the earnings of his pen on the cause which ever lay nearest to his heart. His tall, gaunt form, long face, and high, narrow forehead must be familiar to many of our readers; and whatever we may think of his political opinions, few will be disposed to question the sincerity, even to fanaticism, of his devotion to one idea—the cause of Italian unity.

## April.

### MR. SAMUEL BAMFORD.

The *Manchester Examiner* reports the death of Mr. Samuel Bamford, on April

13, at his residence, Harpurhey, at the ripe age of 84. For the last fifteen months he had been bedridden, but in possession of all his mental faculties. He was born at Middleton in February 1788. His career was a remarkable one. He was successively a weaver, warehouseman, sailor, public secretary, bookseller, newspaper correspondent, and Government clerk, and was several times a political prisoner. His two chief works, "Passages in the Life of a Radical," and "Early Days," give a detailed account of his connexion with the political movements in Lancashire which brought him into notoriety. He wrote with great force and vigour on the political events of his earlier days, and described with much graphic power views which will ever be memorable to the working men of Lancashire. He has also written several poems of considerable merit. One of these, "The Pass of Death," first published in the *Morning Herald*, written shortly after the decease of George Canning, exhibits poetical power of no mean order.

### THE REV. H. BELLAIRS.

The Rev. H. Bellairs, one of the Trafalgar veterans, died on the 17th inst., in his 82nd year, at his residence near Torquay. He was the third son of A. Walford Bellairs, Esq., Uffington, in the county of Lincoln, descended from the Bellars of Kirkley Bellars, in the county of Leicester, seated there early in the twelfth century. At the age of 13 he entered the Navy, as midshipman, on board H.M.S. "Spartiate," and was present, and twice wounded, at Trafalgar, for which he received a sword from the Patriotic Fund and a medal from the Sovereign. He and his brother, the late Sir William Bellairs, afterwards held commissions in the 15th Hussars; and subsequently he entered holy orders and became Rector of Bedworth, in the county of Warwick, Vicar of Hunsingore, in the county of York, Hon. Canon of Worcester Cathedral, and one of the oldest magistrates for the county of Warwick. He married, May 30, 1811, Dorothy, youngest daughter (and co-heir with Mary, first wife of Field-Marshal the Earl of Stratford, and Sarah, wife of Captain Carmichael, 9th Dragoons) of Peter Mackenzie, Esq., of Grove House, Middlesex, by whom he leaves a large family, the eldest of whom is the Rev. Henry Walford Bellairs, Vicar of Nuneaton.

## PROFESSOR MAURICE.

The death is announced of the Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice, on April 1. He had been for some weeks in an enfeebled state of health, and succumbed ultimately to an attack of pleurisy. Born about 1805, the son of a Unitarian minister, Mr. Maurice was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, at an early age, and there formed a warm and lasting friendship with John Sterling, whose life has been written by Archdeacon Hare and Mr. Carlyle. Sterling, it is well known, always professed the greatest admiration for his character and profound insight, declaring that he owed more to him than to any other friend, except Coleridge. As a Dissenter, Maurice was obliged to renounce the hope of obtaining a degree at Cambridge: but a few years afterwards he felt at liberty to conform to the Church of England, when, instead of returning to his old University, he entered Exeter College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1831. Attention was first directed to his theological views some fifteen years later, when he was at the same time Professor of Divinity at King's College, London, and Chaplain and Reader at Lincoln's Inn. His sermons on the Old Testament, delivered in the chapel of the latter institution, drew audiences sometimes large, always attentive and select. Volume after volume of lectures, sermons, and essays was issued in rapid succession from the press, and ultimately an arrangement was made by which all his sermons without exception were printed. His views on Eternal Punishment caused much uneasiness to the authorities at King's College, and, after a fierce controversy, he was removed from his professorship; the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, however, remained faithful to their now distinguished chaplain. On his appointment to the incumbency of St. Peter's, Vere-street, he retired from Lincoln's Inn, and in 1866 resigned Vere-street to accept the Professorship of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge. The courage and independence which sustained Mr. Maurice through many painful conflicts were united in his character with a gentleness and self-abnegation which endeared him to all who came within the circle of his acquaintance. The working-classes have lost in him a friend who never flattered them, but who was never more happy than when he was labouring for their true interests. Not to speak of the impulse he gave to the study of the actual condition of those classes by his exertions in connexion with the Rev. Charles Kingsley, it is only a few months since he resigned the

presidency of the Working Men's College in Ormond-street, of which he was the founder.

## MR. HORACE MAYHEW.

The death of Mr. Horace Mayhew occurred at Kensington, suddenly, on April 30. As one of the "Brothers Mayhew," his name was well known to a large circle of readers and admirers. He was associated with his brothers Henry and Augustus in the production of a variety of farces, fairy tales, and other works of humorous fiction, including "The Greatest Plague of Life," "Whom to Marry and How to Get Married," and he was one of the earliest and most constant contributors to *Punch* in its palmiest days, both under the present editor and also under Mr. Mark Lemon, by whom he was at one time employed in a sub-editorial capacity. Mr. Mayhew was much beloved by a large circle of personal friends. Mr. Mayhew married a widow lady a year or two ago, but leaves no children. He was 56 years old, and his health has been precarious for a considerable time. The final cause of death was the rupture of a blood-vessel.

## MAJOR-GENERAL J. K. ROSS.

Major-General James Kerr Ross, K.H., died at Elmbank, Morningside, Edinburgh, on April 26, aged 81. The deceased officer entered the army March 19, 1807, and became lieutenant May 4, 1808. He served the campaigns of 1811-15 with the 92nd, including the actions of Arroyo de Molino, taking of Almaraz, defence of Alba de Tormes, battle of Vittoria, affair at the pass of Maya, battles of the Pyrenees (wounded in the left leg by a musket-ball), battles of the Nivelle and the Nive, taking the Heights of La Costa, battle of Orthes, action at Aire, battles of Toulouse, Quatre Bras (wounded in the left foot by a musket-ball), and battle of Waterloo (wounded in the right arm by a musket-ball). He attained the rank of captain October 22, 1818; became major June 7, 1831; lieutenant-colonel, November 9, 1846; colonel, June 20, 1854; and major-general, May 1, 1861. He had received the war-medal with six clasps for his services.

## THE EX-BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.

The Right Rev. Thomas Vowler Short, D.D., late Bishop of St. Asaph, died this month. He was born Sept. 16, 1790, son

of the Ven. William Short, Archdeacon of Cornwall, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of the Rev. Tillman Hodgkinson, Rector of Sarsden. Educated at Westminster, and at Christ Church, Oxford (where he was contemporary with Dean Milman, Bishop Hampden, Dr. Arnold, and other celebrities). He took his B.A. degree in 1812, was ordained, and shortly afterwards made Censor and Tutor of Christ Church and Curate of Cowley. He was for two years a public examiner in his University, and in 1821 was appointed Oxford Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. He subsequently became Rector of Stockleigh, Pomeroy, in 1823; Rector of Kingsworthy, near Winchester, in 1826; and Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, in 1834. He was consecrated, in 1841, to the Bishopric of Sodor and Man, and was translated, in 1846, to that of St. Asaph, from which he retired in 1869. His Lordship was the author of several theological and other works; amongst others, of "Sermons on some of the Fundamental Truths of Christianity," "Sketch of the History of the Church of England to the Revolution," &c. He married, Feb. 26, 1833, Mary, daughter of Charles Davies, Esq., and widow of the Rev. John Josias Conybeare; but had no issue.

#### MR. WESTMACOTT.

Mr. Richard Westmacott, R.A., the sculptor, died on the 19th inst. He was the eldest son of the late Sir Richard Westmacott, R.A., and was born in London in 1799. In 1820 he went to Italy, and studied there six years; not, however, under a master. He first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1827; he was elected an Associate in 1838, and full member in 1849. Amongst his best ideal works are "The Cymbal-player" (1832), in the Duke of Devonshire's collection; "Venus and Ascanius" and "Venus instructing Cupid," alto-relievos, in Lord Ellesmere's gallery; "Paolo and Francesca" (1838), an alto-relievo, in Lord Lansdowne's possession; "Blue Bell" (1836) and "The Butterfly" (1838), graceful bas-reliefs, in Lord Ellesmere's collection. The sculptor excelled in religious and monumental works. Among the best examples are the "Angel Watching," part of a large monumental group to the Ashburton family (1842); "Go, and sin no more" (1850); the recumbent monumental figure of the Archbishop of Canterbury (1850), in Canterbury Cathedral; and one of the late Earl

Hardwick, at Wimpole. He was almost exclusively engaged on monumental works and busts during the latter part of his career as a working sculptor; but for many years before his death Mr. Westmacott employed much of his time in teaching the theory of his art by lectures and writings. Many of his lectures have been published. The tendency of all his teaching was to maintain the superiority of the classical style, which also he followed in practice. Mr. Westmacott's death leaves a perceptible blank in the London art-world.

#### May.

##### THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

William Russell, eighth Duke of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, Earl of Bedford, Baron Russell and Baron Howland, died, on the 26th, after a few hours' illness, at his town residence in Belgrave-square. His Grace was born June 30, 1809, the only son of Francis, seventh Duke of Bedford, K.G., by Anna Maria, his wife, daughter of Charles, third Earl of Harrington, and was consequently nephew of Earl Russell. He succeeded his father May 14, 1861. The Duke took a true interest in the education of the poor, building and supporting schools of the best type, and largely assisting those already existing; he continued the erection of cottages, let at the lowest rents; he was a munificent restorer of churches, and assisted in the erection and the repair of parsonages; while requests for help in all descriptions of charitable efforts were always liberally met by him. As the late Duke never married, the honours of the great historic house of Russell and its vast estates pass to his first cousin, Francis Charles Hastings Russell, M.P. for Bedfordshire, eldest son of the late Major-General Lord George William Russell, G.C.B., by Elizabeth Anne, his wife, only child of the Hon. John Theophilus Rawdon. The present Duke was born Oct. 16, 1819; and married, Jan. 18, 1844, Lady Elizabeth Sackville West, daughter of George John, fifth Earl of Delawarr, by whom he has a son, George William Francis Sackville, Marquis of Tavistock, and other issue. His Grace's youngest brother is Mr. Odo Russell, Ambassador at Berlin.

##### LORD DALLING AND BULWER.

We have to announce the death of Lord Dalling and Bulwer (elder brother of Lord

Lytton), better known as Sir Henry Bulwer, the distinguished diplomatist. "Debrett's Peerage" contains the following biography of the deceased nobleman:—"Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer, P.C., G.C.B., first baron, son of the late General William Earle Bulwer, of Heydon Hall, Wood Dalling, Norfolk, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Warburton Lytton, Esq., of Knebworth. Born, 1804; was educated at Harrow, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and entered the 1st Life Guards as cornet 1824, exchanged as ensign to the 58th Foot 1826, and resigned 1829. Entered the diplomatic service 1829, and was attached successively to the British embassies at Berlin, Vienna, and the Hague. Was sent on a special mission to Brussels 1830, and in 1835 was made Secretary of Legation and Chargé d'Affaires at that Court. In 1837 was appointed Secretary of Embassy at Constantinople, and in 1838 to a similar position at Paris, and in 1840 was three times gazetted Interim Minister at the Court of France during the absence of the ambassador. Was Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid 1842-48, and at Washington 1849-52, Envoy Extraordinary at Tuscany 1852-55, Commissioner to investigate the state of the Principalities 1856-58, and Ambassador at Constantinople 1858-66. A Liberal in politics; sat as M.P. for Wilton in 1830, for Coventry 1831-32, for Marylebone 1834-37, and for Tamworth 1868-71, and was raised to the peerage in the latter year. Author of 'An Autumn in Greece,' 'France, Social and Literary,' 'The Monarchy of the Middle Classes,' 'Life of Lord Byron,' and 'Historical Characters.' Married, 1848, the Hon. Georgiana Charlotte, daughter of the first Baron Cowley, G.C.B., but, dying without issue, the title becomes extinct."

Book xii. of Lord Dalling's "Life of Lord Palmerston" is headed:—

"I go to Constantinople as Secretary of Embassy—State of things there—Characters of Khosroo and Reschid Pashas—Position of Mehemet Ali in Egypt."

This book might pass for a chapter of his own autobiography—a characteristic and most amusing one. Nothing can be better than his account of the way in which he contrived to get a Commercial Treaty from the Porte, or the sketch of that pre-occupation of the ambassadorial mind which left the field free for the operations of the Secretary:—

"A new rumour was every day in circulation. The French and English ambassadorial residences were then fixed within a stone's throw of each other, at

Therchia, a small village fronting the entrance into the Black Sea; and the two ambassadors, Admiral Pousin and Lord Ponsonby, each went to his window on getting out of bed, the one at six in the morning, the other at six in the afternoon, prepared to see without surprise the Russian fleet anchored under their eyes. It was, perhaps, the only point on which these representatives of the two countries agreed. . . ."

The Treaty was quietly settled and signed before the French Embassy, who had been long manœuvring for a similar one, were aware that it was in progress; and Bulwer had the gratification of announcing it to the French Secretary, "a charming man, who sang beautifully, was very gallant, and excelled in *calembourgs*," and had declared the Treaty an impossibility:—

"French Secretary.—Is it possible, my friend, that you have played us such a trick?"

"Bulwer.—What trick? We have only found possible what you believed impossible."

"French Secretary.—But what is to be done?"

"Bulwer.—Nothing more easy, my dear fellow; here is a copy of our Treaty, do you get another copy made and signed to-day, and then let the journal at Smyrna (a journal in the French pay) say that this happy result was entirely brought about by Admiral Pousin's influence and your great knowledge of commercial affairs."

The best of the joke was that the French Secretary followed this advice to the letter, and got the entire credit of both Treaties with his countrymen.

In December, 1849, Bulwer was named Plenipotentiary at Washington, where he raised an enduring monument to his diplomatic ability by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. In one of his last letters, dated "Rhoda-on-the-Nile, February 17, 1872," he writes:—

"I do regret indeed not being in England. The prophecy I made in withdrawing my motion about America has been too closely fulfilled. Of course the time to settle the question was when every sensible man in the United States was disgusted by Sumner's speech. By allowing it to lie on the public mind it sank into it, and has become now a semi-national theory. How, when our only inducement to make a treaty was to set this claim for indirect damages at rest we could frame one which opened it is to me miraculous. How they could introduce into such a document the term 'growing out of,' which would hardly occur to any

one but a market-gardener, is also a marvel. As to the confidence displayed in American statesmen, when I had to make a Treaty with them I took the trouble of going over all their own Treaties, and in important passages I only used such words as they had used in the sense in which they had used them. Then, when they began their usual disputes about interpretation, I quoted their own authority. All their own newspapers acknowledged I was right, and that I had outwitted Clayton, who died, they said, in consequence."

Bulwer was appointed Ambassador at Constantinople in succession to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who exercised an amount of influence to which no representative of a European Power has attained since, or is likely to attain again, partly owing to force of character, and partly to the state of things then, differing as it did so greatly from the present. Turkey is now practically, if not formally, placed under the guardianship or tutelage of the Five Powers—Austria, Prussia, Russia, France, and England—and no one of them could dictate or sway the counsels of the Sublime Porte as England occasionally did prior to the Crimean war. The position of Bulwer is correctly described in the "Conversations-Lexicon," where he is termed "the prop and pillar of the Palmerstonian policy in the East."

"France, Social, Literary, and Political," and the "Monarchy of the Middle Classes," besides being replete with acute observation and fine criticism, may still be consulted with advantage for the valuable information which they convey. Few Englishmen of our day knew the French better, for he had not limited his intercourse to the upper or the political class. He knew both the *grand monde* and the *demi-monde*; he was on the most intimate terms with all the authors and journalists of note, and one of the most celebrated of Georges Sand's novels ("Mauprat") was currently reported to have been suggested or inspired by him. His works are incomplete in many respects, especially as regards artistic finish, but most of them, especially the latest, derive a marked value and attraction from the circumstance that the author had been practically conversant with affairs, that he had been mixed up with the events he describes, that he had made, or assisted in making, as well as written, history.

Among his many personal gifts was one which almost exceptionally distinguished him. His temper was perfect, and it was not a temper painfully formed by habits of self-restraint. It arose from genuine sweetness of disposition, from unaffected

amiability, from a kind, gentle, affectionate nature. When he mingled in the polemics of diplomacy or literature, he wielded the weapon of controversy like a small sword, and "never carried away a heart-stain on the blade." His grace, his tact, his refinement of tone, his high-bred manner, made him a general favourite in society. He always talked his best, and always took up by preference the topics on which mind could meet mind and glowing thoughts or sparkling fancies might be struck out. He was past 68 when he died, but his vivacity was unabated, his vitality seemed unimpaired, and those who knew him best were so accustomed to see him overcoming matter by mind that they were no less startled than saddened by the announcement that the most delightful of companions, the truest and most sympathizing of friends, was taken from them.

#### ALFRED HENRY FORRESTER.

This writer, better known by the *nom de plume* of "Alfred Crowquill," died suddenly on the 26th, from heart disease. His remains were interred at Norwood Cemetery. Born in 1804, he entered upon literary and artistic pursuits at an early age, displaying a versatility which augured well for the future. He was associated with Theodore Hook in the first number of Colburn's *New Monthly*, and with Father Prout, Dr. Magin, "Ingoldsby," and Albert Smith in *Bentley*. He was also one of the early contributors to *Punch*. All who have read his later works will allow that he was a writer of no ordinary talents. Among other things, he could dash off a little tale with rare humour, infuse much spirit into a song, and win the attention of children by such works as the "Careless Chicken" and "Fairy Footsteps." Moreover, from the time of M. Jullien and Mr. Charles Kean to Christmas last his name was occasionally before the public as an author of burlesques. Nor were his talents confined to literature. As an artist he produced no less an impression. His drawings on wood, his etchings, his caricatures, his pen-and-ink drawings, were often masterly. But perhaps the best proof of his talent in this respect is to be found in his zoological sketches, in which he succeeded in imparting to his animals characteristics peculiarly "human."

#### MR. R. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Robert Gladstone, of Manchester, one of the most distinguished merchants of that city, died in London, on Wednes-

day evening, May 1. Mr. Robert Gladstone was the fourth son of the late Mr. Robert Gladstone, of Liverpool, younger son of the late Sir John Gladstone, of Fasque, and first cousin of the present Sir Thomas Gladstone, and of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. He was born in 1811, at Liverpool, and was at first intended for the Bar, but at an early age gave up the profession of the law and settled in Manchester, where he entered largely into commercial pursuits connected with the cotton trade, trading chiefly with our Indian possessions. He was twice married—first to Miss Hinde, of Lancaster, and second to Miss Hinde, cousin of his first wife, who survives him. He leaves four sons and two daughters. His residence was Highfield House, Cheetham Hill, which he left on Saturday on a visit to Suffolk and London. In politics he was a Liberal-Conservative, but he was better known for his open-handed beneficence than as a politician, and gave largely to the charities of the neighbourhood and to the building of churches. He was a borough and county magistrate, and a member of the Manchester School Board. His death was very sudden, he being attacked after his arrival at London on Wednesday evening with sudden illness, which terminated his life in the space of a few minutes.

#### MR. G. R. GRAY.

We have to record the death of Mr. George Robert Gray, assistant-keeper of the Zoological Department in the British Museum. The *Athenæum* says, in an obituary notice, "The trustees of the British Museum have lost an able and accomplished officer, and students of natural history will regret him as the oldest and perhaps the most skilled representative of the science of ornithology in England. Mr. Gray was born at Chelsea in 1808, and was the son of Mr. Samuel Frederick Gray, a well-known writer on chemistry, pharmacy, and natural history. He was early imbued with a love for natural history, and so long ago as 1829 contributed descriptions of some new species to Griffiths's translation of Cuvier's "Règne Animal." In 1837 he commenced the publication of the "Genera of Birds, comprising their Generic Characters, illustrated with figures by D. W. Mitchell," London, 3 vols. 4to. The publication of this work, which was brought out in a most beautiful and attractive form, at once gave its author a high reputation among English na-

turalists. Since that time he has contributed numerous papers to scientific journals and the transactions of learned societies. In 1831 Mr. Gray obtained an appointment in the Natural History Department of the British Museum, to which he was introduced through the influence of the late Mr. Children, who was well acquainted with him, and knew with what zeal he prosecuted the study of natural history. He had previously arranged for Mr. Children himself a valuable cabinet of entomology belonging to that gentleman. Many of the catalogues of natural history published by the Museum trustees are from Mr. Gray's pen, and are looked upon as masterpieces of their kind, especially those on birds. Mr. Gray was also the author of several independent works on subjects of natural history, such as the entomology of Nepal, the entomology of Australia, &c. Mr. Gray was recently elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was likewise member of numerous home and foreign natural history societies. He died on May 5th of paralysis of the brain, after having been insensible for about a fortnight.

#### COMMANDER HAMILTON.

Commander Hamilton, R.N., died at Spring Grove, Middlesex, on May 14, in the 84th year of his age. He entered the Royal Navy in August, 1799, on board H.M.S. "Resolution," seventy-four guns, and served in her as volunteer of the first class and as midshipman, under Captains William Mitchell and Lord Gardner, in the English Channel, and in Bantry Bay during the mutiny of the seamen of the fleet, North Sea, and West Indies, until July, 1802, when that ship was paid off in consequence of peace with France. His subsequent services were many and important, and during a period of seventeen years of war he was personally engaged more than forty times, and at the attack and capture of several important cities—viz., Copenhagen, St. Domingo, Washington, New Orleans, and Mobile, besides a great number of the enemy's vessels of war, privateers, and letters of marque; but, after repeated applications to the late Lord Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, for active service, which applications were enforced by letters from the late Earl of Dunmore and Sir Alexander Cochrane, finding them ineffectual, Lieutenant Hamilton retired upon half-pay.

## MR. M. W. SAVAGE.

Marmion Savage was once famous as the author of "The Falcon Family," "The Bachelor of the Albany," "Reuben Medicott," "My Uncle the Curate," and other works belonging to the soundest and most entertaining literature of fiction of the period. The author was a native of Ireland, and lived many years in Dublin, where he filled a responsible office in the Government. The comparative obscurity of his name in the literary world was owing to the circumstance that, as his early productions touched upon political topics, especially in connexion with the freaks of "Young Ireland," about which public opinion in the "Sister Island" was at the time extremely susceptible, the author, not deeming it advisable in his official capacity to engage in party polemics, assumed a *nom de plume*, to which he subsequently clung from habit, when all cause for concealment was removed. He settled in England in 1856, and for two or three years edited the *Examiner*. His health, however, broke down, partly from over exertion, and he removed from London to Torquay, where he died on the 1st of this month after prolonged sufferings. He was, some years ago, not unfrequently to be seen at Lady Morgan's, one of whose nieces, Olivia, a lady of uncommon attractions and accomplishments, was his first wife. Mr. Savage's only son by this lady died in early youth, and he leaves no offspring by his second wife. Mr. Savage was a thorough scholar, and his writings are distinguished as much for correct tact and exquisite finish as by that "quiet humour" for which the present generation, somewhat blunted by the stronger manner of its own "sensational" writers, seems rapidly to be losing all relish.

## June.

## MR. J. GORDON BENNETT.

Mr. James Gordon Bennett, the well-known editor and proprietor of the *New York Herald*, died on Sunday, June 2. Mr. Bennett was born in the year 1800, at New Mill, Banffshire, Scotland, of a French-Scotch ancestry, and received his chief education in a Roman Catholic seminary at Aberdeen, being intended for holy orders in that Church. He had already disclosed an unfitness for the profession of a priest, when there fell in his way a copy of Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography. He was seventeen years of

age when he read this work, and it made him resolve to emigrate to America. In May, 1819, he landed at Halifax, with less than five pounds, and entirely friendless. There are traditions that he was at this time a sentimental, romantic youth of high aspirations, and that he wrote Byronic verse. Having reached Boston he was reduced to utter want; but after a time he obtained a situation as proof-reader in an Englishman's printing-house. In 1822 he made his way to New York, where he lived by means of odd jobs on newspapers. After starting a school, which scarcely got beyond the prospectus, and delivering a course of lectures in a Dutch church on Political Economy, Bennett fell back upon the Press, and was for some years employed in a subordinate capacity on various journals, earning thereby the scantiest subsistence. But he was indefatigable, and, according to one of his biographers, "had no tendency to any youthful vices, or even indulgences." It is said that "during his entire life he never once smoked or gambled, nor even in any instance ate or drank beyond what was required for the barest needs of life." About 1825 Mr. Bennett became associated with the *Inquirer*, and went to Washington to be its correspondent. It is said that, while reading "Horace Walpole's Letters" in the Congressional Library, he conceived the idea of writing similar ones from Washington. The letters made "a hit." They were lively, unscrupulous, and full of personal gossip concerning eminent personages of both sexes at the capital. While he was writing these once-famous letters, he is said to have written enormous quantities of articles of every conceivable kind, from a police report to a love-story, his poetical effusions being still frequent. After a time he got a little capital together, and started a paper called the *Globe*, which lived one month; afterwards another, which also failed; and on May 6, 1835, appeared the first number of the *New York Herald*, price one cent, its office being a cellar.

In its first leader the new paper disclaimed "all principle—all party—all politics." The *Herald* was to go in for news. From the first the tone of the paper was that of a coarse cynicism. The editor was willing to joke with everything and everybody, not even sparing his own squint eye, and willing, when he had, been assaulted by an aggrieved damsel to make money out of his wounds by printing a minute account of the transaction, and placarding his bulletin board with "James Gordon Bennett horsewhipped by a woman! See *Herald*." He was

more especially fond of parading clerical scandals, and making fun of Churches generally. He claimed to be a Catholic, and would begin an article with "The holy Roman Catholic Church (all of us Catholics are devilish holy)," &c. He would sum up a great theological controversy thus:—"Great trouble among the Presbyterians just now. The question in dispute is whether or not a man can do anything towards saving his own soul." During one of the great commercial panics of New York he is said to have announced that on a certain day the *Herald* would publish a list of all the solvent traders in the city. Needless to say that he had a perfect concourse of people willing to pay for a place in such a list. A day or two after he announced that a forthcoming *Herald* would contain a list of all the traders of doubtful position. It is equally needless to say that any amount of dollars was to be obtained for the exclusion of names from that alarming catalogue.

The industry of the editor, his great ability, his wide acquaintance with adventurers, his knowledge of French and Spanish, combined to enable him to make a newspaper which had an eye in every part of the world. No island of the South Seas was too far off—no village of the farthest savage tribes was too insignificant to escape notice. Its correspondence was brief, spicy, and exceedingly various, and of the immense floating population of New York it would be rare that one could read the *Herald* for a week without coming across something from the region that most concerned him. Under Mr. Bennett's control the *New York Herald*, during the generation through which it has lasted, has received the scorn of the earnest, the condemnation of the respectable Americans; it has been the fashion to disapprove and to deplore its influence; fathers of families have considered it necessary that it should never enter their households; but meanwhile it has been the newspaper of the counting-room, the organ of commerce, and the medium of information to millions. In 1864 President Lincoln recognized it by openly offering the editor the mission to France, to secure the support of his paper—a position which Mr. Bennett did not consider of equal importance to that which he already occupied, and consequently declined.

#### THE REV. W. ELLIS.

This veteran missionary and historian of missions, connected with the London

Missionary Society from the year 1814, was born in 1795, and, having been educated for the ministry and ordained in the Independent or Congregational religious communion, went out in 1816 to the South Sea Islands. He was accompanied by his first wife, having married Miss Charlotte Moore, a young lady devoted, like himself, to the missionary service. In 1823 he joined the deputation sent to the Sandwich Islands in H.M.S. "Mermaid." Having returned to England in 1826, he published the narrative of "A Tour in Hawaii," which was followed by his "Polynesian Researches." In 1832 he was appointed foreign secretary to the London Missionary Society. This post he held during seven years, but the state of his health obliged him to resign it. His first wife died in 1835, and he married, two years afterwards, Miss Sarah Stickney, the well-known authoress of "The Women of England," and other treatises on female education. Having recovered his health, Mr. Ellis went on a missionary errand to Madagascar, which country he visited again in 1853, and a third time in 1861, staying there till 1865. He wrote a "History of Madagascar," giving an interesting account of the state of its people, and he exerted himself, with good success, to restore the Christian missions originally established there under the protection of Radama, but overthrown by the cruel persecutions in the reign of Queen Ranavelo, upon whose death her son adopted a policy more favourable to the welfare of his subjects. Mr. Ellis was upon one occasion invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury to take orders in the Episcopal Church of England, with a view to his consecration as Bishop of Madagascar; but he felt it his duty to decline this proposal. He was author of several books in addition to those above mentioned—a "Vindication of the South Sea Missions," a "History of the London Missionary Society," and "Three Visits to Madagascar." The name of Mrs. Ellis is equally well known in literature.

#### THE DEAN OF LINCOLN.

The Very Rev. James Amiraux Jermie, D.D., Dean of Lincoln, died on the 11th. He was born in Guernsey, in 1802, and was educated first at Blundell's School, Tiverton, in Devonshire, then at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1824, the first year of the classical tripos. He was



afterwards elected a Fellow of his college. While at the University he twice gained the Norrisian Divinity prize, and once the Hulsean prize, for essays upon the evidences of Christianity. In 1833 he was appointed Christian Advocate in the University, upon which occasion he wrote a special treatise. In that year he was elected to the classical professorship of the East India Company's Civil Service College at Haileybury. About the same time he was ordained, and the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Kaye, chose him for his Examining Chaplain. Some years after he joined the staff of professors at Haileybury, the office of Dean of that college became vacant, and Dr. Jeremie was selected to hold it. His classical scholarship, his faculty as a teacher, and his kindly sympathy with young men, had gained him the esteem of the students; but the manner in which he maintained the discipline of the college, the moral influence that he exercised, and his religious exhortations, were singularly effective for good. There is reason to think that Dr. Jeremie's labours at Haileybury contributed in no slight measure to the formation of that high and firm tone of character in the East India Civil Service which was signally displayed when the mutiny of 1857 broke out. In 1848 he was appointed Sub-Dean and Canon Residentiary in Lincoln Cathedral, and in 1850 was nominated by Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, to the Regius Professorship of divinity in the University, on the elevation of the Right Rev. Dr. Alfred Ollivant to the bishopric of Llandaff. With the professorship he held the valuable living of Somersham, Hunts, which is annexed to it by Act of Parliament. In 1864, on the death of the Very Rev. Dr. Garnier, Lord Palmerston nominated him to the deanery of Lincoln, which he held until his death. In 1852, at the request of Archbishop Sumner, he preached the Latin "Concio ad clerum" before the newly-elected Convocation at St. Paul's. Amongst his published works are many Haileybury, commemoration, funeral, and other sermons. Some time ago Dr. Jeremie resigned the Regius Professorship, and was succeeded in it by Canon Westcott, B.D. The Dean was never married.

#### CHARLES LEVER.

By a telegram from Trieste we learn of the death of the well-known Irish novelist, Mr. Charles Lever, on June 1, from disease of the heart. He had been known

to be ailing and suffering from extreme depression, the cause of which is most touchingly alluded to in the dedication to his last work, which, published as a serial in the *Cornhill Magazine*, has only just been issued in a complete form:—"To the memory of one whose companionship made the happiness of a long life, and whose loss has left me helpless, I dedicate these volumes, written in breaking health and broken spirits. The task that was once my joy and pride I have lived to find associated with my sorrow; it is not then without a cause I say, I hope this effort may be my last." Lever was probably as much liked as Dickens or Thackeray, though much less admired: for his writings, which bore no comparison to theirs in the degree of genius and literary power, were quite as full of pleasant humour, and made personal friends of all his readers. Irish gentlemen and sportsmen, officers of crack regiments, gallant young diplomatic attachés at foreign Courts, all brisk fellows, fast riding, shooting, carousing, flirting, travelling, joking, and finessing in the game of a free competition for love and glory, were subjects that Mr. Lever knew how to make attractive. They were more to the taste of many readers, thirty years ago, than such figures as might be found in either the sordid or the splendid regions of London life. Mr. Lever had a patent for their production, as other writers of fiction, high and low, the Bulwer, Disraeli, Dickens, Thackeray, and Ainsworth of that day, had their patents for different sorts. The vein of Lever was genuine and richly fertile; he worked it out with consummate skill, and has fairly earned the praises of his day and generation. His personal history was not remarkably eventful. He was born at Dublin, in 1809, the son of an architect. He was educated partly at Trinity College, Dublin, partly at the University of Gottingen. Having studied for the medical profession, and got a physician's diploma, he practised at Derry and Coleraine, holding there an official post of great labour and responsibility during the cholera visitation of 1832. His services were rewarded with the appointment of physician to the British Legation at Brussels. It was there he wrote "Harry Lorrequer," which appeared in monthly shilling parts, like "Pickwick" and "Nickleby," with laughable illustrations drawn by "Phiz." It won the applause of a host of delighted readers by the racy fun and healthy vivacity of spirit which pervade its bustling adventures. "Charles O'Malley, the Irish Dragoon," "Tom Burke of Ours," and "Jack Hinton, the Guardsman,"

carried on the series of these lively narratives of "a way they have in the army," which was brought to a climax in "Our Mess." The author next devoted his attention more especially to representing the half-feudal, half-patriarchal Irish aristocracy of a past age in its most genial and characteristic aspects. "The O'Donoghue," "St. Patrick's Eve," "Roland Cashel," "Luttrel of Arran," and "The Knight of Gwynne" were examples of the treatment of subjects chosen from the social history of Ireland, not unworthy of a place similar to that of the Waverley novels as illustrations of Scottish life. But Mr. Lever, except while he conducted the *Dublin University Magazine*, from 1842—1845, was residing mostly on the Continent, and his stock of Irish experiences wore out. He dwelt some time in a German castle he had hired in the Tyrol, whence he removed to Florence, as his daughters grew up, for the sake of their education. In 1858 he was appointed British Consul at Spezzia. By this time he had begun to introduce a large mixture of foreign scenes and situations with the Irish element in his stories. Travelling families on the tour of Europe, with the cosmopolitan rogues, vagabonds, and pretenders to rank and fashion, by whom they were sometimes assailed, came into the novels of that period. "The Dodd Family," "The Daltons," "The Martins of Cro' Martin," and "Davenport Dunn" belong, more or less, to the same class. In another kind of fictions, such as "Arthur O'Leary," "Con Cregan," and "Horace Templeton" there was a manifest intention to excite our interest rather in the fortunes of an individual than in the peculiarities of a class habit common to many people. "Con Cregan" has been well called an Irish "Gil Blas;" it is the autobiography of a lucky scamp. The later stories of Mr. Lever have been of a higher tone; and in "Sir Brooke Fosbrooke," "That Boy of Norcott's," and "Lord Kilgobbin," if he had lost much of his former dashing force, he seemed to have gained a sounder conception of the more serious aspects of life and character. He had, since 1867, been resident at Trieste, to which Consular station he was promoted from that of Spezzia. He was to the last a very industrious writer, contributing, at the same time, to the *Cornhill Magazine*, the most recent stories above named; and to *Blackwood* his commentaries on political and other topics of the day, under the *nom de plume* of "Cornelius O'Dowd." A literary career of thirty years, attended with success as fairly merited, in its measure, as that of his

more highly-gifted contemporaries, has reached its natural termination.

#### DR. NORMAN MACLEOD.

The popularity of Dr. Norman Macleod, both as an apostle of liberal Christianity and a contributor to the current English literature of the day, was great, not only in North Britain, but south of the Tweed; and in the Colonies, in India, and in the United States of America, his merits were justly esteemed. His writings and preachings, though of sterling good quality, were scarcely the best of him; it was by the genial virtues of his personal character, by the winning presence and behaviour of the man, that he gained the strongest hold upon large numbers of his countrymen. Generous and courageous frankness, good humour and harmless fun, combined with heartfelt piety and evangelical zeal, made this Scottish minister of religion a favourite with all classes, and in the world as in the Church. But the influence he possessed was so generally understood, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it here, or to compare his example with that of others in a similar position, who have preferred to rely upon sacerdotal pretensions or theological pedantries of one kind and another, instead of "becoming all things to all men" for the sake of conciliating estranged minds to a sublime and beneficent faith. The career of Norman Macleod was not very eventful in its outward incidents. He was born at Campbelltown, Argyleshire, in 1812, a son of the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal, Holyrood, and minister of St. Columba's, Glasgow, but sometime of Morven, that "Highland parish" in a wild district of Western Scotland, which the son has well described. He was educated partly at the University of Glasgow, next at a German University, and finally at the University of Edinburgh. We have seen many instances, in this generation, of the fine educational product of such a combination between the academical influences of Scotland and Germany, which have been happily united in training some of the brightest men of our time. Norman Macleod, having studied divinity at Edinburgh under Chalmers, was ordained in the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and in 1838 became minister of the parish of Loudoun, in Ayrshire, whence he removed, in 1843, to Dalkeith, near Edinburgh. He refrained from taking part in the Disruption and Free Kirk movement. In 1850 he was sent by the General Assembly on a mission to

Canada for business in the affairs of the Church. About this time he undertook the editorship of the *Edinburgh Christian Magazine*, which he conducted ten years. In 1851 he accepted a call to the important ministry of the Barony Church at Glasgow, where his pastoral duties, including the founding and superintending home missions, charities, and schools, were made very onerous by the wants of a teeming poor population. In October, 1854, he chanced to preach before the Queen, who thus speaks of him in her "Journal of Our Life in the Highlands:"—"We went to kirk, as usual, at twelve o'clock. The service was performed by the Rev. Norman Macleod, of Glasgow, son of Dr. Macleod, and any thing finer I never heard. The sermon (entirely extempore) was quite admirable—so simple and so eloquent, and so beautifully argued and put. The text was from the account of the coming of Nicodemus to Christ by night (St. John, chap. iii.). Mr. Macleod showed in the sermon how we all tried to please self and live for that, and in so doing found no rest. Christ had come not only to die for us, but to show how we were to live. The second prayer was very touching; his allusions to us were so simple, saying, after his mention of us, 'Bless their children!' It gave me a lump in my throat; as also when he prayed for 'the dying, the wounded, the widows, and the orphans.' Every one came back delighted, and how satisfactory it is to come back from church with such feelings! The servants and the Highlanders, *all* were quite delighted."

The Queen appointed Dr. Norman Macleod (he took his degree of D.D. in 1858) one of her chaplains for Scotland, and made him Dean of the Order of the Thistle. He remained till death in the ministry of his great city parish; but in 1860, when Mr. Strahan, the enterprising publisher, now of Ludgate-hill, London, started the monthly magazine called *Good Words*, its editorship was entrusted to Dr. Macleod, who has carried it on with entire success. The numerous essays, stories, sketches, and songs or verse compositions written by him for that journal, some of which have been reprinted in separate or collective volumes, will be gratefully remembered by a hundred thousand readers. His high personal character and social influence were exerted also in procuring the literary assistance of several distinguished persons—the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Gladstone, and some eminent prelates of the English Church—who would otherwise probably not have consented to write for a popular magazine.

Dr. Norman Macleod made the tour of Palestine, and visited India in 1867, being commissioned on the latter occasion to inspect the Scottish Church Missions. He has reported his observations in pleasant books of travel. It was his intention to have gone to America this year. The last sermon he preached was one before the Queen, at the Crathie parish church, near Balmoral, on the 29th ult., and on the 16th inst. he died, having long suffered from a disease of the membrane around the heart, supposed to have been caused by exposure in his travels, and to have been aggravated by his severe labours. He was Moderator, or President, of the General Assembly of the Church in 1869. It has seemed fittest here to speak of him as known to the general British public of laymen, without reference to ecclesiastical controversies in Scotland—the Sabbath question, the patronage question, or niceties of theological doctrine. Whatever may be thought of these matters, Dr. Norman Macleod was a good Christian and a man of good sense, having, moreover, "a good report of them which are without."

#### COLONEL SYKES, M.P.

This well-known member of the House of Commons died on Sunday, June 16. The late Colonel Sykes was the son of Mr. Samuel Sykes, a representative of a branch of the Sykeses of Yorkshire, and was born in the year 1790. Having received his education privately, he joined the Bombay army in 1804, and in the following year served under Lord Lake at Bhurtpore. At the battles of Kirkee and Poonah he was in command of a regiment of native troops, and we find him again actively employed in the Deccan in 1817 and 1818. In 1824 he was engaged by the Government of Bombay as a statistical reporter—a position which he held till he finally quitted India in 1831. Two years afterwards he attained the rank of colonel, and in 1840 he was elected to a seat at the Board of Directors of the East India Company. He had already given his services to the public gratuitously as a Royal Commissioner in Lunacy. In March, 1854, he was elected Lord Rector of Marischall College and Aberdeen University. He was subsequently chosen deputy-chairman of the East India Company, and served as chairman in 1857-58. He had represented the city of Aberdeen in the advanced Liberal interest since 1857, having been rechosen at each general election since that date. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and of many other learned societies

at home and abroad, and he had held the presidential chairs of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Statistical Society of London, and of the Society of Arts. In 1856 he received from the citizens of Bombay a medal in recognition of his strong advocacy of a system of education for the natives; and only a year or two since a handsome silver candelabrum was subscribed for and presented to him by the officers of the Indian army, "in grateful appreciation of his persevering and disinterested advocacy in the House of Commons of the rights and privileges" of that body. Colonel Sykes was the author of numerous works on scientific and literary questions of the day, including "Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of Ancient India;" "The Origin and Progress of the Taeping Rebellion in China;" "The Organization and Cost of the English and French Armies and Navies;" and of upwards of sixty papers published in the transactions of various learned societies, mainly on the ancient history, antiquities, statistics, geology, natural history, and meteorology of India.

## July.

### GENERAL GRIFFITH, R.A.

The death of General Julius George Griffith, of the Royal (late Bombay) Artillery, took place at Boulogne on July 31. General Griffith, who was in his 81st year at the time of his death, obtained his first commission in the East India Company's service as first lieutenant in 1810, and was senior officer on the Bombay list, and was appointed colonel-commandant of the 21st brigade of the Royal Artillery in July, 1845. He was present with Colonel East's force on April 20, 1811, at the storm and capture of the forts of Chyah, in Kattywar, and the capitulation of the forts of Poseitra and Okamundel in August the same year; also at the siege of Nowannuggur, under the command of Colonel Lionel Smith, on February 24, 1812. He served with the first troop of Horse Artillery throughout the Deccan campaign of 1814 to 1817, under the command of Brigadier-General Sir Lionel Smith; at the capture of the city of Poona, for which he received a medal and clasp; was present on February 11, 1818, at the siege of Sattara, the taking of the hill forts of Singhur, Foorundhur, and at the capitulation of the hill forts of Chundea, Wunder, Kenzighur, Jooner,

Chowan, and Joodhun, in the Deccan, in May and June, 1818; and also at the taking of Hurrichunderghur, by the force under Major Eldridge. For his services in the Deccan he received the thanks of the Government. The venerable general's commissions bore date as follows:—First lieutenant, May 27, 1810; captain, February 2, 1816; major, September 28, 1827; lieutenant-colonel, May 6, 1833; colonel, July 3, 1845; major-general, June 20, 1854; lieutenant-general, February 4, 1859; and general, September 7, 1866.

### THE HON. BARON HUGHES.

The Hon. Henry George Hughes, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, died on the 22nd inst. Called to the Bar in 1834, he rose rapidly into practice in the Courts of Equity, and obtained a silk gown in 1844. His practice was very great, especially in the Rolls Court, where he held briefs in all the most important cases of his time. In 1850 he was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland, and sat in Parliament for the county of Longford from 1856-7. In 1858, on the return of the Whigs to power, he resumed the office of Solicitor-General, and in 1859 was raised to the Bench. As a Judge he was esteemed not only for his great legal acquirements and his sound common-sense, but also for his courtesy of manner and kindness of heart. Baron Hughes married Sarah, daughter of Major L'Estrange, and leaves two daughters, the elder of whom, Anna, is wife of the Right Hon. Michael Morris, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland.

### PRESIDENT JUAREZ.

A New York telegram announces the death, on the 18th, from apoplexy, of Juarez, the President of Mexico.

The deceased was born in 1802, and commenced his political career in 1833 as a member of the State Legislature. In 1846 he was elected a member of Congress, and from 1848 to 1852 was Governor of his native State. He was banished in 1853 by Santa Anna, but became Minister of Justice under Santa Anna's successor, and Secretary of State under the next President, Comonfort. On Comonfort's overthrow, in 1858, Juarez became President. It was not until 1861, however, that he was formally installed,

the Church party having until then disputed power with him. Juarez at once became involved in a dispute with England, France, and Spain, by his decree suspending all payments to the public creditors for two years; and although England and Spain withdrew their forces they had landed, those of France remained, for the purpose of placing the Archduke Maximilian on the throne as Emperor. This they succeeded in doing in 1864. Juarez ultimately, however, defeated Maximilian's forces, and Maximilian himself, having been betrayed into his hands, was tried by court-martial, and executed in June, 1867. In October of the same year Juarez was re-elected president, and he still held the office at the time of his death.

#### MR. AUGUSTUS SMITH.

Augustus Smith, Esq., of Tresco Abbey, Isles of Scilly, and Ashlyn's Hall, Herts, J.P. and D.L., died at Plymouth, on the 31st. He was born September 15, 1804, the elder son of James Smith, Esq. (who purchased the estate of Ashlyn's Hall, Herts, 1801, and served as High Sheriff of that county in 1831), by Mary Isabella, his second wife, daughter of Augustus Pechell, Esq. His grandfather, Samuel Smith, Esq., was nephew of Abel Smith, whose grandson, Robert, was created Lord Carrington in 1796. Mr. Augustus Smith was educated at Harrow, and at Christ Church, Oxford. He subsequently purchased the Scilly Islands, Cornwall, and was M.P. for Truro from 1857 to 1865, advocating extreme Liberal measures. He died unmarried. His only surviving brother, Robert Algernon Smith, Esq., took, by royal licence, 1845, the additional surname and arms of Dorrien, and is of Haresfoot, Herts.

#### MR. H. TIDEY.

We have to record the death, on the 21st, of Mr. Henry Tidey, long a distinguished member of the Institute of Painters in Water Colours. In the early part of his career Mr. Tidey confined himself principally to painting portraits in water colours, and was a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy. Since his election as a member of the Institute, however, he devoted himself almost exclusively to painting subject-pictures. These were either illustrations of various poets, Scriptural themes, fanci-

ful female groups, or single figures, or subjects from child-life; but all were marked by graceful and pure poetic feeling, if somewhat conventional in treatment. Examples of the painter are in the collections of her Majesty, the Duke of Manchester, Mr. F. Fuller, and other eminent collectors. Mr. Tidey was a vice-president of the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, at whose réunions he delivered some admirable lectures on Beauty and kindred subjects. He was also a member of the committee of the new British Institution.

#### DR. W. TURNER.

The death of the Right Rev. Dr. William Turner, Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, is announced as having occurred very suddenly, on July 13, at his residence at Salford, after an illness of only two hours' duration. He was about to start that day for Stonyhurst College, in order to administer confirmation on Sunday to a number of the boys. He was in his 72nd year, having been born at Preston on September 25, 1800. Having held the charge of some important missions in the north of England, he was nominated the first bishop of the Roman Catholic see of Salford shortly after the restoration of the hierarchy, and was consecrated at Salford by Cardinal Wiseman in July, 1851. He was appointed assistant at the Pontifical Throne in 1862.

#### SIR JAMES O'CONNELL, BART.

Sir James O'Connell, Bart., of Lakeview, in the county of Kerry, died at his seat, Killarney, on the 28th, in his 87th year. He was the youngest and last surviving son of Morgan O'Connell, Esq., of Cashen, in the county of Kerry, by Catherine O'Mullane, his wife, and was consequently brother of Daniel O'Connell, of Darrinane Abbey, the famous popular leader. Sir James was remarkable for his fund of anecdote, his pithy remarks, and his conversational qualities. He was created a Baronet October 29, 1869. Sir James married, March 31, 1818, Jane, daughter of O'Donoghue of the Glens, and by her (who died April 15, 1867) leaves, with other issue, his eldest son and heir, now Sir Maurice James O'Connell, second Baronet, born October 31, 1821, who served as High Sheriff of Kerry 1850-1; he married, January 6, 1855, Emily Clunes, daughter of Rear-

Admiral Sir Richard O'Connor, K.C.B., by whom he has several children.

## August.

### ALDERMAN HALE.

Mr. Warren Stormes Hale, one of the aldermen of the City of London, died at his residence at Hampstead on August 23. He was in the 82nd year of his age, and had lately been in failing health. The intelligence of his death produced a profound feeling of regret in the Corporation, where, and indeed among the citizens in general, he had been long held in high esteem for the conspicuous public services he rendered in connexion with Lord Brougham and others, nearly forty years ago, in reconstituting the City of London School, at which on its present footing about 600 pupils are now regularly educated, instead of the "four poor boys," sons of citizens, for whom it was originally endowed, about 300 years ago, by John Carpenter, a famous town clerk of London. Mr. Hale was also chiefly instrumental in promoting the foundation of the Freeman's Orphan School by the Corporation of London. He was originally a member of a respectable family settled at Benington, in Hertfordshire, and came to London in 1804, when he apprenticed himself to his eldest brother, Mr. Ford Hale, who had then established himself as a manufacturer. In 1812 he married a daughter (now deceased) of the late Alderman Lea, by whom he leaves one son and two daughters. Like his eldest brother, Mr. Hale became a successful man of business, and took a keen interest in civic affairs, especially interesting himself in the promotion of education. He served the office of Sheriff of London in 1858, and in 1864 attained to the dignity of Lord Mayor.

### THE DUKE OF LEEDS.

The Duke of Leeds died on the 8th, at Gogmagog Hills, his seat near Cambridge, after a protracted illness, which reached its climax a few hours before his death. The late George Godolphin Osborne, eighth Duke of Leeds, and Marquis of Carmarthen, Earl of Danby, Viscount Latimer of Danby; Baron Osborne of Kiveton, Yorkshire, in the peerage of England; Baron Godolphin of Farnham Royal, in the county of Buckingham, in

the peerage of the United Kingdom; and Viscount Dunblane, Perthshire, in the peerage of Scotland, was the eldest son of Lord Godolphin, second son of Francis Godolphin, fifth Duke. He was born in 1802, and married October 21, 1824, Miss Harriette Arundel-Stewart, by whom (she died in 1852) he had a numerous family. George Godolphin, Marquis of Carmarthen (his successor in the dukedom), was born August 11, 1828, and married, January 16, 1861, Fanny Georgiana, second daughter of George, fourth Baron Rivers, and Lady of the Bedchamber to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. The deceased duke succeeded his cousin as eighth duke May 4, 1859.

### BARON RICHARDS.

The death is reported from Dublin of the Right Hon. John Richards, late a Baron of the Irish Exchequer, at the age of upwards of 80 years. The son of the late Mr. John Nunn Richards, of Hermitage, county Wexford, the late judge was born in 1790; he was educated in Trinity College, Dublin, where he took the usual degrees. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1811. Having held for some years a judgeship at Madras, he became Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1835, and succeeded the late Sir Michael O'Loughlin as Attorney-General in the following year. In 1837 he was raised to the Bench as Baron of the Exchequer, and subsequently in 1849 was appointed Chief Commissioner under the Encumbered Estates Act. He returned to his former seat on the judicial bench in 1856, but finally retired from his public duties in 1859.

### MR. F. C. SKEY.

Frederick Carpenter Skey, C.B., F.R.S., late President of the Royal College of Surgeons, died on the 15th inst., at his residence in Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, aged 73. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, and afterwards in London under the celebrated Dr. Abernethy, he became a member of the College of Surgeons in 1822, and in 1826 was appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy at St. Bartholomew's. Shortly afterwards, in conjunction with other eminent surgeons, he established the Aldersgate-street School of Medicine, where he lectured for ten years, when he was appointed surgeon to the Charterhouse. Dr. Skey had, besides, a large private practice. In 1850 he became Hunterian Orator at the Col-

lege of Surgeons, in 1852 Professor of Human Anatomy and Surgery, in 1855 a member of the Court of Examiners, and in 1863 was elected to the Presidency. Dr. Skey contributed largely to medical and periodical literature, besides being the author of several standard works.

#### SIR A. SMITH.

Sir Andrew Smith, K.C.B., Director-General of the Army Medical Department from 1851-58, died at Brompton on August 11. He served with distinction for short periods in various parts of the world, and proceeded to the Cape in 1821, returning to England in 1838. Shortly after he was sent to Fort Pitt, Chatham, and appointed principal medical officer there. He was transferred to London by Sir James McGregor as his professional assistant, and on the retirement of Sir James in 1851 he was appointed by the Duke of Wellington to the vacant post, which he filled till 1858, when he retired from the service in consequence of impaired health, and received the distinction of K.C.B. Sir Andrew Smith's scientific researches in Southern Africa resulted in the publication of many papers, and his great work, "Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa." It was upon his representation and advice that the prosperous district of Natal was constituted a colony. Sir Andrew Smith was born in Roxburghshire in 1797.

### September.

#### THE KING OF SWEDEN.

The King of Sweden died at Malmö shortly after nine o'clock on Wednesday evening, September 18. His Majesty was on his way back from Aix-la-Chapelle to his capital. Charles XV., King of Sweden and Norway, was born on May 3, 1826. He was married on June 19, 1850, to the Princess of Orange, daughter of the Prince of the Netherlands. She died about a year and a half ago, leaving only one child, a daughter, who was born in October, 1851, and was married in July, 1869, to the Prince Royal of Denmark, but the Salic law prevents her ascending the throne.

The late King came to the throne on the death of his father in July, 1859, and he and the Queen were crowned at

Drontheim early in the following month. Two years later his Majesty visited England.

During his reign there has not been much political excitement in his kingdom, the most serious time having been on the outbreak of war between Germany and Denmark. The sympathies of his people were undoubtedly with the Danes, but a proclamation was issued declaring in favour of neutrality with the Schleswig dispute. At the same time the warlike preparations which Sweden had for months been making were suspended. A few months later, when Denmark had resigned the duchies, the Swedish held great rejoicings in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the union of Norway and Sweden. Some apprehension was also entertained when the Germans had surrounded Paris, and in opening the Swedish Parliament at the beginning of 1871 His Majesty spoke of the possibility of war spreading, and urged upon his hearers that the most pressing subject for their consideration was that of army organization.

He will be succeeded by his brother, Oscar Frederick, who was born in January, 1829, and has served his country in both its military and naval services. He married, in June, 1857, a daughter of the Duke of Nassau; and they have four sons, the eldest of whom, Prince Gustave, was born in June, 1858.

#### PRINCESS OF HOHENLOHE- LANGENBURG.

Anne Feodore Augusta Charlotte Wilhelmina, Princess Dowager of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, died on the 23rd, at Baden-Baden. The Princess was born December 7, 1807, the only daughter of Emich Charles, Prince of Leiningen, by Princess Victoria Mary Louisa of Saxe-Coburg, his wife, afterwards Duchess of Kent, and was consequently half-sister of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Her Serene Highness married, February 18, 1828, Ernest Christian Charles, Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, G.C.B., and by him, who died April 12, 1860, had three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Prince Charles, Major in the cavalry of Wurtemberg, has resigned his succession to the Principality of Hohenlohe-Langenburg. The second son, Herman, is the present Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, G.C.B.; and the third son, Victor, Count Gleichen, holds the commission of Captain in the British Navy; he married, in 1861, Laura Williamina, daughter of the late Admiral

Sir George Francis Seymour, G.C.B., and sister of the present Marquis of Hertford. Of the daughters of the Princess Dowager of Hohenlohe-Langenburg the eldest surviving, Princess Adelaide, is the wife of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg; and the second, Princess Feodore, is wife of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen.

#### REV. DR. W. ANDERSON.

On September 15 the Rev. Dr. William Anderson died at his residence, Prospect House, Uddingstone, near Glasgow. Dr. Anderson was born at Kilayth, Stirlingshire, in 1799; he obtained licence as a preacher in 1820, and was called to the ministry of John-street Church, Glasgow, in the following year. At the outset of his career the young clergyman claimed the liberty of reading in the pulpit from manuscript, and in all his earlier sermons he quoted Shakespeare. These were regarded as serious offences; but Dr. Anderson would neither abandon his manuscript nor ignore Shakespeare. During his student course he was well acquainted with Chalmers and Irving. Among numerous books which he wrote was "A Defence of the Organ," for the introduction of which into Presbyterian worship he was a warm pleader. He was one of the foremost debaters in the Anti-State Church controversy, and on the education question his views were in advance of the majority of his brethren. Perhaps he shone more brilliantly in the anti-slavery struggle than in any with which his name was connected.

#### MR. J. JOHNSON.

The death is announced, at the age of 81, of Mr. Joseph Johnson, who some fifty years ago was an active associate of Hunt, Cobbett, and Bamford, and underwent two years' imprisonment as one of the leaders at Peterloo. He refused, however, to take part in a Reform Demonstration some ten years afterwards, and was a Tory, *sui generis*, during the last half of his long life.

#### SIR W. H. WALKER.

The death is announced of Sir William Harrison Walker, a gentleman who was

very widely known in East Indian circles, and formerly of the Hon. East India Company's naval service. He had completed his 72nd year at the time of his death. A son of the late Mr. Benjamin Walker, of Sittingbourne, Kent, he entered the service at the age of 15. From this he retired in 1839, on the expiration of the Company's charter, but subsequently commanded several ships trading between England and Calcutta. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and Senior Professional Member of the Marine and Harbour Departments of the Board of Trade. He received the honour of knighthood last year, in recognition of his long and able public services under the Company and the Crown.

### October.

#### SIR DAVID BAXTER, BART.

Sir David Baxter, Bart., of Kilmarron, in the county of Fife, died there on the 13th. He was born in 1793, the second son of the late William Baxter, Esq., of Balgarvie, in the county of Forfar, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Edward Gorrell, Esq., of Hazell Hall, York. Sir David, who was a magistrate for the counties of Fife and Forfar, and a Deputy Lieutenant for the former, was created a Baronet January 24, 1863. He married, in 1833, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Montgomery, Esq., of Barrhill, Ayrshire, but had no issue, and the baronetcy consequently becomes extinct.

#### LADY BECHER.

Lady Becher (Miss O'Neill), relict of Sir William Wrixon-Becher, died at her residence, Ballygiblin, near Mallow, on the 20th. The deceased lady, who had attained her 81st year, at one time occupied a most prominent position in the theatrical profession. The great dramatic genius and brilliant triumphs of Miss O'Neill are matters of history. On the stage she had no rival—in fact, she elevated the profession, and gave to it dignity and respectability. In her famous characters of Mrs. Haller, and Mrs. Beverley, and Belvidera, contemporary critics represent her as having been unapproachable in her realization of those impersonations. In early life, it is said,



great Miss O'Neill," as her ladyship designated, passed through much severe trial; but her genius, which is unquestionable, and her determined character, which is represented as being astonishing, enabled her successfully to surmount all the difficulties and obstructions which beset her path. Her last appearance was made in a rather unusual manner, and in company with several companions, in a small provincial theatre, but on her *début* in London in 1781, she at once occupied, if not the first, at least a most distinguished position. After a brief time was unanimously acknowledged as "the great Miss O'Neill." The lady, who was a native of Ireland, was in private life as remarkable for her benevolence and practical kindness as she was during her professional career for the splendour of her histrionic talents.

He was first connected with Oxford about the year 1837, and was in the 77th year of his age at the time of his death. He was much esteemed by those with whom he was brought into contact, whether on business or other matters, whilst his many acts of charity will cause him to be long remembered. He leaves behind him two noble examples of his princely munificence, viz. the church of St. Barnabas, which he built and endowed for the parish in which he resided, and the handsome chapel attached to the Radcliffe Infirmary. He was a liberal patron of the fine arts, and was the purchaser of Mr. Holman Hunt's well-known painting, "The Light of the World." The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him a few years back by the University.

J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ.

GENERAL SIR T. J. COCHRANE.

General of the Fleet Sir Thomas John Cochrane, G.C.B., died at Ryde, on the 10th of his 84th year. He entered the service at a very early age as a first-class gunner, and served in the expeditions to Quiberon, Belleisle, Ferrol, and in aid of the reduction of the Danish India Islands; and in 1812 was in command of the "Plover" during the attacks on the coast of Georgia. In 1813 he was appointed Captain Cochrane-in-Chief of the forces in Newfoundland; and from 1837 he represented Ipswich in the House of Commons. He afterwards served in the East India station and in the China seas, and in 1845 severely punished the Borneo chiefs by the destruction of several piratical towns and Borneo. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth in December 1852, and held that appointment until the usual period, since which he has been on active service. Sir Thomas is the eldest son, Mr. Baillie Cochrane, of the Isle of Wight in the House of Commons.

MR. COMBE.

Thomas Combe, M.A., architypographer to the Oxford University, died on the 29th at his residence, near the University Press, the cause being affection of the heart. Mr. Combe, who was the partner in the University Press,

Intelligence has been received from Geneva of the sudden decease of M. Jean Henri Merle d'Aubigné, D.D., which occurred on October 21. The doctor had attained the ripe old age of 78, and it is stated that on the day before his decease he received the Communion at the Pelissier Church, and in the evening presided as usual at family worship. It is supposed that he died early in the night, as, when discovered to be dead at 8 A.M., the body was quite cold. M. Merle d'Aubigné was born in Geneva in 1794, and was descended from a French Protestant family who had been driven from Nîmes by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His father was Louis Merle, a merchant of Geneva, and one of the progenitors of the family was General d'Aubigné, who did good service to Henry IV., and the famous historian Agrippa d'Aubigné was also an ancestor of the house. Jean Henri was the third son of M. Louis Merle, and was educated at the Academy of Geneva, where he studied theology, and in 1817 was ordained a minister, after having completed his studies at the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin. For five years he was pastor of the Reformed Church at Hamburg, and in 1823 became president of the consistory of the French and German Protestant Church of Brussels. He became a favourite of the King of Holland, who at that time resided a good deal in Brussels. After the revolution in Belgium, M. Merle d'Aubigné returned to Geneva, where he became Professor of Historical Theology in the German School of Evangelical Theology, and was further appointed Director of the

School. When in Hamburg he printed a volume of sermons, and soon afterwards commenced the preparations for the great work by which his name has become known, "The History of the Reformation of the 16th Century," the first volume of which appeared in Paris in 1835. In 1847 the work was completed, and it has had such success that it is said 200,000 copies of the English translation have been sold in England and America. In 1848 he published also in Paris, "Le Protecteur, ou la République d'Angleterre aux Jours de Cromwell," and in the same year appeared in London, "Germany, England, and Scotland, or Revelations of a Swiss Minister." Two years later he published in Paris, a history of "Three Centuries of Struggles in Scotland, or Two Kings and Two Kingdoms." In 1862 he published "The Character of the Reformer and the Reformation of Geneva," and in the same year commenced the publication of the "History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin," the fourth volume of which was published in 1868. He also published several other works, principally sermons, and contributed largely to periodicals. During one of his frequent visits to this country he was presented, in the year 1856, with the freedom of the city of Edinburgh, and two years later married a Dublin lady.

#### MR. ALBANY FONBLANQUE.

Albany William Fonblanque, the brilliant journalist, and long the proprietor of, and chief contributor to, the *Examiner* newspaper, died, on the 18th, at the age of 75. He was a younger son of the late eminent equity lawyer, John de Grenier de Fonblanque, Q.C. Originally intended for the Bar, he studied under Chitty, but, soon relinquishing all thoughts of the legal profession, devoted himself exclusively to political writing, first in the *Morning Chronicle*, and afterwards in the *Examiner*. His only published book appeared under the title of "England Under Seven Administrations." He eventually retired from the press on being appointed by Lord John Russell's Government Chief of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade.

#### THE BISHOP OF CAPETOWN.

The Right Rev. Robert Gray, D.D., Bishop of Capetown, whose death is just announced, was born in 1809, a younger

son of the late Dr. Robert Gray, Bishop of Bristol. Educated at Eton, and University College, Oxford, he graduated in 1831, and took orders in 1833; became Perpetual Curate of Whitworth, in the county of Durham, in 1834, Vicar of Stockton-on-Tees in 1845, Honorary Canon of Durham in 1846, and first Bishop of Capetown in 1847. The opposition Dr. Gray gave to the opinions of Dr. Colenso, and the part he took in establishing a rival Bishop in Natal, are fresh in the public mind. The Bishop of Capetown married, in 1836, Sophia, daughter of Robert Wharton-Myddleton, Esq., and leaves a son, the Rev. Charles Norris Gray, and four daughters.

#### DR. GOSS.

Dr. Goss, Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool, died suddenly, on October 2, at his residence, St. Edward's College, Everton. He was born at Ormskirk, July 5, 1814. His father, who was a Protestant, was in business in that town; but the Bishop's mother being a Catholic he was brought up in that faith, and studied for the priesthood, going first to the College of Ushaw, and subsequently to a college in Rome, where his course of study was completed. After his admission to the priesthood, he and the Very Rev. Canon Fisher established St. Edward's College for the education of ecclesiastical and lay students. Here he continued as professor up to the time of his consecration as Bishop of Gerra and coadjutor of Dr. Brown, Bishop of Liverpool, which took place on September 25, 1853. He succeeded to the bishopric itself in January, 1856.

#### LORD KINLOCH.

Lord Kinloch, one of the Judges of the Court of Session, Edinburgh, died at Hartrigge, near Jedburgh, on the 30th. His lordship has been in an infirm state of health for some time, but his death has occurred somewhat suddenly. He was called to the Bar in 1824, was appointed a Lord of Session in 1858, and was transferred from the Outer House to the First Division on Lord Curriehill's death four or five years ago. Lord Kinloch was the author of various religious works in prose and verse. He had not been in court this session. The deceased was son of Mr. William Penny, merchant, Glasgow, and was born in 1801. He married, first,

a daughter of Mr. Charles Campbell, of Lecknury, Argyleshire (she died in 1839); secondly, the daughter of Mr. John Campbell, of Kinloch, Perthshire. He was educated at the University of Glasgow.

#### GENERAL SIR P. MONTGOMERIE.

General Sir Patrick Montgomerie, K.C.B., Royal Horse Artillery, died on the 5th, at his residence, 10, Elvaston-place, in his 80th year. The son of a banker at Irvine, Ayrshire, he entered the Madras Artillery in 1810, served in the Mahratta war of 1817 and 1818, was at the battle of Nagpore, and at the siege and storming of Chandap. In the Burmese campaign of 1824-5 he was actively engaged, and in the Chinese war of 1840-1 commanded the artillery. He was an Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, and had a medal and two clasps for Nagpore and Ava, as well as a medal for China.

#### MR. A. MURRAY, C.B.

Mr. Andrew Murray, C.B., who was for many years chief engineer of Portsmouth Dockyard, and afterwards Surveyor of Factories at the Factories at the Admiralty, Whitehall, died at his residence, Richmond, Surrey, on the 8th, after a painful illness of several weeks. Mr. Murray was a man of great ability and experience as an engineer, and much respected in the public service. Many years ago he was engaged in iron ship-building works upon the Thames in conjunction with Mr. William Fairbairn, and was the editor of Creuze's celebrated treatise on Naval Architecture and Ship-building in the later editions of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." He retired from the Admiralty three years ago, in consequence of a re-arrangement of the Construction Office, and was latterly engaged with Mr. Reed, the ex-Chief Constructor of the Navy, upon the construction of war vessels, and more especially upon the supervision of the actual construction of the engines. Upon these duties, however, he had scarcely entered when the illness which has proved fatal attacked him. Mr. Murray, before his retirement, was honoured with the Companionship of the Bath by her Majesty, at the instance of Mr. Childers, then First Lord of the Admiralty.

#### FIELD-MARSHAL SIR G. POLLOCK, BART.

Sir George Pollock, Bart., G.C.B., K.S.I., died suddenly at Walmer on the 6th. This distinguished soldier, one of those gallant commanders who have sustained our great Indian empire, was born in Westminster in 1786, the third son of Mr. David Pollock, of Charing-cross, his Majesty's saddler, by Sarah, his wife, daughter of Mr. Richard Parsons, comptroller of a department in the Excise. Of his brothers, the eldest, Sir David Pollock, Chief Justice of Bombay, died in 1847, and the second, Sir Frederick, Bart., Lord Chief Baron, died in 1870. George Pollock was three years junior to his brother Sir Frederick. He is recorded to have received his early education at the Woolwich Academy; but as early as the year 1802, when scarcely 18, we find him entering the military service of the East India Company, while Lord Wellesley was Governor-General of India, and his brother Arthur had the command of the forces, a year before the Mahrattas were crushed by Wellesley at Assaye and by Lake at Laswaree. At the storm and capture of Diu, in 1803, young Pollock was present; and in 1806, during the gallant, but unsuccessful, attempts of the British army to carry Bhurtpore by assault, he was busy in the trenches. At the close of the year he was selected by Lord Lake to command the artillery with the detachment under Colonel Ball, which was sent in pursuit of Holkar. He held different staff appointments from this date down to the year 1817, when, in command of the artillery with General Wood's force, he took part in the stirring scenes of the Nepaulese war. In 1818 we find him appointed brigade-major; and subsequently he held the assistant-adjutant-generalship of Artillery, from the first institution of that appointment down to 1824, when, having attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he volunteered to join the army which was assembling for the purpose of prosecuting the war in Burmah. He was now nominated by Sir Edward Paget to command the Bengal Artillery attached to the force under Sir Archibald Campbell, which was proceeding to Rangoon, and for his services in this campaign he received the Companionship of the Bath.

In 1841, having at that time attained the rank of major-general, he was in command of the garrison at Agra, when the late Sir Jasper Nicolls selected him to take the command of the troops proceeding to Peshawur, in the hopes of

recovering our position in Afghanistan. Sir Robert Sale and a British force were shut up at Jellalabad; and it seemed almost hopeless in the eyes of many others besides the Governor-General to force the Khyber Pass and to relieve Jellalabad. For the story of the forcing of the Khyber Pass we must refer our readers to the pages of Sir J. W. Kaye's "History of the War in Afghanistan." It is enough to say here that, having forced the Pass by a series of brilliant and skilful operations, Pollock marched to the relief of Sir Robert Sale and his intrepid garrison; that he defeated the Afghan forces and all the troops under Akhbar Khan; that two days later he took possession of Cabul, and within a few days effected the release of the prisoners after the many months of their long and hopeless captivity. He was almost immediately joined by General Nott, and in the course of the following month led the whole of the united army safely back to the east of the Indus, and so to Central India, through those formidable passes which had so long delayed his progress. For these services General Pollock was rewarded by being nominated a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and by being presented with a valuable sword by the Government of India, who had accepted it for him from Shere Singh, the ruler of the Punjab. Nor was England behind India in her acknowledgments of Pollock's merits, for he received a formal vote of thanks from both Houses of Parliament for the "intrepidity, skill, and perseverance which he had displayed." This honour was afterwards supplemented by the freedom of the Mercers' Company and also by the thanks of the Common Council of London, and the freedom of the City, which was presented to him in a gold box, while the Board of Directors of the East India Company settled on him for life a pension of 1000*l.* a year.

In 1843 Sir George Pollock was appointed Envoy at the court of Oude, and in the following year was nominated a member of the Supreme Council of India. Returning to England, he was nominated by the Crown one of the directors of the East India Company; and this post he held until the reconstruction of the Company and the substitution of the Indian Council for the Board of Directors.

Besides the above honours, Sir George Pollock was one of the first who were decorated with the Knighthood of the Star of India; he had also received the medal for general services, with four clasps for the battle of Dieg, the Nepaulese, and the Burmese wars. On the death last year of Field-Marshal Sir John

Burgoyne, he was appointed his successor as Constable of the Tower of London. Since returning to his native land he settled down at a residence near Clapham Common, where he spent the greater part of his declining years, occasionally acting as one of the Surrey magistrates, and taking an active interest in the volunteer movement as the honorary colonel of the 1st battalion of the Surrey Rifle Volunteers. Sir George Pollock was twice married—firstly, in 1810, to Miss Frances W. Barclay; and secondly, in 1852, to Henrietta, daughter of the late Mr. George Hyde Wollaston.

#### THE REV. J. PURCHAS.

The Rev. John Purchas, M.A., so long before the public in connexion with ecclesiastical suits, died recently at his residence in Brighton. He was born at Cambridge in 1823, the eldest son of Captain William Jardine Purchas, R.N., received his education at Rugby, and at Christ College, Cambridge, and graduated M.A. in 1847. In 1866 he was appointed Incumbent of St. James's Chapel, Brighton, and in 1872 suspended *ab officio* for one year for his Ritualistic practices. Mr. Purchas was author of the "Directorium Anglicanum," as well as of books of sermons and poems.

#### MR. SCROPE OF DANBY.

Simon Thomas Scrope, Esq., of Danby Hall, in the county of York, and Cockerington, in the county of Lincoln, whose death is announced, was one of the best-born men in Europe, being the male representative of the illustrious house of Scrope, which, during a period of 300 years, produced two earls and twenty barons, one chancellor, four treasurers, and two chief justices of England, five knights of the garter, and numerous bannerets. As heir male of Sir William Scrope, K.G., Earl of Wiltes of the time of Richard II., Mr. Scrope of Danby claimed before the House of Lords the ancient Earldom of Wiltes, but, after a long investigation, failed in consequence of an old attainder. Mr. Scrope was born April 17, 1790, the eldest son of Simon Scrope, Esq., of Danby, by Catherine Dorothy, his wife, eldest daughter of Edward Meynell, Esq., of Kilvington. At the death of his father, in 1838, he succeeded to the estate of Danby, and became possessed of Cockerington by the bequest of Mr. Scrope, of Castle Combe,

a distant kinsman. He married, June 25, 1821, Mary, eldest daughter of John Jones, Esq., of Llanarth, in the county of Monmouth, and leaves one surviving son, Simon Thomas Scrope, Esq., of Danby, J.P. and D.L., and two daughters, Florence Mary, widow of Edmund R. P. Bastard, Esq., of Kitley; and Adela Mary Elizabeth, wife of E. F. Riddell, Esq., of The Grange.

#### MR. W. H. SEWARD.

This eminent American statesman died at his own house, at Auburn, the capital of his native State, on October 10. Mr. Seward's father's family were originally Welsh; his mother's Irish. He was born at Florida, in the State of New York, on May 16, 1801. His father was a physician, who practised trade as well as medicine, and made a fortune; and then for seventeen years held the office of first Judge of Orange County, in which he lived. His son, William Henry, went to school at Goschen when he was nine years old, and at fifteen went to Union College. During his college course he went for six months as a teacher to Georgia, where he came into personal contact with the system of slavery, and acquired his strong feeling against it. When he had taken his degree he chose law as his profession, was called to the Bar in 1822, and in 1823 began practice at Auburn. His partner was Judge Miller, whose youngest daughter, Frances Adeline, he married in 1824. In 1824 we find him already in politics, and on the Republican side. In 1830 he was elected a member of the Senate of his State. Three years afterwards he made the European tour, and published his impressions of Great Britain in one of the Albany newspapers. In 1838 he was elected Governor. He was re-elected once, but refused to be a candidate for a second re-election; and having served two biennial terms, returned to his legal practice. In this he was unusually successful, and became known as one of the best advocates in Patent cases before the United States Courts. Mr. Seward could not long keep out of politics. In 1844 he was a prominent supporter of Henry Clay, as a Presidential candidate; and at the next election he was on the winning side as a friend of General Taylor. This was the preparation for his first step into the wider arena of Federal politics. In 1849 his State elected him United States' Senator by a vast majority; and he became, almost immediately, the leader in the Senate of the party of the President.

Mr. Lincoln, on coming to power, at once made Mr. Seward Secretary of State. The "irrepressible conflict" had then fully begun; but Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward adhered to their programme of the Union, and fought at first not directly against slavery but only against it as it staked its future on its right to occupy the territories, or on secession. His administration was vigorous and successful. Soon after Mr. Lincoln's re-election he had a severe accident, which kept him for some time to his bed. He had, however, been marked by the conspirators who were associated with Booth to fall with the President. On the evening on which Mr. Lincoln was shot down in his box at the theatre, a man ran upstairs to Mr. Seward's room and struck him some frightful blows with a knife in the neck and face. Mr. Seward was perfectly collected, and protected himself as he best could, and the assassin failed to accomplish his murderous purpose. Mr. Seward was frightfully wounded, but recovered. He continued to occupy the post of Secretary of State during Mr. Johnson's Presidency, and brought considerable unpopularity on himself by his associations with Mr. Johnson's policy. His official career closed in 1869, and he set out on an extensive foreign tour, embracing the West Indies, California, Mexico, China, Japan, India, the East and South of Europe, and the Holy Land. He only returned from these wanderings in the autumn of 1871; he afterwards took no part in national politics, and it may almost be said of him that he went home to die. He leaves as his contribution to the history of his country some forty years of active public life, and eight years of administration of its foreign affairs at the greatest crisis in its national experience. His contribution to its literature consists only of some great speeches, a life of John Quincy Adams, and another of De Witt Clinton.

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WEST.

The death is announced of Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. West, late of the 3rd Regiment of Guards, at the age of 88. Colonel West entered the Army in 1804, and served on the expedition to Germany under Lord Cathcart, at the siege of Copenhagen, in the Peninsula, and at Waterloo, and was twice severely wounded, at Bayonne and at Waterloo.

## MR. JUSTICE WILLES.

The Right Hon. Sir James Shaw Willes, who died by his own hand on the 2nd of this month, was the son of a physician of Cork, was born in 1814, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took honours and graduated B.A. in 1836, and LL.D. in 1860. He was called to the bar by the Inner Temple in 1840, went the home circuit, and had a large business as a leading junior. In 1849 he edited, with Sir H. S. Keating, the well-known legal work, "Smith's Leading Cases." In 1850 he was appointed a commissioner of common law procedure, and assisted in drawing the Common Law Procedure Acts of 1852, 1854, and 1860, founded on the report of the commissioners. These Acts were of much use, and they still regulate the practice of the courts. In 1855, when a vacancy occurred among the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, he was raised to the bench, and received the honour of knighthood, at the early age of 41. He never held a seat in the House of Commons. He married, in 1856, Helen, daughter of the late Mr. Thomas Jennings, of Cork. The deceased judge, in the seventeen years during which he had held a seat upon the bench, had thoroughly justified the foresight and discernment of those who had recommended him when so young for promotion. Like Mr. Justice Blackburn, he never wore silk; and yet few men who did were his equals, much less his superiors, in common law, and especially in commercial and marine law. He was one of the first judges who were appointed under the Act to try election petitions. Mr. Justice Willes was in the present year appointed a Privy Councillor, though he is believed to have declined a seat as an official member of the Judicial Committee. This great judge was not only appreciated by his brethren on the bench and by the Bar; the public knew his value. He had a reputation among all classes; but perhaps he was most famous in the heart of the metropolis. There are few merchants in the City of London, few shipowners who have had occasion to inquire into their rights and liabilities, who have not found light in the decisions of Mr. Justice Willes. He may be truly said to have loved his profession. Law was his recreation as well as his occupation; and, judging from an anecdote concerning him, he had strong confidence in his powers from his earliest years. He had been in practice a very short time when he demurred to a pleading. The solicitor doubted the wisdom of arguing the demurrer, but Mr. Willes

would go on, and was beaten—but he paid the client all the costs which had been incurred. This anecdote gives us an idea of the late judge's kind and almost womanly disposition. He invariably showed to the Bar kindness and courtesy, and he was beloved by all who knew him. It is a long time since, by the death of a judge, the Bench, the profession, and the public sustained so serious a loss.

## November.

## SIR HENRY H. BACON, BART.

Sir Henry Hickman Bacon, Bart., of Redgrave, and of Mildenhall, Suffolk, premier Baronet, died on the 14th inst. He was born April 5, 1820, educated at the Royal Military College of Sandhurst, and, having entered the Army, became Captain in the 3rd Dragoon Guards. In 1862 he succeeded, at the death of his uncle, Henry Bacon Hickman, Esq., of Thonock Hall, Lincolnshire, to that gentleman's estate, and served as High Sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1867. In 1864 he inherited, by the decease of his uncle Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart., the premier baronetcy of England, as well as another baronetcy, that of Mildenhall, conferred in 1627. He was also head of the family of Bacon, so illustrious from the number of great men it has produced. Sir Henry married, March 17, 1853, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Beckett, Bart., and leaves several children, of whom the eldest is now Sir Hickman Beckett Bacon, eleventh Baronet of Redgrave, and twelfth Baronet of Mildenhall, born April 14, 1855.

## SIR T. BECKETT, BART.

Sir Thomas Beckett, who has for some years been the oldest baronet, died on November 17, at Somerby Park, near Gainsborough, three days after his son-in-law and neighbour Sir Hickman Bacon, who held the oldest baronetcy, and also another of nearly equal antiquity. Sir Thomas was within a few weeks of completing his ninety-fourth year, and was probably an unique instance of a man inheriting a title in his sixty-ninth year, and yet holding it above a quarter of a century. He succeeded his brother, the Right Hon. Sir John Beckett, in May 1847, and is succeeded by his brother

Edmund Denison. Sir Thomas married his cousin Caroline, daughter of the late Joseph Beckett, of Barnsley, and leaves her and two daughters surviving him. Of the two families of Beckett, consisting of about twenty members, only one died a natural death under seventy, and many of them have lived considerably beyond eighty.

#### S R JOHN BOWRING.

Sir John Bowring, LL.D., F.R.S., who died on the 23rd inst., at his residence, Claremont, near Exeter, was born at Exeter, Oct. 17, 1792, and was descended from an ancient and respectable Devonshire family, being eldest son of Charles Bowring, Esq., of Larkbeare, in that county, by Sarah, his wife, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Lane, of St. Ives. Sir John was author of numerous works on the literature of foreign countries, and published versions of poems and other productions from the Russian, Serbian, Polish, Danish, German, Swedish, Icelandic, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese languages. For his two volumes of "Russian Anthology" he received a diamond ring from Alexander I., and for his works on Holland a gold medal from the King of the Netherlands, and the degree of LL.D. from the University of Groningen. He was editor for several years of the *Westminster Review*, and issued very many works on politics, political economy, and finance. From 1835 to 1837 he sat in Parliament for Kilmarnock, and from 1841 to 1849 for Bolton. In the last-named year he was appointed British Consul at Canton, and in 1854 became H.M.'s Plenipotentiary in China and Governor of Hong-Kong. On his retirement, in 1859, he received the honour of knighthood. Sir John was decorated with numerous foreign orders, and was a member of many European literary societies. He married, first, 1816, Maria (who died 1858), daughter of the late Samuel Lewin, Esq., of Hackney, Middlesex; and secondly, 1860, Deborah, daughter of Thomas Castle, Esq., of Bristol. One of Sir John's sons, Edgar Alfred Bowring, C.B., M.P. for Exeter, emulating his father's literary reputation, is author of a poetical version of the Book of Psalms, and of translations from the works of Schiller, Goethe, and Heine; and another of his sons, Lewin Bentham Bowring, Esq., Chief Commissioner of Mysore, has gained distinction in the Indian Civil Service.

#### MR. J. CAPEL.

The death is announced, at the age of eighty-four, of Mr. James Capel, head of the firm of James Capel and Co., the oldest member of the Stock Exchange, and formerly chairman of the Board of Managers. He was also for many years chairman of the Committee of Spanish Bondholders. Mr. Capel came up to London from a small village near Worcester, and went into the office of Sir Edmund Antrobus and Co., of the Stock Exchange. So valuable did he become, that as soon as his age justified a partnership, a share in the business was offered him, and from that time to the present—about sixty-two or sixty-three years—he has been an active member of the Stock Exchange.

#### MAJOR-GENERAL DAVENEY.

We have to announce the death of this distinguished officer, which took place at Heigham Grove, near Norwich, on November 24. Though by no means the senior in the list of general officers, Major-General Daveney had seen a great deal of service in all parts of the world. He served with distinction in Canada during the Rebellion of 1837; and in the Crimea in 1854, where he was present at the battles of the Alma and Balaklava, as also at the siege of Sebastopol. He subsequently served during the mutiny in India, and eventually retired on full pay. Major-General Daveney had three clasps for the Crimea, as also the Order of the Medjidie and several other decorations presented by the Sultan to British officers who had served in the war against Russia. He left directions that he should be interred in his uniform, and that his remains should be placed in the family burial-place at Colton, where the Daveney family have been landowners for many generations.

#### HORACE GREELEY.

Mr. Horace Greeley died at the residence of his physician, near Chappaqua, on November 29, from nervous exhaustion. Mr. Greeley would have completed his sixty-second year in February next. The son of a New Hampshire farmer, he went to work in the fields at ten years old, and five years later was apprenticed to a printer in Vermont. He went to New York in his twenty-first year as a journeyman printer, with only a scanty wardrobe and 10 dols. in his pocket; yet such was

his skill, energy, and industry, that in eighteen months he was in partnership with Mr. Francis Story, and was issuing the first penny paper ever published. The paper failed, and his partner died, but Mr. Greeley soon had another paper and fresh partners. After various literary ventures, attended with varied fortunes, he began, in 1841, the *New York Tribune*. Though Mr. Greeley's chief work was that of a journalist, he was also known as a writer of books and a lecturer. In 1851 he came to England, and served as one of the jurymen in the Great Exhibition of that year; publishing on his return a volume, entitled "Glances at Europe." Five years later he published his "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension or Restriction in the United States from 1789 to 1856." Works on "Political Economy," on "Farming," as well as "Travels in California and Texas," were among the productions of his pen. In "Recollections of a Busy Life" he gave an account of his editorial labours and his personal struggles, which was very widely read. Before the Civil War he took sides against the slave-owners with his characteristic energy, and almost plunged in person into the preliminary conflict. During the war he, of course, strongly advocated the Union cause; but startled the world by his celebrated effort to mediate between the combatants and stop the bloodshed; and after the struggle he wrote a history of it. Mr. Greeley never held any political office. He was once nominated for a European mission, but declined to serve.

#### MR. T. KEIGHTLEY.

Mr. Thomas Keightley, an honest, careful, and laborious historian, died at his residence, at Belvedere, near Erith, Kent, on November 4, at an age extended beyond eighty years. He was, we believe, of Irish extraction, being a native of Dublin, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his Bachelor's Degree in the spring of 1808. His original destination was the Bar, for which he read during a short period; but circumstances arose which altered his course of life, and he resolved to abandon the labours of the law for those of literature. With this view he came to London when about five-and-twenty years of age, and joined the late Mr. Crofton Croker in the production of his "Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland," at the same time filling his leisure hours by contributions to the periodical literature of the day. To most of the present generation his

name will be found familiar as the author of several useful and able school-books, though rather dull and dry in point of style, more especially his histories of Rome, Greece, and England, and his "Outlines of History," which formed one of the early volumes of Dr. Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia." He also edited the "Fasti" of Ovid, and compiled a work which enjoyed very deservedly no small popularity in its day, "Fairy Mythology." This, however, is far from a complete list of Mr. Keightley's labours, the full amount of which is recorded in the pages of the British Museum Catalogue. Besides his classical works, Mr. Keightley was known as the translator of at least one work from the Dutch, and as the editor of Milton's Poems and of the Plays of Shakespeare, his edition of the latter having appeared about eight years ago. Mr. Keightley was for the last few years of his long life in receipt of a literary pension, which it is hoped may be continued to his sister, who used to help her brother in the production of his learned and painstaking works.

#### THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.

On the 27th inst. died the Marquis of Londonderry, who had been for some time past in precarious health. The marquis had long retired from society owing to his mental malady. The late Frederick William Robert Stuart, Marquis and Earl of Londonderry, Viscount Castlereagh, county Down, and Baron of Londonderry, in the peerage of Ireland, also Baron Stewart, of Stewart's Court and Ballylawn, county Donegal, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, was the only son of Charles William, third Marquis of Londonderry, K.G., G.C.B., by his first wife, Lady Catherine Bligh, fourth daughter of John, third Earl of Darnley. He was born 7th July, 1805, and succeeded to the marquisate and other family honours in March, 1854. His lordship had married, 30th April, 1846, Elizabeth Frances Charlotte, widow of Viscount Powerscourt, and eldest daughter of the late Earl of Roden. The late marquis, soon after he came of age, was returned to the House of Commons as member for the county Down, and retained his seat in the Commons until the death of his father. The late lord was a Junior Lord of the Admiralty in 1821, and afterwards Vice-Chamberlain to William IV. in 1834. While in the House of Commons in his early parliamentary career he adopted throughout Conservative views, but subsequently he was one of the most zealous supporters of the



late Viscount Palmerston. His lordship was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county Down in 1845, a responsible position he was compelled by mental malady to relinquish in 1864. He is succeeded in the marquise and other honours by his half-brother, George Henry R. C. W. Vane-Tempest, Earl Vane.

#### SIR DONALD M'LEOD.

Sir Donald Friell M'Leod, Knight Commander of the Star of India, who was killed on the Underground Railway on the 28th inst., was the son of General M'Leod, of the Bengal Engineers (son of a Scottish laird, Donald M'Leod, of Gearies, Ross-shire), by Harriette, his wife, daughter of Philip Friell Boileau, Esq. He was born at Fort William, Bengal, in 1810, was educated at the High School, Edinburgh, and at Haileybury College, and entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1828. He was Assistant Magistrate at Monghir till 1830, and in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories till 1843, when he became Magistrate and Collector at Benares. From 1849 to 1854 he was Commissioner of Jalandha, and in the latter year was appointed Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, which post he also held at Lahore during the Indian Mutiny. In 1865 he was made Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, from which position he retired in 1870. Sir Donald was created a C.B. in 1858, and a K.C.S.I. in 1866. He married, in 1854, Fanny, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Montgomery (Sir Donald's predecessor in the Punjab).

#### MR. MAGUIRE, M.P.

Mr. John Francis Maguire, one of the members for the city of Cork, expired in Dublin on November 1, at the age of fifty-seven. Deceased was the eldest son of the late Mr. John Maguire, a merchant of Cork, of which city he was a native. In January, 1843, he was called to the Irish bar, and at the general election of 1847, and again in 1851, unsuccessfully contested the borough of Dungarvan. At the general election of 1852, however, Mr. Maguire defeated Mr. E. O'Flaherty, and retained the seat until July, 1865, when he was returned for Cork. For many years previous to his death the hon. gentleman was proprietor and editor of the *Cork Examiner*. In 1857 he published the first edition of "Rome and its Ruler," which was followed by a second and en-

larged edition in 1859. A third edition appeared in 1870 under the title of "The Pontificate of Pius the Ninth." For his labours in connexion with this work he received the Knight Commandership of the Order of St. Gregory and a gold medal from the Pope. His "Industrial Movement in Ireland in 1852" appeared in the following year; "Father Matthew—a Biography" in 1863; "The Irish in America" in 1868; and "The Next Generation," a three-volume novel of prophetic political life, in 1871. Mr. Maguire, who was four times Mayor of Cork, was married, in 1843, to Margaret, second daughter of Mr. Robert Bailey, of that city. He took an active part in promoting the growth of flax in the south of Ireland, and established a company for introducing the linen industry into his native city. Mr. Maguire was at the head of other local companies of an industrial character, and his name was conspicuous in the promotion of every work which he believed could tend to the prosperity of Ireland. Although an earnest Liberal, and a member of the "Tenant League," he was one of those who voted for the Conservative Reform Bill of 1859. He also voted against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1866.

#### REV. A. MARTINEAU.

The Rev. Arthur Martineau, prebendary of St. Paul's, rector of St. Mildred's, Bread-street, with St. Margaret Moyses, London, and chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, died at Cannes, in the South of France, at the age of sixty-five. Mr. Martineau was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1829, his name standing third in the first class of the Classical Tripos. He was for some time Fellow of his college; was ordained deacon in 1837 by the Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Butler), and priest in the following year by the Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Longley). He was successively vicar of Whitkirk, near Leeds, and rural dean and vicar of Alkham with Capel, Kent. He was appointed to his city living in 1864, and to his prebendal stall in St. Paul's in 1866. He had been chaplain to Archbishop Tait since the year 1869. Mr. Martineau was the author of one or two sermons and pamphlets, including one entitled "No Need of a Living Infallible Guide," and also of a "Church History of England from the earliest times down to the Reformation," which was published in 1853, and has since reached a second edition.

## MRS. SOMERVILLE.

This accomplished and venerable old lady, who died at Naples on the 29th inst., had attained a great age. If she had survived until the 26th of December she would have entered on her ninety-third year, having been born in Roxburghshire on Dec. 26, 1780. Her father, the late Vice-Admiral Sir William George Fairfax, Knight Banneret, and Lord Duncan's flag-captain at Camperdown, was the younger son of Mr. Joseph Fairfax, of Bagshot, Surrey. Sir William's second wife was Margaret, daughter of Mr. Samuel Charters, Solicitor of Customs for Scotland, who was the mother of Mary Somerville and the late Sir Henry Fairfax. The daughter, as Mary Fairfax, was educated in a private school at Musselburgh, near Edinburgh. She was twice married. Her first husband was Captain Samuel Greig, son of High Admiral Greig, of the Russian navy, a distinguished officer under the Empress Catherine. Left a widow, with one son, Mr. Woronzow Greig (since deceased), she some years afterwards married her cousin, Dr. William Somerville, by which marriage she had three daughters, two of them now surviving her.

It is more than fifty years since Mrs. Somerville has been known as a profound student and writer of treatises upon the physical and mathematical sciences. In 1826 she presented to the Royal Society a paper on "The Magnetizing Power of the more refrangible Solar Rays," in which she detailed her repetitions of the experiments made by Morichini, of Rome, and Bérard, of Montpellier. The paper had for its object to prove whether solar light is a source of magnetic power. By means of a prism the component rays of a sunbeam were separated, and those which are now known as the chemical or actinic rays were allowed to fall upon delicately-poised needles of various sizes which had been previously proved to be devoid of magnetism. In every instance the steel exhibited the true magnetic character after an exposure of several hours to the violet light. Experiments were then made by covering unmagnetic needles with blue glass shades and placing them in the sun, and in all cases they became magnetic. From these experiences Mrs. Somerville concluded that the more refrangible rays of the solar spectrum, even in our latitude, have a strong magnetic influence. This communication was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* at the time; and it led to much discussion on a very difficult point of experimental inquiry, which was only set at rest some years later by

the researches of two German electricians' Riess and Moser, who showed that the action upon the magnetic needle was not caused by the violet rays. In 1831 or 1832 Mrs. Somerville published her "Mechanism of the Heavens." This book, her only strictly astronomical work, which is largely derived from Laplace's celebrated treatise, "La Mécanique Céleste," is understood to have been proposed by Lord Brougham as one of the publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; but, being moulded on too large a scale for their series, it was given to the world in an independent shape. A few years later her name became more widely known by her "Connexion of the Physical Sciences," a work, original in plan and perfect in execution, which has been called "a true 'Cosmos' in the nature of its design and in the multitude of materials collected and condensed into the history which it affords of the physical phenomena of the universe." This she followed up with her "Physical Geography," which, as its name imports, comprises the history of the earth in its whole material organization. These two works, in addition to their popularity in this country, as testified by the many editions through which they have passed, have been translated into several foreign languages; and their author's services to geographical science were recognized in 1869 by the award of the Victoria medal of the Royal Geographical Society. In the same year she gave to the world her "Molecular and Microscopic Science," a complete conspectus of some of the most recent and most abstruse researches of modern science. It describes admirably not only the discoveries of our day in the field of physics and chemistry, but more especially the revelations of the microscope in the vegetable and animal worlds.

In a letter written since her death Sir Henry Holland, one of Mrs. Somerville's oldest friends, says:—"I happen to know that within the last year of her life she desired to be sent to her at Naples Professor Hamilton's 'Calculus of Quaternions,' a record of one of the most recent and remarkable attainments in the higher mathematics. It is interesting to associate this fact with one dated sixty years before. In 1811 Mrs. Somerville received a medal at Edinburgh as a prize for the solution of some mathematical problem."

Her scientific labours during this long interval of years gave to Mrs. Somerville's name a high reputation, eminently merited, and not limited to our own country. In France, Germany, and Italy they were well known and duly valued.

The testimonies of Laplace, Humboldt, Herschel, Airey, Davy, and Faraday all stand on record to warrant their excellence. The Royal Society, and the Astronomical and Geographical Societies, bestowed their honours upon her, so far as their rules and usages allowed in the case of a lady. The pension of 300*l.* a year given to her under Sir Robert Peel's administration was fully sanctioned by the feelings of the scientific community, as well as by those who knew her various other attainments and the virtues and graces of her private life.

## December.

### VISCOUNTESS BEACONSFIELD.

The Right Hon. Mary Ann, Viscountess Beaconsfield in her own right, and wife of the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, died at Hughenden Manor, near High Wycombe, on the 15th instant. Her Ladyship, the only daughter of John Viney Evans, Esq., of Brampford Speke, Devonshire, and niece of General Sir James Viney, K.C.H., of Taynton Manor, Gloucestershire, was married, first, to Wyndham Lewis, Esq., of Greenmeadow, in the county of Glamorgan, M.P. for Maidstone, and was left a widow March 14, 1838. She was married, secondly, September, 1839, to the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, of Hughenden Manor, Bucks, M.P., P.C., and was raised to the Peerage, Nov. 30, 1868, as Viscountess Beaconsfield, on the retirement of her husband from the office of First Lord of the Treasury. The title (her Ladyship having died without issue) becomes extinct.

### DR. BOWERS.

The death is announced, at Leamington, on December 27, of the Very Rev. George Hull Bowers, D.D., who had recently resigned the Deanery of Manchester. He succeeded the Hon. Dr. Herbert as Dean of Manchester in 1847. Dr. Bowers was born in the year 1794. His preliminary education was obtained at the Grammar School in Pembroke, whence he was sent to Clare College, Cambridge. His career was a brilliant one, his application to study being unremitting, his natural talents very considerable, and his early training sound and thorough. In the year 1819 he was ordained priest, in 1829 the degree of B.D. was conferred upon

him, and that of D.D. in 1849. He was appointed Select Preacher to his University in 1830. His first pastoral charge was the perpetual curacy of Elstow, Bedfordshire, which he held from 1819 to 1832, when he removed to London. As rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden—an appointment for which he was indebted to the late Duke of Bedford—he acquired considerable influence and popularity, and was regarded as one of the ablest and most successful preachers in the metropolis. Dr. Bowers published in 1842 “A Scheme for the Foundation of Schools for the Sons of Clergymen and Others,” which led to the foundation by him (in conjunction with the Rev. E. Plater) of Marlborough College, Wilts. He also originated Haileybury College (late the East India College), and Rossall School, of which he was chairman, on a plan similar to that of Marlborough. Dr. Bowers's remaining contributions to the press consist of “A Volume of Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge,” and another, entitled “Sermons preached in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, in 1848.” He was a warm supporter of the open church movement, and of the principle of the offertory as a substitute for pew rents. Dr. Bowers was twice married. One of his daughters has acquired some celebrity as a successful delineator of the scenes of the hunting-field and of country life, which have become widely known in *Punch*.

### THE HON. LADY DOUGHTY.

The Hon. Mary Katharine, Lady Doughty, who died at Tichborne House on the 12th inst., was daughter of James Everard, ninth Lord Arundell of Wardour, and was married, June 26, 1827, to Edward Doughty, Esq., who had, in the previous year, exchanged his paternal name of Tichborne for that of Doughty, and who, in 1845, succeeded to the old family baronetcy, at the decease of his elder brother, Sir Henry Joseph Tichborne, Bart., of Tichborne, Hants. The issue of the marriage consisted of one son and one daughter—viz., Henry Tichborne Doughty, born Aug. 8, 1829, who died May 30, 1835; and Katharine Doughty, now Lady Radcliffe.

### MR. J. K. LORD.

The death of Mr. John Keast Lord, the manager of the Brighton Aquarium, is announced. Mr. Lord was laid up with a severe attack of paralysis some months

since, but though it was known that he was not in the enjoyment of robust health, it was far from being generally thought that his indisposition would so soon be brought to a fatal termination. Mr. Lord was not confined to his house till about twelve days ago, when he caught a cold. He died at his residence, 17, Dorset-gardens, Brighton, on the morning of December 9. Mr. Lord, who was in his fifty-fifth year, was unmarried, and leaves no near relations except a brother, whose whereabouts is not yet known. Originally a captain in the Royal Artillery, in which capacity he served in the Crimean war, and took part in the battle of Balaklava, Mr. Lord seems to have always entertained an intense love for the study of natural history; and at the close of the Russian campaign he quitted the army for a field in every way more congenial to his tastes. He now devoted himself to the study of nature in good earnest, and spent some time in Vancouver Island, which he appears to have thoroughly investigated. The results of his labours were afterwards given to the world in "The Naturalist in Vancouver Island;" and he subsequently published, among other works, "The Naturalist on the Amazons." Mr. Lord afterwards served on the North American Boundary Commission, and later on was engaged by the Viceroy of Egypt to report upon certain characteristics of that country. It was from Egypt, we believe, that he was called by the directors of the Aquarium to take the appointment for which he was so peculiarly fitted.

#### THE HON. JUDGE LYNCH.

The Hon. David Lynch, Judge of the Landed Estates Court, Ireland, died, on the 18th inst., at his residence, 27, Merriam-square, S., Dublin. This learned lawyer and esteemed judge was born in 1813, the son of a Dublin merchant, Mr. David Lynch. He was called to the Irish bar in 1833, and went the Munster Circuit for many years. His practice was very considerable, and his legal opinion much sought after. In 1849 he was made Queen's Counsel, in 1857 was appointed Chairman of the county of Louth, in 1859 constituted a Judge in the Bankruptcy Court, and in 1867 succeeded Judge Longfield in the Landed Estates Court. He married, 1841, Margaret, fourth daughter of Edward Kennedy, Esq., of Bankis House, in the county of Tipperary, and leaves a large family.

#### ADMIRAL LYONS.

Admiral John Lyons, R.N., who died at Worthing on the 15th inst., was the eldest son of John Lyons, Esq., of Lyons, Antigua, and St. Austin's, Hampshire, by Catharine, his wife, daughter of Main Swete Walrond, Esq., of Monrath, Devon, and was brother of the celebrated Admiral Lord Lyons, G.C.B. (so created 1856), and consequently uncle of the present Lord Lyons, her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris. He was born Sept. 1, 1787, and at the age of eleven entered the Navy on board the "St. George," for some time Lord Nelson's flagship, and was in the action of Copenhagen, 1801. He served for three or four years on the West Indian and home stations, and in 1805 joined the famous ship "Victory," under Nelson, taking part in the battle of Trafalgar, of which he was one of the very few survivors. Subsequently he was engaged on the Mediterranean station, where, too, he saw some active service, participating in the reduction of the island of Capri, the evacuation of Scylla, and other minor affairs. He was engaged successively off Toulon, at the Plymouth station, and at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1830 he retired on half-pay, but was for several years employed for the Government in Egypt. The Admiral married, first, 1810, Caroline, daughter of Major Bowen, R.A., which lady died in 1864; and, secondly, Aug. 31, 1865, Anna Maria, widow of Colonel John Leland Mowatt.

#### CHANCELLOR MASSINGBERD.

We have to record the death of Chancellor Massingberd, one of the most learned and orthodox of the clergy of the Church of England. He had been for some time very ill, and on his last appearance in Convocation, of which he was so distinguished a member, his evident infirmity caused great anxiety to his friends. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and took a second class *In Lit. Hum.* in 1822. He took his M.A. degree in the following year, and was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Oxford in 1824, and priest by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1825. He had been rector of South Ormsby, Lincolnshire, a family living, throughout his life, and having been a prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral for many years, became a chancellor and canon in 1862. By his influence great improvements were made in the services of Lincoln Cathedral, but he will be re-

membered chiefly, and his loss will be felt most widely, in the Church at large. No man's judgment (says the *Standard*) was held in higher esteem. At once orthodox and prudent, firm in the maintenance of what he believed to be the truth, and yet conciliatory to those who differed from him, the late chancellor will be mourned by many who, while not sympathizing with all his (to them) old-fashioned opinions, yet held in the highest regard his genuine piety, unaffected simplicity, and honesty of purpose. The late chancellor took a warm interest from the first in the revival of Convocation, as to which he has published several pamphlets, and was an active member of the Eastern Church Association. The last important question in which the deceased took part was the opposition to Dr. Temple's consecration. He was a member of Mr. Gathorne Hardy's Oxford committee, was an old-fashioned Tory as well as Churchman. Indeed, during the late Administration his name was more than once mentioned for a bishopric.

#### DEAN RAMSAY.

The Very Rev. Dean Ramsay, of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, died at his residence in Ainslie-place, Edinburgh, on December 27, in the eightieth year of his age. The Dean was the fourth son of the late Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Balmain. He received his education at Harlsley, Yorkshire, at the Grammar School, and St. John's College, Cambridge. He came to Edinburgh in 1824, and in 1830 he succeeded to the incumbency of St. John's, Edinburgh, on the death of Bishop Sandford. He was appointed dean in 1831. He was offered, but declined, in 1835 the bishopric of Fredericton; also, in 1848, the see of Glasgow, and in 1863 that of Edinburgh. He was well known as the author of "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character," of which twenty-one editions have been published.

#### MR. A. SMITH.

The death is recorded at River Bank, Putney, on December 26, of Mr. Archibald Smith, LL.D., F.R.S., of Lincoln's Inn, barrister-at-law, and of Jordan Hill, Lanarkshire. Mr. Smith was born in 1814. After studying at Glasgow University, he went to Cambridge in 1832. In 1836 he was senior wrangler and first Smith's prizeman, and was soon after elected a Fellow of his college. The second

wrangler of this year was Bishop Colenso. Mr. Smith was an unsuccessful candidate for the chair of Astronomy at Glasgow, and after declining an offer of employment at the Greenwich Observatory, he was called in 1839 to the Chancery Bar, and from that date forward he was mainly occupied with professional business. He devoted his leisure, however, to mathematical studies, and his contributions to science were of the highest practical value. Upon the recommendation of a joint committee of the Royal Society, he was employed by the Government to execute a magnetic survey of the Antarctic regions. In connexion with these inquiries he made a series of researches relative to compass deviations, which were published in 1862, under the title of the "Admiralty Manual for the Deviation of the Compass," which was republished and translated into various languages. As a recognition of his scientific labours, Mr. Smith received from the Royal Society one of its Royal medals, and from the Emperor of Russia a compass set with diamonds. Her Majesty's Government still more recently requested his acceptance of a gift of 2000*l.*, not as a reward, but as a mark of their appreciation of the value of his researches and of the influence they were exercising on the maritime interests of England and the world at large. Mr. Smith, who, besides his scientific acquirements, was an eminent Real Property lawyer, stood as the Liberal candidate for the representation of the University of Glasgow, but was not successful. In 1853 he married the daughter of Vice-Chancellor Sir James Park, who survives him. He leaves a family of six sons and two daughters.

#### MR. J. STARTIN, F.R.C.S.

Mr. James Startin, student of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, died on December 24, after a short but very severe illness. Mr. Startin was well known as a most successful dermatologist, and, if not the founder, was for many years the senior surgeon to the Hospital for Diseases of the Skin, Blackfriars. He was the author of several valuable contributions to dermatology, a speciality to which so much attention has been directed by Professor Erasmus Wilson (the founder of the Dermatological Chair at the Royal College of Surgeons), Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, Mr. Milton, Dr. Tilbury Fox, &c. Mr. Startin, who was a member of several learned societies both at home and abroad, was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons on February 15, 1828, and a Fellow on July 6, 1852.

# REMARKABLE TRIALS.

## I.

### THE STOCKWELL MURDER.

THE Rev. John Selby Watson was put upon his trial on the 10th of January, before Mr. Justice Byles, for the wilful murder of his wife, Anne Watson. The prisoner was described in the calendar as being 65 years of age, and by profession a "clerk in holy orders." The case appeared to create a great deal of public interest, and a number of persons were in attendance anxious to gain admission long before the usual time for the commencement of the sittings. The counsel for the Crown were the Hon. G. Denman, Q.C., Mr. Poland, and Mr. Besley. Mr. Serjeant Parry and the Hon. A. Thesiger were counsel for the prisoner. The prisoner exhibited a most careworn and dejected appearance when he was placed at the bar. He pleaded not guilty in a low tone of voice, both to the indictment and to the coroner's inquisition.

The Hon. Mr. Denman opened the case in a brief and temperate address, and he narrated the circumstances under which the crime was committed.

The following evidence was then adduced for the prosecution :—

Mr. George Whelin, a metropolitan police constable, produced a plan of the house occupied by the prisoner and the deceased, and he described the number of rooms and their different dimensions. The house was situated at No. 28, St. Martin's-road, Stockwell, and there were three rooms on the first floor.

Eleanor Mary Pyne, examined by Mr. Poland—I was in the service of the prisoner and the deceased at No. 28, St. Martin's-road. I was in their service altogether for nearly three years. My sister was also formerly in their service, but she left at Christmas, 1870, and from that time I was the only servant. No one lived in the house but my master and mistress and me. My master was formerly head master of Stockwell Grammar School, but he left that appointment about the time my sister went from his service. My master and mistress formerly occupied the same bedroom on the first floor, the front room, but they ceased to do so in the middle of last year, and my mistress used to sleep in a room behind the library. The prisoner still occupied the front bedroom, and the library was on the same floor. I attended to all the rooms except Mrs. Watson's bedroom. She attended to that room herself, and I only went into it occasionally. On Sunday, the 8th of October, my master and mistress went out rather earlier than church time, and returned after church time, but rather later than usual. They usually dined at a quarter to two o'clock, and they dined together on that day, and they

had some wine after dinner and also some dessert in the library. I saw the prisoner and the deceased in the library about three o'clock, and I did not notice any thing particular in their appearance. They were generally very quiet. I went out about five o'clock on this afternoon, as was my usual custom, and I returned home about nine o'clock. I knocked at the door, and my master let me in. I had prepared the tea-things in the dining-room before I went out. The usual hour for tea was a quarter to six o'clock. When the prisoner opened the door he said that my mistress was gone out, and would probably not be home until the next day. I did not make any reply to him, but went into the dining-room, and I noticed that the tea-things had not been used, and the prisoner said, "We have not taken tea to-night." The prisoner then said he would have his supper, and I took him up some bread and cheese and retired to the kitchen. I afterwards went into the prisoner's bedroom, but did not notice anything unusual in it. The prisoner had his supper, and I saw him afterwards coming out of the library. He opened the door and directed my attention to a stain on the floor, and said, "This stain on the floor is port wine which your mistress let drop. I have told you in case you should wonder what the stain was caused by." The stain was under the carpet as you walked into the room, close to the door. The key of the library was generally in the door, but this time I noticed that it had been removed. I went to bed, and nothing more occurred, and on the next day the prisoner told me that he did not think my mistress would be home that day, and he afterwards said that he did not think she would be home for a day or two. When the prisoner called my attention to the stain of blood, he also told me not to go into the room, as my mistress had locked it. The prisoner went out on Tuesday before dinner, and before he went he said he should not be home that night, and I had better get some one to sleep in the house with me. I was unable to find any one. The prisoner did not go out as he had said he should, and about eleven o'clock at night he called to me and told me that if I found anything wrong in the morning with him I was to send for Mr. Rugg, his doctor. I asked him if he was ill, and he replied that he might require medicine in the morning. I got up on the Wednesday morning about a quarter to seven o'clock, and at eight o'clock I knocked at his bedroom door, and he came down-stairs at about half-past eight o'clock. He went out before he had breakfast, and was absent about ten minutes. He went out again after breakfast, and returned about eleven, and I saw him go to the library. Shortly afterwards he called, and said that if I should find him ill before dinner I was to go to the doctor. Soon after this I heard groans proceeding from the prisoner's bedroom, and I went there and saw him lying in bed, undressed. I spoke to him, but he was unconscious, and did not appear to know me, and I immediately went for the doctor. I noticed three papers on the table and a small phial on the drawers, and also a glass by the side of the bed. I took up one of the papers, and read it. It is the one now produced. The paper was not sealed, and it contained a 5*l.* note. Dr. Rugg was the medical attendant of my master, and I went and fetched him, and he proceeded to my mistress's bedroom, and shortly afterwards he went to fetch the police. While he was absent my master said that he was cold, and I put some more clothes on the bed. When the police came they went into the library, and I noticed some marks on the windows, apparently splashes of wine. I had noticed these marks first on the Tuesday when I cleaned the

windows. I did not see the body of my mistress until the following day. It was lying in the back bedroom, where she had been in the habit of sleeping. My quarter's wages would not have been due until the 8th of November, a month after my mistress died.

Cross-examined—The prisoner was not conscious when I saw him on the Wednesday morning, but he recovered his consciousness shortly afterwards. I heard that some pistols had been found in a drawer in my master's dressing-room. The drawer was open, and any one who opened the drawer could have seen the pistols. The piece of paper with the Latin writing upon it was placed open on the table in the library. I saw it on the Tuesday, but had not noticed it before. The house the prisoner occupied was a large one, and one of the rooms was used as a schoolroom. At one time he had two pupils, but they left about the same time he left the Grammar School. When he lost his appointment one of the servants went away, and I was his only domestic. I was in his service not quite three years, and latterly I did all the work of the house except my mistress's bedroom. My mistress and master did not cease sleeping together until the hot weather in July. Sometimes my mistress was hasty in her temper, but the prisoner invariably acted kindly towards her, and I considered him to be a kind-hearted gentleman. I never noticed any grumbling or unkindly feeling on the part of either my master or my mistress, and they always appeared to live happily together. The prisoner did not keep any company. He was always very reserved, and was always either writing or reading, and his habits were of a studious character, and he generally seemed absorbed in his books and writing. Everything in the house was very regular and punctual. My master and mistress went to church together on this day, but they started rather earlier and returned rather later than usual. They usually went to church once every Sunday.

Dr. G. P. Rugg, examined by Mr. Besley—I am a doctor of medicine, and practise at Stockwell. I have known the prisoner for some time, but I have not attended him professionally, but I went to his house to see the sister of the last witness professionally. I remember being fetched to the prisoner's house on Wednesday, the 11th of October. I found him in bed, unconscious, and breathing heavily. His eyes were turned up, and there was a cold, clammy perspiration upon him, and at first I thought he was labouring under an attack of epilepsy. He remained in an unconscious state for a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. I observed three letters on the table. One was addressed "To the surgeon." It was sealed, and I opened it and read it, and then proceeded to the place where the body was said to be placed.

Dr. Rugg was cross-examined by Mr. Serjeant Parry. He said—I knew the prisoner a great many years as master of the Stockwell Grammar School, and he bore the character of a man of high classical attainments and a kind-hearted, humane man. I had seen the prisoner about three months before at King's College, and at first he did not appear to know me, and he seemed very absent. I have no reason to doubt that he had taken poison when I saw him on the 11th of October, and that he had taken a dose that might have produced death. He was seriously suffering from the effects of prussic acid. The usual course is to arouse the patient, if possible, and I tried the necessary means to do so. He told me he had taken a dose the previous night, but it was not sufficient, and he had purchased more that morning. The strength of prussic acid would decrease by keeping, and it was very volatile. If the



prisoner had purchased prussic acid twelve months before and kept it, the strength would have very greatly deteriorated. It was after the policeman came that I told the prisoner that I knew he had taken prussic acid, and he merely threw up his arms, and exclaimed, "Ah!" or something like it. I inquired of the prisoner if there had been any insanity in his family, and he replied that his brother was quite sane, but he could not say so much for his father. When he referred to the oyster, he knew that he was charged with murder, and that the police were in the house ready to take him. He seemed to be quite oblivious of what had taken place. He said that he wished to be shaved, but the policeman would not permit it. He talked of the oyster-shell as being a great curiosity. I asked him if he had anything on his mind, and whether his means were sufficient; and he said that he had enough, but that his means were diminishing, that it was a serious thing for him to lose the Grammar School, and that he had been promised an appointment, but it had fallen to the ground, and he was afraid at his age he should not get another appointment. I consider that insanity is as much a disease as any other malady to which human nature is subject. There is a well-defined form of insanity known as melancholia, and this form of insanity is recognized by every eminent medical man. A sudden shock of any kind would be calculated to produce the disease of melancholia, and a person suffering from it would be liable to sudden and uncontrollable outbursts of passion. He might commit an act of great violence while in that condition, and according to my judgment he would not be able to distinguish whether he was doing right or wrong, or the quality of the act he was committing.

Mr. Serjeant Parry (to the witness).—Having heard all the evidence in this case, and after the interviews and conversations you have had with the prisoner, what is your opinion of the state of his mind at the time he killed his wife?

Mr. Justice Byles expressed some doubt whether this question could be put, as the effect of it would be to place the witness in a position to usurp the functions of the jury.

The question was proposed in a modified form, but was still objected to by Mr. Denman.

The learned judge expressed his opinion that the question could not be put legally.

Dr. Rugg, on further cross-examination, said that he had noticed that the prisoner had exhibited very great despondency.

Mr. Serjeant Parry.—Do you believe the prisoner to be sane or insane at the present moment?

Witness.—I believe that at this moment the prisoner is of unsound mind.

Re-examined.—The last time I saw the prisoner he was in Horsemonger-lane Gaol, and at this time he was under the medical care of Mr. Waterworth, the surgeon of the prison. I had not spoken to the prisoner except upon the occasions I have referred to for more than a twelvemonth. In the conversations I had with him the prisoner was perfectly rational, and he appeared to understand all that I said to him, but he appeared to be very morose.

Mr. Denman.—From what particular facts do you come to the conclusion that the prisoner is insane?

Witness.—I do not form that opinion from any particular fact, but from all the circumstances of the case taken together, and the general demeanour and conduct of the prisoner.

Inspector Davis, examined by Mr. Denman.—I am an inspector of the W division of police. On the 11th of October I went to the room where the deceased was lying, with Dr. Pope and Dr. Rugg. I afterwards went into the library, and saw a great quantity of blood in different parts of the room. There was blood on the window, on the wire blind, on the floor, and also on an arm-chair. I found some articles of male clothing also on which there were stains of blood. I also found a piece of sponge on which there were some stains of blood, and also some long white hairs. The sponge appeared to have been washed out. After this I went to the prisoner's bedroom and found him in bed, and I told him I should take him into custody for killing and slaying his wife on the previous Sunday. After a short pause, he inquired where I should take him, and I replied to the Brixton Police-station. I asked him for the coat and shirt he had worn on the previous Sunday, and he asked me what I wanted them for, and then said they were in the next room. I found them there, and saw that there was blood upon both. After the prisoner had been taken to the police-station, and the charge was read over to him, he made no reply, but asked if he could have certain things from his house, and he wrote a list of things that he required.

George Hazell, a police-sergeant, said—I was left in charge of the prisoner, and I had previously told him that he must consider himself in custody for the murder of his wife. He replied, when I said this, "I suppose so."

John Harvey, police-sergeant, said—I was at the house of the prisoner with the last witness, and I went into the bedroom and heard the last witness tell the prisoner that he must consider himself in custody for the murder of his wife. The prisoner made an observation something like "Don't be violent."

Dr. Pope, the divisional surgeon to the police, said—I went to the prisoner's house on the 11th of October, and saw him, and asked him how he was. He replied, "Better than I expected to be." I have seen a box in the court, which I believe would hold the body of the deceased in the position in which it was, with a little compressing. I heard the inspector ask the prisoner where the coat was that he had worn on the previous Sunday, and he said that if it was wanted for an exhibition he objected to say where it was. I saw nothing in the appearance of the prisoner at this time to suppose that he was of unsound mind. I saw him in the evening at the police-station, and asked him if he wanted anything, and he replied that all he wanted was something to eat.

Cross-examined—I don't know what the prisoner meant by saying that he objected to the coat being made an exhibition of, but my impression was, that he did not wish it to be produced as evidence against him. The coat at this time was hanging on a peg openly in an adjoining room.

Dr. Muter, director of the South London School of Chemistry and Pharmacy, Kennington-road, proved that he examined the phial found in the prisoner's bedroom, and found that it contained prussic acid, but in a very diluted form.

Mr. Charles Turner said—I am a trunkmaker, carrying on business in the Clapham-road. The prisoner came to my shop on the 9th of October and looked at some trunks, but said they were not exactly what he wanted, and he wished to have more of a packing-case. I told him I could make him one, and he said he must have it immediately, and he said the case must be 2ft. 9in. long, 2ft. 3in. wide, and 1ft. 9in. deep. He said I was to make the case, and

it was to be finished on the following day. After I had taken the dimensions I told him it would be a very large size, and he said it must be that size. The case was made, but the prisoner told the witness not to send the case in until he required it, and he paid him for it with a 10*l.* note.

Mr. John Pell, a chemist in the Clapham-park-road, proved that on Wednesday morning, the 11th of October, the prisoner came to his shop and said he required some prussic acid of Scheele's strength for medical purposes. Witness advised him not to have Scheele's acid, as it could not be depended upon, but he insisted upon having Scheele's acid, and witness supplied him with two drachms of Scheele's acid.

Mrs. Anne Tulley, examined by Mr. Denman—I and my husband some years ago lived with the prisoner and his wife at the Grammar School. My husband was drill instructor, and I was housekeeper. Since we left I have been in the habit of visiting Mrs. Watson, and I went to her house on Sunday, the 8th of October, at a few minutes to five. I rang the bell, and I heard a sound of tramping about in the house, and after a short time I heard Mrs. Watson's voice, but could not at first hear what she said, and I rang again, and then heard Mrs. Watson say three times, "There is somebody at the door." Nobody came till I had rung a third time, and then the door was opened by the prisoner, who said, "Oh, it is only Mrs. Tulley." I went in and saw the deceased, who came up to me and asked me how I was, and I went with her into the drawing-room. The prisoner was standing outside, and, after a short time, he came in, and Mrs. Watson then said that the servant was out, and she added, "Oh, Mrs. Tulley, I am so frightened of any one getting in over the wall at the back." The prisoner then inquired how my husband was, and how we were getting on, and I said that we were doing very well.

Mrs. Charlotte Jane Hill—I live in the London-road, and the house occupied by the prisoner belongs to me. The prisoner has occupied it for six years, at the rent of sixty guineas. On the 27th of October, 1870, I received a letter from the prisoner, in which he gave me notice that he intended to quit the house in June following, and said that he might be prepared to give up the house before the period mentioned, if I wished him to do so. He did not leave according to notice, and remained with my consent, and it was arranged that he should stop for a short time after quarter-day in the house. On Wednesday morning, the 11th of October, I received a letter from the prisoner enclosing a cheque for the rent due at Michaelmas. This letter was dated the 10th of October. I subsequently gave a receipt for the rent. I heard of the melancholy affair on the day after I received the letter containing the cheque.

Cross-examined—The last letter was written on a slip of paper, and it was very different to the style in which he usually wrote to me.

Mr. Henry Grey—I am the secretary to the Stockwell Grammar School, and it was my duty to give the prisoner notice of the termination of his engagement at the school in October, 1870. I produce a copy of that notice. (It was to the effect that the step was necessary to be taken in consequence of the falling off in the number of scholars.) The prisoner wrote a reply, to the effect that the notice had taken him completely by surprise, and that, considering the long period he had been employed as master, and the exertions he had made, he expected that he should at least have been permitted to

resign, and that he should have been ready to do all in his power to meet the members of the committee of management. (The letter was read.) Some portions of the letter were lined under. It was the habit of the prisoner to do this. No complaint had ever been made against the prisoner by the committee of the school. I noticed appearances as though he had an ebullition of temper, but I never saw him actually exhibit one of these ebullitions. I met the prisoner casually in an omnibus about a fortnight before this affair, and had some conversation with him, but all that I noticed about him was that he appeared to be very much aged.

Cross-examined—The school was under the management of a committee, and the prisoner was bound to obey their directions. He had been master since the year 1844. There was an election, and there were several candidates, and the prisoner was the one selected. His salary was 300*l.* per annum, with a capitation upon each boy of four guineas for every boy over seventy. The average number of pupils down to 1869 was between ninety and a hundred, and the prisoner's income often touched 400*l.* per annum. The number of the pupils had very much decreased in 1869 and 1870, and this was the reason why the prisoner received notice. All the other masters also received notice, and the reason given was the diminution in the number of pupils. The prisoner appeared to age very much after he left the school.

Mr. W. Longman, a member of the firm of Longman and Co., publishers, Paternoster-row, examined by Mr. Beasley—I have known the prisoner a great many years, and in consequence of a letter written by him in August, 1871, relating to a work he had written, called "A History of the Papacy down to the Reformation," the manuscript was sent to me.

Cross-examined—This work was undoubtedly one of very great labour, and must have occupied the prisoner a considerable time. Our firm entertained the idea of publishing this work, but no decision was arrived at. We have published for the prisoner the "Life of Porson," the "Life of Warburton," and several other works. The prisoner was undoubtedly a man of very great learning, and he has translated a great many classical works, many of which were in the nature of school-books. I believe the prisoner was always a very formal and methodical man.

Dr. Waterworth, the medical officer at Horsemonger-lane Gaol—The prisoner was brought first to the prison on the 12th of October, and I saw him on the following morning, and almost daily from that period while he remained in the gaol. I conversed with him from time to time, and endeavoured to form a judgment as to the condition of his mind, and I consider him of perfectly sound mind, and I never observed in him the slightest indication of insanity.

Cross-examined—I have made myself acquainted with all the circumstances of this case, and this does not affect the opinion I have given. He was very weak and depressed, and I ordered him some slight stimulants in consequence of his condition. I considered that he was weak in body and depressed in mind, and he appeared averse to enter into conversation with me or with any one. I am not aware that he had an objection to converse with me particularly. He complained of having sleepless nights, and I gave him some small doses of morphia. He secreted a portion of this with the intention, no doubt, of committing suicide, but he was prevented from taking it. I consider his restlessness was owing to the crime he had committed. His brain was undoubtedly disturbed, and this was the reason of his sleeplessness.

Dr. Shepherd—I am the superintendent of the Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum. There are 2050 patients in that asylum at this time. I visited the prisoner in Newgate on four occasions, and had conversations with him, and the result of those conversations is that I think he is of sound mind.

By Mr. Serjeant Parry.—I mean by this that he was of sound mind at the time I saw him. I visited the prisoner by the direction of the Government. I have no doubt that insanity is a disease to be treated, and, possibly, cured, like any other disease. There is a recognized form of insanity called melancholia, which may be created by any sudden calamity, such as loss of fortune, loss of status. Such a patient would be liable to outbreaks of madness, and under certain intense forms of melancholia reason and judgment would be certainly gone. I do not believe that any slight provocation given to such a person would be likely to cause such an outbreak; but it would have more effect upon him undoubtedly than upon an ordinary man. It is very common for a person who has been subject to such an outbreak of violence to be himself again almost immediately afterwards. Suicide and homicide are very common to the disease of melancholia, but the former is more commonly the case than the latter. Extreme despondency and depression were common indications of melancholia. The forms of suicide adopted by the insane were intensely clever and crafty, and contain no element of clumsiness about them, and I do not believe that any such patient, intending to commit suicide, would tell another that he might be ill at a certain time, or give any notice of his intention. It is a very common thing, also, for a madman after committing a crime to exhibit great cunning and craftiness. I consider absence of remorse for a dreadful crime to be consistent both with sanity and insanity.

Dr. Begbie—I am also engaged at the Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum. I am one of the medical superintendents. I have seen the prisoner four times. On the three first occasions he was reserved, but on the fourth he was altered, and appeared to be very garrulous and talkative, and he exhibited an amount of levity quite inconsistent with his position, and which could only be accounted for by some mental infirmity. He rambled on various subjects in a most unusual and incoherent manner, and went from one subject to another with great rapidity and great volubility, and, generally, upon subjects of classical literature. I encouraged the prisoner to talk, and sometimes he would leave off in the middle of a sentence. The prisoner also exhibited a very great amount of depression, such as would be expected in the case of a man who had sustained a great loss or who had committed a great crime.

By Mr. Serjeant Parry—I have been thirty years at the asylum, and have 700 patients. I was a pupil of Dr. Connolly. The conclusion I arrived at from what occurred on the third and fourth interviews with the prisoner was that the prisoner was of unsound mind.

Mr. J. R. Gibson—I am the surgeon to the gaol of Newgate, and I have been in that capacity for sixteen or seventeen years. The prisoner was brought into the gaol on the 14th of November, and I have conversed with him and have paid particular attention to him, and was present when he was visited by the last witness, and heard what took place between them. The judgment I have arrived at is that the prisoner is perfectly rational, and I should add remarkably self-possessed. I never observed any inconsistency or anything incoherent in the answers he gave to Dr. Begbie.

This closed the case for the prosecution.

Mr. Serjeant Parry then addressed the jury for the prisoner at considerable length, and he argued that all the circumstances connected with the crime showed that it was not the act of a sane man, and he said that he should produce evidence to show that the prisoner's mind had been destroyed by the calamity that had befallen him in being discharged from his appointment. He argued that it was most improbable that a man in the position of the prisoner should have committed such a dreadful act without any apparent motive.

The following evidence was then adduced for the defence :—

Mr. W. J. Fraser said—I am the solicitor for the prisoner, and I produce the certificate of his marriage with Miss Armstrong, at Dublin, in December 1845. I can produce a number of letters that were found in one of the deceased's drawers after her death. I also produce a list of the different works published by the prisoner. They are fifty in number.

Cross-examined—I was a pupil of the prisoner, and occasionally corresponded with him after I left the school. I was one of the proprietors of the school. I found all the documents that were mentioned by the prisoner in the letter left upon his table.

The Rev. Mr. Baugh said—I am the rector of Chelshield, Kent. In September last my curate was absent temporarily, and in consequence of indisposition I obtained the assistance of the prisoner. It appeared to me that he was rather nervous when I saw him in the vestry, and I afterwards observed that his voice was very weak and listless, and I would not permit him to perform the Communion Service. He went home with me, and I soon found that he was labouring under a deep despondency, which showed itself in a gloomy silence, which continued the whole of the day. I and my wife both tried to get him to talk, but he did not originate any topic of conversation, and when anything was said to him he merely replied in monosyllables. After luncheon I told the prisoner that I thought I was quite as able to take the duties of the evening service as he was, but he read the prayers. He went home to dine, but his manner was still the same, and he appeared equally depressed as he was in the morning. He appeared so feeble in the evening that I ordered the carriage to convey him to the station. The only symptom of cheerfulness I observed in the prisoner was when I paid him his fee. (A laugh.)

Mrs. A. W. Baugh gave similar evidence.

The Rev. Joseph Wallace examined—I am the vicar of St. Andrew's, Stockwell. For the last three years the prisoner and his wife had sittings at my church. I have known the prisoner for ten years, and frequently spoke to him. No man could have a higher character for kindness and humanity than he had. I saw the prisoner in Horsemonger-lane Gaol on the 3rd of November. I went at the request of the prisoner, and was with him about three-quarters of an hour. At the end of my conversation with him I formed an opinion respecting the state of his mind. He appeared to have quite forgotten that he had sent for me, and his conversation was very unlike what I had heard from him before. He said during my visit that perhaps if he had opened his mouth to me before he might have taken a different course. He rambled from subject to subject very rapidly. It was not his habit formerly to do so. At one time he talked about what he called "that horrible Coroner's inquest," and then added, "They won't let me shave." I noticed a singular

absence of remorse for his crime. He appeared full of trouble and anxiety about the dismantling of his house and the sale of his library, and said he should have no place to go back to. He also said, "Here's a man who can write Latin which the Bishop of Winchester would commend shut up in a place like this."

Cross-examined—I had known the prisoner intimately during the period I have mentioned, and I used to visit his school, and we had frequent conversations on matters of business. I had three interviews with him altogether. He was certainly aware that he should be tried for the murder, but he expected to be acquitted. I went to see him a second time in consequence of a letter I received from the prisoner. I have lost the letter I refer to. The prisoner was in a large cell, with stone walls, and two other prisoners were in the same cell with him. The three principal points that I noticed were his forgetting he had sent for me, the horrible inquest, and about the Latin.

Mr. R. J. Hull examined—I am a grocer at Brixton, and one of my sons was in the prisoner's school. I saw the prisoner at Christmas, 1870, and I noticed a very great difference in his manner. He seemed quite depressed and "lost." He did not seem to know what he was speaking about.

Dr. Maudsley—I am an M.D. of the University of London, and have paid great attention to the disease of insanity, and I have lectured upon that subject. I was also medical superintendent at the Lunatic Asylum at Manchester. At the instance of the prisoner's solicitor I have visited the prisoner for the purpose of ascertaining the state of his mind. The first time I saw him was on the 27th of November last, about a month after the melancholy event. I was with him more than an hour, and at the end of that interview I formed the opinion that he was of unsound mind. I believe that he had been suffering from melancholia, and the symptoms I observed in him were such as would follow an attack of that disease. I knew his age was between sixty and seventy, and an attack of melancholia at that age would have greater effect than on a younger person. I heard Dr. Shepherd's evidence, and I agree with him in the main in his opinion regarding the disease of melancholia, but in some particulars I differ from him. A person suffering from melancholia would be subject to bursts of mad violence, and while those outbursts continued his reason is quite in abeyance, and he is unconscious, or nearly so, of what he is doing, and his mind is decidedly deranged. After such an attack the mind sometimes recovers in a comparatively short time—perhaps within an hour—and immediately before the attack a patient might appear comparatively calm and rational, and his conversation might be perfectly coherent. I have seen several cases of this description. It is a disease undoubtedly, accompanied by dangerous predispositions, but more suicidal than homicidal. An attempt to commit suicide would undoubtedly strengthen my opinion that a patient was of unsound mind. A madman very frequently exhibits very extreme violence when he resorts to any act of that description. If a man had never previously exhibited any indications of violence, that would be an ingredient in forming my opinion whether he was sane or not. Persons who are suffering from melancholy madness are frequently well aware of their suicidal or other tendencies. I know of one case where a patient told his keeper he would destroy himself if he was not watched, and he did eventually destroy himself. He was one of my patients. The case of Charles Lamb and his sister is also a case in point. Miss Lamb while suffering from this

disease killed her father. Craft and design also frequently occur in patients so afflicted, in order to endeavour to conceal any act of violence that they had committed. In its early stage melancholia is extreme depression, and nothing more. Whether this depression was founded upon reasonable grounds or not should be taken into consideration. When I conversed with the prisoner he was certainly aware that he had done a wrong act—in fact, that he had committed a crime. The prisoner told me that his wife was of rather a hasty temper, and that she had said something to him which aggravated him, and he had struck her on the head with a pistol. I asked him where he got the pistol from, and he replied that he had inherited it from his grandfather. He said that during their life he and his wife had had other quarrels of the same kind. He did not say whether he had the pistol in his hand at the time he struck her, or whether he fetched it from anywhere. I told him of the probable consequences of his crime, and he did not seem to be at all affected.

Dr. Blandford examined—I have also paid great attention to the subject of insanity, and have lectured upon the subject at St. George's Hospital. I am also medical superintendent at two private lunatic asylums, one for gentlemen and the other for ladies. I agree with Dr. Maudsley that there is a well-defined and understood form of mania known as melancholia. Melancholia is also more common in aged than in young persons, and any sudden shock is likely to bring it on, and it is always accompanied by a suicidal tendency, and sometimes by a homicidal one. The first symptom of melancholia is an alteration in the general habits of the patient, accompanied by extreme depression. The alteration would consist in the general bearing and demeanour of the individual, and restlessness and sleeplessness always accompany all forms of insanity. If morphia did not have the effect of producing sleep, I should consider it a very serious ingredient in the case. Indifference and callousness after the commission of an act of violence I should consider an indication of insanity, and they frequently accompany that condition. I saw the prisoner after he had been committed to Newgate, and I am decidedly of opinion that he was of unsound mind, and I am also of opinion that the facts spoken to as regards the prisoner's conduct on certain occasions are indicative of his being under the influence of a particular form of insanity.

Mr. Justice Byles—What is the treatment for melancholia?

Dr. Blandford—Quiet treatment, good food, retirement, and the prevention of any disturbing occurrence.

Mr. Justice Byles—Would the sudden cessation of a man's employment tend to have any effect upon such a patient?

Dr. Blandford—Undoubtedly it would have a most important effect, as interfering with the regular habits of a man's life.

Dr. Joseph Rogers, examined by Mr. Serjeant Parry—I have had a great deal of experience in cases of insanity, and have had five interviews with the prisoner, and I believe him to be of unsound mind.

Cross-examined by Mr. Poland—I believe that the prisoner was suffering from that form of insanity known as melancholia. I went to see the prisoner at the request of his solicitor. Melancholia is a very different thing indeed to low spirits.

Mr. Poland—Has the prisoner any delusions?

Dr. Rogers—None whatever.



Cross-examination continued—I placed the prisoner in a strong light, and his countenance assumed a dazed expression. His conversation was not irrational, but he seemed to be perfectly indifferent to what was going on about him. While I was talking to him he suddenly jumped up and brushed something off his trousers, and then shook himself. (A laugh.) I talked to the prisoner about the crime, and he said that he had some words with his wife, and they quarrelled, and then he did “the deed.”

Mr. Poland—Did he say where he got the pistol from?

Dr. Rogers—He did not.

Cross-examination continued—The prisoner told me while he was in Horse-monger-lane Gaol that he had attempted to commit suicide in that prison; and I asked him how he, a clergyman, could dare to rush into the presence of his Maker, and he replied, in a frivolous manner, “Oh, there is no prohibition in the Bible against suicide.”

Did you say anything to him about ordering the box?—Yes.

What did he say?—He shrugged his shoulders and said it was not for the purpose assumed.

Was he aware that he was to be defended on the ground of insanity?—The Crown physicians who visited him in Newgate I believe made him aware of the object of their visit.

This closed the case for the defence.

Mr. Serjeant Parry then proceeded to exercise the right of summing up the evidence for the defence. He said it was one of the misfortunes of the prisoner that he and his wife should have lived in such a state of seclusion, and it rendered it impossible for him to call many witnesses to speak upon the subject; but he submitted that the evidence of the few witnesses he had been able to call fully bore out the suggestion that previously to this act of fury the prisoner had exhibited symptoms of insanity. As to the statement of the prisoner that he had frequently quarrelled with his wife before, there was nothing to show that this was not a delusion on the part of the prisoner, and, so far as she was able to do so, the fact was negatived by the servant girl, who had lived with the prisoner for three years, and who stated positively that during this period nothing of the sort took place. Mr. Serjeant Parry then proceeded to refer to the evidence of the medical gentlemen, and he argued that after the evidence that had been given by the eminent men who had been examined, there could not be any reasonable doubt that at the time this dreadful deed was committed the prisoner was not in such a state of mind as to be responsible for his actions. One life had already been sacrificed, and the question now was whether the jury were bound to declare such a verdict as would inevitably lead to the destruction of another. He said he did not believe that they would return such a verdict, and that they would not, after the evidence of the eminent scientific gentlemen who had been examined, consign the unhappy old man at the bar to an ignominious death. The learned serjeant concluded a brief but very able *résumé* of the evidence that had been adduced on behalf of the prisoner, and he concluded by expressing his opinion that at the time this deed was committed the prisoner was in such a state of mind as not to be able, in the words of the law, to distinguish the difference between right and wrong, and he asked the jury upon that ground to say that he was not guilty.

Mr. Denman then proceeded to reply on behalf of the Crown upon the whole

case. He said it was his duty to finish this serious and important case so far as counsel were concerned, and he did not intend to occupy any great portion of their time. He then went on to say that the defence of the prisoner rested upon the ground of insanity, and the law upon that question had been clearly and distinctly laid down by the learned judges, and the safety of them all depended upon the law being carried out with strictness and integrity. His learned friend had said that the prisoner was a most unlikely man to have committed such an act if he had been of sound mind; but they must not forget that the same observation might have been made in a great many cases where a most deliberate and brutal murder had been clearly proved to have been committed. If he understood the defence that had been set up for the prisoner, it was that, owing to some sudden calamity, the prisoner's mind had been overturned, and that this dreadful act was committed by him while in a state of insanity, resulting from his condition. He could only say that if such a defence were admitted to prevail, the safety of human life would be very much diminished, and he urged the jury to pause before they allowed their province to be invaded by the suggestions and opinions of medical men who were called to establish a particular state of things on behalf of a prisoner. He should not attempt to deny that there was such a disease as melancholia, and that this disease took its rise from depression, but he really could not understand how it was possible for a man to be perfectly sane immediately before the commission of some dreadful deed, and be in the same condition immediately afterwards, and yet during the interval should be in such a condition of mind as not to be responsible for his actions. The jury would again not forget that it was clearly proved that the prisoner was a most intelligent man, a man of business, and that all his affairs seemed to have been conducted in a most business-like and formal manner. Two days after the murder had been committed he appeared to have sent a most business-like letter to his landlady, enclosing a cheque for the amount of the previous quarter's rent, and he seemed to have taken extraordinary means to conceal the crime that he had committed.

The learned judge, in summing up, said it might be regarded as quite clear that the prisoner committed the murder, and that there was no provocation used which would reduce the crime to one of manslaughter; and really the only question for the jury was this: Whether the prisoner at the time he committed this act was legally responsible for it? Whether he did know what he was doing, and that what he was doing was wrong? In order to obtain an answer to the question, it was necessary to look at the past life of the prisoner. His lordship then proceeded to refer to the evidence.

The jury retired to consider their verdict at five minutes past five o'clock, and after an absence of one hour and a half, returned into court with a verdict of "Guilty," strongly recommending the prisoner to the mercy and clemency of the Crown on account of his advanced age and previous good character.

When asked whether he had anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon him,

The prisoner said: I only wish to say that the defence which has been maintained in my favour was a just and honest one.

The prisoner's sentence was afterwards remitted on the ground of insanity.

## II.

## THE BRIGHTON POISONING CASE.

At the Central Criminal Court, on the 15th of January, Christiana Edmunds was arraigned before Mr. Baron Martin, charged with the wilful murder of Sidney Albert Barker. Mr. Serjeant Ballantine and Mr. Straight were counsel for the prosecution; and Mr. Serjeant Parry, Mr. Worsley, and Mr. Poland were counsel for the defence.

The prisoner having pleaded Not Guilty,

Mr. Serjeant Ballantine, in addressing the jury, observed that the prisoner at the bar was a person in easy circumstances. She was at the time of these transactions residing at Brighton, and had resided there for some time, and as far as I know with perfect respectability in her surroundings. It appears she had formed an acquaintance with a Dr. and Mrs. Beard, an acquaintance which was originally formed in consequence of Dr. Beard's having been called in to attend the prisoner in his professional character. That acquaintance seems to have ripened into an intimacy scarcely consistent with the strict relations that ought to exist between a medical adviser and one of his female patients. There can be no doubt that the lady herself entertained the strongest feelings towards Dr. Beard, and expressed them in very strong language, which indicated on her part a considerable amount of affection towards him. Dr. Beard was a married man, and the prisoner was not only attended by him in his professional capacity, but seems to have been on visiting terms with him. There were a great number of letters between the parties. Whether it is necessary that these letters should be read I am not at present prepared to say, but they are in court, and if there is a desire expressed that they should be read, in order to further the ends of justice, I, on the part of the prosecution, will make no objection. This being the state of things in 1870 and towards the close of that year, the prisoner appears to have been on one occasion, in the month of December, at the house of Dr. Beard, and she gave a chocolate cream to Mrs. Beard, who, upon receiving it, put it into her mouth and sucked a portion of it, but, finding it exceedingly disagreeable, and having an unusual taste, she spat it out, and received no real injury, though there was no doubt something deleterious in the cream. It is to be borne in mind that up to this time no poison of any kind or description had been traced to the prisoner, but on this occurrence taking place Dr. Beard charged the prisoner with having attempted to poison his wife. You will have, before the conclusion of this case, to consider the gravity of this occurrence, and how far it affects the extraordinary conduct of the prisoner. It is supposed by those whom I represent that this accusation having been launched against the prisoner, and finding, as she did find, that Dr. Beard and his wife shrank from further communication with her, the prisoner, with a view to divert suspicion from herself, and to defend herself from this charge which had been made against her, determined to pursue a course by which there might be cast upon another person the blame that was attributed to her. With this object she pursued a course of conduct so extraordinary as to be totally unparalleled in the records of any criminal court of justice. Mr. Serjeant Ballantine then went over the several portions of the evidence which had appeared on former occasions, calling attention to the

more salient points as affecting the guilt of the prisoner, and dwelt at great length on the conduct of the prisoner in her purchases of poison at the shop of a Mr. Garrett, a chemist, observing in conclusion, "I believe I have now correctly stated the broad facts of this case, and I trust that not one word has escaped my lips that will cast on the prisoner at the bar an unfair or improper prejudice. The time has long elapsed in my career when I could feel it any victory in any criminal case to obtain the conviction of a prisoner. I hope you will consider I feel it my duty to endeavour earnestly to assist in the administration of justice, and to assist, as far as I can, in arriving at the truth, and I am sure that, fearful as the issue is, you will not shrink from it. At the same time, I cannot grudge you the gratification, if you have a doubt, of giving the prisoner the benefit of it."

The following witnesses were then called:—

Mr. C. D. Miller, examined by Mr. Straight—I am the brother-in-law of Albert Barker, the father of the deceased. I knew the deceased, Sidney Barker, during his lifetime. In June last we were staying at Brighton, and on the 12th of June I purchased some chocolate creams at the shop of Mr. Maynard, a confectioner at Brighton. I gave the little boy Sidney one of these creams on the same day and he ate it. About ten minutes afterwards the child began to cry, and his limbs became stiff, and in about twenty minutes he died. Up to the time of his having the chocolate cream he appeared to be quite well. I ate some of the chocolates myself in the morning, and about ten minutes afterwards I felt a dizziness in my eyes and a coppery taste in my throat, and my limbs gradually became stiff, and my bones seemed "all one." I endeavoured to rouse myself, but was unable to do so. I became better, and sat down to dinner, when the same symptoms returned. I went to a doctor, and he saw me, but the little boy was dead before he came. He was four years old. My brother tasted some of the creams, and observed a peculiar coppery taste, and he spat them out. The rest of the creams were thrown away. The creams were in a bag.

Dr. Richard Rugg, examined by Serjeant Ballantine—I am a surgeon practising at Brighton. On the 12th of June I was called in to see the deceased, and found him in strong convulsions. I gave him an emetic, but it did not operate, and he died about eight minutes after I first saw him. I made a *post-mortem* examination on the following day. The organs of the body were generally healthy, and the brain exhibited the appearance usually observed in cases of death by convulsions. The body was unusually rigid, but I was unable to discover any cause of death. I had never seen the operations of strychnine.

Ernest Miller, examined by Mr. Straight—On the same evening that my brother purchased the chocolates I went again to Mr. Maynard's shop and purchased some chocolates of the same description, and I afterwards handed them to Inspector Gibbs. The packet was marked No. 1.

Dr. Henry Letheby, examined by Serjeant Ballantine—I am a professor of chemistry, and well acquainted with the nature of poisons. I have heard the description of this boy's death, and also the description of the symptoms of his uncle; they are the symptoms of poisoning by strychnine. A packet of chocolate creams was handed to me by Inspector Gibbs, and I analyzed the chocolate creams referred to by the last witness, and I ascertained that some of them contained strychnine, but I cannot state the exact quantity. I be-

lieve, however, that they contained altogether a quarter of a grain, which was a quantity sufficient in some cases to kill an adult. A sixteenth part of a grain is sufficient to cause the death of a child. I afterwards examined the contents of a jar that was handed to me, and I discovered a quarter of a grain of strychnine in them. The jar contained the contents of the stomach of the deceased.

Mr. Garrett, examined by Mr. Straight—I am a chemist, carrying on business at Brighton. I know the prisoner, and for some years she has been in the habit of dealing at my shop. I did not know her name. She came to my shop on the 28th of March, and first purchased some articles for the toilette, and she then asked me if I would supply her with a little strychnine for the purpose of destroying cats. I objected strongly to let her have any at first, but she said she had a garden and the cats destroyed the seeds in her garden, and pressed me to let her have some. She said she was a married woman, and had no children, and there was no fear of mischief, as the poison would never go out of her hand or those of her husband. I ultimately supplied her with ten grains of strychnine, but I required her to bring a witness. She said the only person she knew in the neighbourhood was Mrs. Stone, and she left the shop and fetched Mrs. Stone, and upon her word I made the entry of the sale in my book, and it was signed first by the prisoner and then by Mrs. Stone. The prisoner gave the name of Mrs. Wood, and her address at Hill Side, Kingston, Surrey. The prisoner came to me afterwards, and said that she had used the strychnine, and had thrown the paper away. On the 15th of April the prisoner came to me again, and said that the poison had not acted, and I gave her ten grains more, and she signed my book, and said that the reason she wanted the poison was to kill a dog. On the 8th of June I received a paper from a little boy, purporting to be signed by Messrs. Glaisyer and Kemp, chemists, asking me to supply them with a quarter of an ounce of strychnine. I wrote a note back to Messrs. Glaisyer and Kemp, and gave it to the boy who brought the order, and he returned in about twenty minutes or half an hour with another letter enclosing half a crown, and I enclosed one drachm of strychnine in a bottle, and labelled it, and handed it with the change to the boy. I remember the inquest being held upon the deceased boy, and on the 14th of July I received a letter purporting to come from the borough coroner, asking me to send him my register of poisonous drugs sold by me, at the same time the letter stating that the application was not in reference to anything sold by me, but the book was wanted in reference to another inquiry. I gave the messenger the book, and he brought it back to me, and a few days afterwards I missed a leaf. It was the leaf immediately preceding the entries relating to the sale to Mrs. Wood. I did not see the prisoner again until she was in custody at the police-court.

Cross-examined—I knew her very well, and had not the slightest difficulty in identifying her. She had been a customer of mine for four years, and I had been in the habit of supplying her with articles for the toilette. I cannot say whether one or more leaves have been torn out, but all the entries relating to the sale of the strychnine remain in the book. It did not strike me as being at all extraordinary that the prisoner should sign her name Mrs. Wood instead of using her Christian name. I knew Mrs. Stone very well. She was a milliner and dressmaker at Brighton. There are sixty grains in a drachm.

Mrs. Caroline Stone was examined, and said—I am unable positively to identify the prisoner as the person that came to my shop, and told me that she had neuralgia in the face, and she was going to Mr. Garrett's to get some stuff for it. She purchased a "fall" and paid for it, and left. She returned in about five minutes, and then said that she wanted me to do her a great favour, which was to go and sign the book at Mr. Garrett's, in order that she might obtain some poison for stuffing birds. She said that she and her husband were naturalists, and lived at Kingston, near Brighton. I went with her and signed the book at Mr. Garrett's. I afterwards accompanied her a second time to Mr. Garrett's shop, and she had a second supply of poison. I did not hear the word strychnine made use of. What she said she wanted was "poison."

Cross-examined—Some of my assistants knew the prisoner, but I did not myself know her.

Mr. Thomas Glaisyer, examined by Mr. Straight—I am one of the firm of Glaisyer and Kemp, chemists at Brighton, No. 11, North-street. The three documents now produced by Mr. Garrett are not in my handwriting, and I know nothing of any application being made to him for strychnine.

Mr. David Black, examined by Mr. Straight—I am the borough coroner of Brighton. The signature to the letter produced by Mr. Garrett is not in my handwriting, and I know nothing of the application for his poison-book.

Adam May (a very small boy), examined by Serjeant Ballantine—I am eleven years old, and live with my parents at Brighton. I see the prisoner in the dock, and I believe I saw the same lady in Portland-street, at Brighton. She asked me if I would go on an errand for her, and she told me to go to Mr. Maynard's shop and purchase sixpennyworth of large chocolate creams. I asked her if she wanted "flats." I meant if she wanted flat ones, and she said no, she wanted large ones. I purchased the creams for her. A lady who was in the shop gave me what I asked her for. I saw her take them out of a large case, and she put them into a paper bag. I noticed that they were large ones, such as I had asked her for. The lady was waiting for me at the bottom of Portland-street, and I gave her the bag, and she undid it and looked at the chocolates and said they were not the right sort. She gave me a large piece of chocolate cream after she had untwisted the paper. This was after I had been back to the shop and told the young lady that they were not the sort I wanted. The chocolates I had taken back were put into the glass case, and I took back a sixpenny box of small chocolates. I gave these to the lady, and she said they were the right sort. She only looked at the box, and did not open it. I don't know where she got the chocolate from that she gave to me. After I had given her the box of sweets, the lady walked away, and I did not see her again until about three months afterwards, at the top of King-street. She spoke to me first, and asked me if I would go on an errand for her. I asked my mother to allow me to do so, and the prisoner then sent me to Mr. Garrett's shop with a note, and I was to bring back an answer. I did so. The parcel contained something like a book, and I took it to the prisoner and gave it to her, and she walked away with it. Before this we had walked together for some distance. When I gave the prisoner the parcel, she gave me fourpence-halfpenny. Not long after this I saw the prisoner again in King-street, Brighton, and she asked

me if I should like some "bull's-eyes." I said I should, and she gave me some.

Cross-examined—I have always said that the prisoner is like the lady I saw and who sent me on these errands. I have never positively sworn that she is the same person. I remember telling the magistrate that the bag I gave to the prisoner she handed back to me directly.

Re-examined—I am not sure that she gave me back the same bag I had given her.

Annie Meadows, examined by Serjeant Ballantine, corroborated the last witness as to the selling the chocolate creams.

Kate Page, examined by Mr. Straight—I was in the employ of Mr. Maynard with the last witness, and I left for my holiday on the 10th of June. I filled up the various compartments in the chocolate tray on the Saturday before I left. I remember a boy named George Brookes coming to Mr. Maynard's shop at the latter end of May, and I served him with an ounce of four-penny creams, and, in consequence of something that had occurred previously I gave a man named Parker directions to follow the boy when he left the shop. Both these boys had previously come back and returned chocolate creams which they had purchased, and it was for this that directions were given to follow them. I noticed that a portion of the creams that had been brought back were broken, and I put the broken parts into the broken drawer.

Cross-examined—I am sure that I filled up the compartments every day that required it. We generally sold between three and four pounds' weight of these particular chocolates every week. I do not remember the boy Adam May coming to the shop to purchase the chocolates. Two other boys besides him purchased chocolates and brought them back.

Charles Schooling, examined by Mr. Straight—About the end of May last, in consequence of what the last witness told me, I followed two boys out of the shop as far as North-street, where I saw them give what they had received from Miss Page to the prisoner.

George Brookes, a lad, said—I live with my parents in Russell-street, Brighton. I remember, about the middle of last year, meeting a lady in Cranbourn-street, and she asked me to go to Mr. Maynard's and get an ounce of chocolate creams, and she gave me sixpence to pay for them. I got the creams, and gave them to the lady, and also the change, twopence, and she gave me a penny for my trouble. The prisoner is that lady.

John Henry Parker said—I am an assistant in the employment of Mr. Maynard, and in consequence of what Miss Page told me I followed the boy Brookes, and saw him hand something to the prisoner.

William Tye said—I am twelve years old, and live at Brighton with my parents. In April last year I met a lady in North-street, Brighton, and she asked me to go to Mr. Maynard's to purchase some chocolate creams. I was to buy three ounces, and she gave me a shilling to pay for them. I got the chocolates, and took them back to the lady and gave them to her, and she said I had got the wrong ones, and sent me back, and I obtained others at the shop of Mr. Maynard and gave them to her, and she went away with them. She told me to say that the chocolates were for Mrs. Field. The prisoner is the same lady.

Cross-examined—I believe I took back the same bag I had first given to the prisoner.

Mr. John Goddard Maynard said—I carry on the business of a confectioner in West-street, Brighton, and have done so for twenty-eight years. Among the articles I sell are chocolate creams, and I procured them from Mr. Ware and Messrs. Adbury, wholesale confectioners. Large quantities of these creams are sold in my shop. I cannot say when I first heard any complaints about the creams I sold. I think it was about the month of April when these complaints were first made. The prisoner was the person who complained, and she said something to me to the effect that the creams were poisoned, and she said that she intended to have them analyzed. I told her I wished she would do so. I never heard from the prisoner whether they had been analyzed or not, and I heard nothing more about the matter until after the inquest on the boy Barker. I never keep strychnine or poison of any kind in my shop, and I cannot form an idea how poison could have found its way into those creams.

Cross-examined—The prisoner had a private interview with me when she made the statement in question. She said that a friend of hers had been nearly poisoned by the creams. I had not known the prisoner as a customer up to this time. To my knowledge there was not a particle of poison on my premises at any time. I am not aware that my premises were infested with rats. The prisoner introduced herself to me at my private house, and said that a lady friend of hers had eaten some chocolates bought at my shop and they had made her ill. In consequence of what she said I had my chocolates tested, and they were found to be quite pure. I saw her again at the inquest upon the deceased, and I recognized her as the same lady who had had the conversation with me previously. The verdict of the jury was “Accidental death,” and exonerating me from all blame. After the coroner’s inquest I had the whole of my stock analyzed, and it was all destroyed. Since July and August I have carried on my business as usual.

Mr. G. R. Ware, wholesale confectioner, said—I reside in Marchmont-street, Russell-square, and have been in the habit of supplying Mr. Maynard with chocolate sweets. We are the largest manufacturers of that article in England, and I have never heard any complaint of it. I never had any strychnine on my premises.

Cross-examined—I used to supply Mr. Maynard with a quarter or a half hundredweight of the creams at a time.

Mr. Black, the coroner, recalled—The first day of holding the inquest on the deceased was on the 13th of June, and it was adjourned to the 22nd. On the second occasion the prisoner volunteered herself as a witness, and made a long statement.

The statement was put in and read. It was to the effect that she had purchased chocolate creams on several occasions, and every time felt a burning sensation in her throat and a metallic taste in her mouth. The prisoner said that in consequence of this she had gone to Mr. Maynard’s shop and complained to him, and he said he was obliged to her. The prisoner also said that she had given one of the chocolates to a lady, and it made her very ill; but she took a glass of wine and it made her sick, and after this she got better. The object of the prisoner was evidently to throw the blame on Mr. Maynard of having sold poisoned sweetmeats.

Albert Barker said—I am the father of the deceased, and after the coroner’s inquest I received several anonymous letters.



Inspector Gibbs said—In consequence of certain matters that had come to my knowledge I wrote a letter to the prisoner, and received an answer which I produce. I have compared this letter of the prisoner with the letters mentioned by the last witness, and I am of opinion that they are all in the same handwriting.

Mr. Serjeant Parry objected to the letters being read until they were proved by an expert, and remarked that a police-inspector could not be said to be an expert in handwriting.

The Judge said by the Act of Parliament the comparison could be made by any one, and it was for the jury to judge of the value of the evidence.

Inspector Gibbs said the prisoner came up to him in the Pavilion grounds and told him she had received a letter from him, and that she had left an answer for him at his office. She wrote to him that she purchased the last lot of chocolate creams at Mr. Maynard's shop on the 8th of March, and that she had had them analyzed at Mr. Schwitzer's.

The letters were then read.

This closed the prosecution.

Mr. Serjeant Parry addressed the jury on behalf of the prisoner. Having remarked how extraordinary were the facts in this case, and how difficult a task it was to place them fairly before the jury, he proposed to point out to the jury every issue they would have to try. The prisoner was charged with the wilful murder of Sidney Barker, a boy of tender years, who was unknown to the prisoner, and against whom therefore she could have no malice. He did not pretend that on certain occasions she did not give poisoned chocolate creams to several children; but in regard to this charge the jury must be satisfied that the chocolate cream which caused the death of the boy was given indirectly by the prisoner. After commenting upon the fact that ten days had elapsed since the prisoner was alleged to have returned the bags of creams to Mr. Maynard's by the boy May, until the creams, one of which was taken by the boy Barker, were purchased, and that during that time the shop assistants were selling three-quarters of a pound weekly out of the case into which they were put, he put it to the jury as a simple fact that there was a gap in the evidence which was not in any way bridged over on the part of the prosecution. His learned friend and himself had determined upon placing before the jury the history of the prisoner at the bar, and he could not but think that they would find she was of impaired intellect. The whole case completely puzzled him. He had never in the course of his long experience, or of his reading, met with a similar case, and he was completely at a loss in his own mind how to place the case by way of argument before the jury. It was not his intention to attempt to do so. He should prove that the father of the prisoner at the bar died at middle age in a lunatic asylum where he had been confined for some years before his death. Both by the certificate under which he was confined, and by the evidence of the medical officer who attended him, he should show that his disease was suicidal and very destructive. The prisoner's brother died in the prime of life, an epileptic idiot or lunatic at Earlswood. Both her grandfathers were perfectly imbecile, and were both in a state of unsound mind. He should prove that other relations were afflicted with insanity. Her sister suffered constantly from hysteria, and had attempted to commit suicide. The prisoner at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years was seized with paralysis, and he should prove that her

conduct had for some time excited attention, and that about twelve or thirteen months ago a great change took place in her. Her age was given as thirty-four in the calendar, and she had the idiotic vanity to deny her real age; but he should show that her real age was forty-three. The chaplain of Lewes Gaol would state that he believed her to be of unsound mind, and medical witnesses would describe the nature of her insanity. The learned counsel then referred to the prisoner's conduct as detailed by previous witnesses with a view to showing that she had acted in a manner inconsistent with soundness of mind.

Mrs. A. Christiana Edmunds was the first witness examined. When placed in the box she cried bitterly, and for some time was unable to proceed with her evidence. The prisoner was greatly affected, and also wept. The witness said that her husband was confined in the Southall Lunatic Asylum. For a long time previously he had been insane. He was always raving that he had millions of money, and he attempted to knock down the medical man with a ruler, and was so violent that they had to lock him in a room. The prisoner was born at Margate in 1828. In 1844 witness's husband was at home, and in March 1845 he was sent to Peckham Lunatic Asylum. He died in the asylum. Witness had a son who was epileptic. They could not manage him, and in 1860 he was sent to Earlswood, where he died in 1866. She had also had another daughter who suffered from hysteria. In one of her fits she attempted to throw herself out of the window. She died at thirty-six years of age. Witness's father was Major Burns. He died at the age of forty-three in a fit. He had fits occasionally, and was quite childish. Witness had a brother whose daughter also suffered from weakness of intellect and was imbecile. In 1853 the prisoner went up to London, and when she returned she was paralyzed. She suffered from hysteria for several years, and even now had it upon occasions. When a child she walked in her sleep, and they were obliged to have a fastening on the door to keep her in her room. Witness had noticed a great change in the prisoner since she had known Dr. Beard.

Cross-examined—The medical men who attended witness's husband were all dead with the exception of Dr. Stewart. Her husband was an architect, and built the lighthouse and other public works at Margate. Since Dr. Beard left Brighton Mr. Humphreys had attended the prisoner. In consequence of what took place at Dr. Beard's the prisoner was greatly excited. Witness went to Dr. Beard to obtain a retraction.

Re-examined—She came home excited, and after some questioning she said that in consequence of Dr. Beard's coldness she asked what had changed him. He replied, "I never respected you so much since the chocolate cream." She was greatly excited when she came home, and walked up and down, saying, "Oh! I shall go mad." Witness said, "You are mad already; you, of all people, ought to be particular," alluding to her father, which she had never done before. The prisoner was now forty-three years of age, a period in her life the approach of which witness had always dreaded.

Dr. Stewart, of Southall, said that in 1843 Mr. William Edmunds was received into the Southall Lunatic Asylum upon the authority of medical certificates. (Certificates produced and read. They stated that the nature of the insanity was suicidal, disposed to injure, and very destructive.) The patient suffered from acute mania, incoherence, violence, and want of sleep. He had a fit and became paralyzed. He left the hospital in 1844. Insanity in the father

would predispose to insanity in his offspring, but acute mania would not necessarily be inherited.

Dr. H. Armstrong, of the Peckham Lunatic Asylum, produced the certificates upon which Wm. Edmunds was received into the asylum in March 1845. He died in the asylum in March 1847.

Dr. G. W. Grabham, resident physician of the Earlswood Asylum for Idiots, produced the certificates upon which Arthur Burn Edmunds, brother of the prisoner, was admitted into the asylum. The patient was subject to epilepsy, and died in the asylum in January 1866.

The Rev. J. H. Cole, chaplain of Lewes Gaol, said that he had been two years chaplain and secretary of St. Luke's Hospital. The prisoner was brought to Lewes Gaol on the 9th of August. There was a rule that if the chaplain noticed anything indicating unsoundness of mind in a prisoner, it should be entered in the chaplain's journal, and reported to the governor and other persons. He made an entry of this kind respecting the prisoner, and reported it. The prisoner was under his care until Christmas. He noticed a very peculiar formation and movement of the eye. She had a vacant look at times. Her conversations were perfectly coherent, but they struck him as extraordinary, considering the situation in which she was placed. He found in her the most unnatural calmness and exceeding levity. When he spoke to her of her position, she broke out into a very extraordinary laugh. She seemed to have no power to fix her mind upon any grave subject. She would suddenly change from tears to laughter upon frequent occasions. She did not appear to realize her position in the least. His opinion was that the prisoner was of unsound mind.

Alice Over, living at Brighton, deposed that she had known the prisoner six years. She had resided at witness's house two years. Prisoner's demeanour while in her house was ladylike, quiet, and kind in every way. Noticed some time before she left that she was not so quiet. About March or April last year she appeared very strange, and said she thought she was going mad. Her eyes were very large and dull.

Cross-examined—Last saw the prisoner before she went to Margate. Mentioned the fact of prisoner's strange demeanour to her husband.

George Over, husband of the foregoing witness, noticed the prisoner's eyes. They were full, and had a wildness of expression. Her manner was excitable.

Dr. Woods, physician to St. Luke's Hospital, had had long experience in cases of insanity. Had seen prisoner a fortnight ago. Was much struck at her absolute indifference as to her position, and he failed altogether to impress her about her serious position. He believed her to be quite incapable of estimating her position. Her mind was so weak that she was incapable of judging between right and wrong in the same sense as other people would. Was an hour and a half with the prisoner.

Cross-examined—Prisoner knew the object of witness's visit to her. Had told her that he came to ascertain the state of her mind. She appeared to understand that. He said to her, "Do you know the consequences of a conviction?" She said, "I would rather be convicted than brought in insane." Witness said, "Do you think it wrong for any person to attempt to destroy the life of another because you believe that individual wished to get rid of you?" After some hesitation, she said she thought it was wrong, but she did not say it in a manner that led witness to believe that she really thought so.

The witness was here pressed as to other questions which he put to the prisoner, but as he could not remember any special question, the prisoner stood up in the dock and said, "I remember the question."

His Lordship, however, said he could not take it from the prisoner.

Cross-examination continued—Could not remember any other questions but those he had mentioned, and the answers he had received formed part of the ground upon which he gave it as his opinion that the prisoner was of unsound mind.

Re-examination—Dr. Robertson and Dr. Maudsley were present. Dr. Robertson put most of the questions. Was still of opinion that the prisoner was not in a sound state of mind.

Dr. Robertson sworn—Had a very great difficulty in coming to any conclusion as to the state of the prisoner's mind. Regarded her as bordering between crime and insanity. Regarded her intellect as quite clear and free from any delusion. Thought her moral sense deficient from what he had observed in the descendants of sane persons. Failed to impress her with the gravity of the position in which she was placed. Knowing the history of her life, he was led to regard her as morally insane.

Cross-examined—Was visitor in lunacy to the Court of Chancery. Was specially appointed to that court. There was not an absence, but a deficiency of moral sense.

His Lordship—Do you mean to say that if she administered poison for the purpose of destroying life she would not know it was a wrong act?

Witness—I believe she would know it was a wrong act intellectually.

Dr. Maudsley sworn—I found a deficiency of moral feeling. She did not appear to me to realize her position. In reference to her moral sense I consider her mind to be impaired.

Cross-examined by Mr. Serjeant Ballantine—What do you mean by the term "impaired moral sense"?

Witness—I mean a want of moral feeling with regard to events or acts regarding which a perfectly sane person might be expected to exhibit feeling. I should say that anybody who deliberately committed crime was deficient of moral feeling.

Do you consider that insanity?—Certainly.

Re-examined—The prisoner absolutely laughed at the idea of her life being in danger, or of anybody thinking it. Her only real distress that she seemed to evince was about the treatment she received in Newgate.

Mr. Serjeant Parry addressed the jury on behalf of the prisoner. He drew the attention of the jury specially to the evidence that had been adduced in reference to the prisoner's history, and to the probability of her having inherited the insanity which existed in her family. It had, he said, been clearly shown that she had herself declared she was going mad. It had been proved that she suffered from hysteria, and it was well known that persons so afflicted had irresistibly been guilty of crime, for which they could not be held responsible. It was a most melancholy fact to think that the prisoner being tried for so terrible a crime should be a member of a family which he might say was saturated with hereditary insanity. They had had undoubted proof of disease existing in her family, and he (the learned serjeant) was sure that it would receive the weight of their consideration to which it was entitled. God knew whether the wretched woman at the bar was suffering from insanity.

He (the learned counsel) did not affirm it. It was for the jury to say whether she was or was not, but he entreated them to remember that they were trying a case unparalleled, and a woman whose father, whose brother, whose sister, all had died in a state of insanity. The learned serjeant then reviewed the evidence he had called in support of his opening, and concluded an earnest appeal to the jury that they would feel it competent to find the prisoner innocent of the crime with which she stood charged.

Mr. Serjeant Ballantine then replied by saying that he commenced with the words at which his learned friend had concluded, that the public would be satisfied with the verdict the jury might return, in the full assurance that that verdict would be founded upon the evidence which had been adduced. While he sensibly sympathized with the position of his learned friend, still there was a duty that they all owed to the public, and in his endeavour to do that duty he was afraid that he would have to call their attention to the many acts of the prisoner, and should be obliged to ask them to bring that knowledge to bear upon their verdict, by asking themselves whether there was the slightest ground for assigning the acts of the prisoner as a consequence of insanity. The learned serjeant then called the attention of the jury to certain parts of the evidence which he asked them to consider, and concluded an able address by expressing his conviction that their verdict would be in accordance with the evidence laid before them.

His Lordship then summed up. There were, he said, two important questions in the case to which the jury would have to direct their special attention. The first and the most important was whether the prisoner had contrived to substitute for the chocolate creams which she sent the boy for other creams which were poisoned; and if the child Barker had died from eating one of those creams, the prisoner was undoubtedly guilty of murder. The second point was whether the prisoner was in a state of mind to be responsible for her actions. There was no doubt that on the 12th of June the uncle of the child Barker bought a quantity of creams at the shop of Mr. Maynard, and that he gave one of those chocolates to the child, who afterwards died from its effects, and died, too, of symptoms such as the poison strychnine would produce. Evidence had been given that Mr. Maynard never had any poison or other deleterious matter on his premises. Therefore, assuming that this child had died from the effects of strychnine, the jury would have to say whether it was the prisoner who administered that poison. If they believed the evidence of Mr. Garrett and others, it was shown that the prisoner had been in possession of strychnine, which she had obtained upon several occasions by giving a false name and address. Then, again, if they believed the documents that had been produced and spoken to, she had sought to disguise her acts of purchasing the poison by surreptitiously obtaining Mr. Garrett's poison sale-book and abstracting therefrom the leaves containing the register of the sales. These were all points to which the jury would have to give their best attention, which would of course guide them in their verdict. If they should believe that she was the person who acted in this way, then they would have to consider the defence which had been set up—namely, that she was not of sound mind, and was, therefore, not responsible for her acts. But in considering this point, they must bear in mind that the law requires that it shall be clearly proved that the accused at the time of the act is labouring under a state of insanity. The learned judge then reviewed the evidence of the dif-

ferent witnesses, and after reminding the jury that there was certain evidence in support of the prisoner's insanity, concluded his summing up by requesting that they would carefully consider the various points he had referred to, reminding them that if they were satisfied that she was insane, they would, of course, find that she was not responsible for the act; but if they were not clearly satisfied of this, why then they would find her guilty.

The jury retired at ten minutes to four to consider their verdict, and returned into court at ten minutes to five.

The Clerk of the Arraignment said—Have you all agreed to your verdict?

The Foreman—Yes.

The Clerk of Arraignment—Do you find the prisoner guilty or not guilty?

The Foreman—Guilty.

The prisoner then said in a low voice—I wish to be tried on the other charges brought against me, and I want my whole connexion with Dr. Beard gone into. I am sure Serjeant Ballantine will go on with the case. It is owing to the treatment that I have received from Dr. Beard that I have been brought into this trouble.

The Judge—I am not at all disposed to disbelieve you, but it simply goes to confirm the truth and justice of this verdict. I am satisfied that since you became acquainted with Dr. and Mrs. Beard, you turned your attention to the poisoning of these innocents. But I have but one duty to perform, and in the performance of that duty I must say that I entirely concur in the verdict of the jury. There is no doubt that you had no desire to kill this particular little child. It is true, as you state, and it is also true, as I believe, that you got into a morbid state of mind in consequence of the relationship existing between you and Dr. Beard, but I wished to keep this case entirely separate from the others, in order that you might have as fair a trial as possible. I cannot believe that any doubt can possibly be entertained that the boy was subjected to those poisonous sweets, and that they came through you; nor can I doubt that the jury were wise in rejecting the evidence of insanity which was set up; indeed, on that part there was no evidence to go to the jury. I do not, however, mean to distress you more. I can only repeat that the verdict is a just one, although it can be no pleasure for me or any one to place you in your present position.

His Lordship then passed sentence of death in the usual way, amidst breathless silence. The prisoner evinced no emotion, but listened to all his Lordship said with calm resignation.

The Clerk of the Arraignment—Have you anything to say in arrest of the judgment—are you pregnant, or is there any other cause?

The prisoner here muttered something, which could not be heard. She was asked to repeat what she had said. Her reply was equally inaudible, whereupon the female warder and Mr. Jonas, the governor, stepped towards the unhappy woman, and asked her what she had said. She muttered to them that she was pregnant.

This announcement created considerable excitement in the court. The prisoner was relegated to her seat in the dock, and in the course of ten minutes or a quarter of an hour a number of ladies, some of whom had been in the court during the trial, were assembled, and were requested to go into the jury-box, which they did, and they were sworn amid dead silence to inquire whether the prisoner was “with quick child.”

The prisoner was then asked if she wished to call anybody to prove that she was with child, and she replied, "I do not wish to call anybody."

The jury of matrons then retired, and a few minutes afterwards they sent for a medical man, and one being forthcoming, he went to the room in which they were. A few minutes afterwards they returned into court.

The Clerk of Arraignment—Are you agreed in your verdict, and do you find whether the prisoner at the bar is with quick child?

The Forewoman—We say she is not.

While this was going on, the prisoner looked wildly round the court. The Clerk of Arraignment directed that she should be removed, on which she turned towards him, as if she would have said something; but the gaoler, taking her by the arm, said "Come on," and she was led away.

The sentence was afterwards remitted on the ground of insanity.

### III.

#### THE PARK-LANE MURDER.

THE trial of Marguerite Dixblanc for the murder of her mistress, Madame Riel, in Park-lane, on Sunday, April 7, was commenced at the Central Criminal Court, before Baron Channell, on June 12. The Attorney-General (Sir J. Coleridge), Mr. Poland, Mr. Besley, and Mr. Archibald conducted the prosecution. The prisoner was defended by Mr. Powell, Q.C., Mr. Gough, Mr. Wildey Wright, and Mr. Mirehouse. M. Albert was engaged as interpreter. The prisoner, who when placed at the bar exhibited a remarkably calm and composed appearance, was seated during the trial.

The Attorney-General, in opening the case to the jury, said it was his duty to state, as clearly and shortly as he could, the few facts of this awful crime. The only question would be whether the prisoner committed that crime, and he was very glad to see that the prisoner had the assistance of his learned friends, who would do everything that could be done honourably on behalf of the prisoner. He was afraid, however, that there would be no doubt that the prisoner committed the crime, and that the jury would be compelled in the result to return a verdict to that effect. The Attorney-General then proceeded to give a short narrative of the facts of the case, to prove which the following evidence was adduced:—

Eliza Watts, examined by Mr. Poland—I was formerly in the service of the deceased as housemaid, at No. 13, Park-lane. I had been in her service about four months before this occurrence took place. The household consisted of Madame Riel, her daughter, the prisoner, and myself. The prisoner was cook, and she came into the service last January. On Easter Sunday, the 31st of March, Mdle. Riel went to Paris. The prisoner did not speak English, but I was able to understand what she said, and she told me that she was going to leave Madame Riel's service on the 21st of April. On Saturday, the 6th of April, Madame Riel dined at home with a friend, and after dinner the food was placed in the pantry. This pantry was on the ground floor—the same floor as the dining-room and parlour. The deceased kept the key of the pantry, and she always locked the door, and put the key in her pocket. Deceased always kept the door locked. There was an iron

safe in the pantry. Before the dinner was over on the Saturday I spoke to the prisoner, and told her that madame wanted to speak to her, and she went up to her, and afterwards the prisoner went out. This was about nine o'clock. I did not know what she went out for. She did not return until nearly midnight. Madame Riel's friend at this time was gone, and madame had gone to bed. I sat up for the prisoner in the kitchen. She let herself in with a key—the key of the area. She brought with her some articles of food for the next day. I slept on the third floor, and the prisoner occupied a separate room on the same floor. The deceased's bedroom was on the second floor, and on the first floor was the bedroom of Mdlle. Riel and the dressing-room. I and the prisoner and the deceased were the only persons in the house on the 6th of April, during the night. On the morning of the 7th I got up at half-past seven o'clock as usual, and went down-stairs, and about eight o'clock I took the deceased her breakfast in her bedroom. She had tea and bread and butter. I lighted the fire in her bedroom, and then left her in bed. I and the prisoner remained in the kitchen, and at half-past nine o'clock I went again to the deceased's bedroom. She rang the bell after this, and I went again to her in her bedroom. At this time the deceased was up and dressed, and she told me that I might do up her room, and I did so. The deceased put on her bonnet and dress, and said she was going in the Green Park for a quarter of an hour, and she went down-stairs, and she told me that if a lady came to ask for her I was to say that she would be back in a quarter of an hour. She had her little dog with her. I believe this was about twenty minutes past eleven o'clock, and I did not go down until just before twelve. While I was up-stairs I did not hear the slightest noise or disturbance in the house. I saw nothing of the deceased when I went down-stairs, but I saw the little dog was down-stairs. The prisoner was in the pantry, and she told me that madame had gone out, and that she had locked the door of the kitchen, and had taken the key away with her. She had told me that madame had not ordered any second breakfast. About twenty minutes after twelve o'clock the prisoner asked me to go out and fetch some beer, and I told her it was Sunday, and that it was of no use going before one o'clock, as the public-house would not be open. The prisoner asked me several times before one o'clock to go and fetch some beer, and about five minutes after one o'clock the prisoner gave me a jug, and told me to go for the beer, and I went out for that purpose by the front door, and the prisoner looked out and said that the public-house was open. The public-house was on the same side at No. 13, in the direction of Piccadilly. I went for the beer, and when I got back I found that the door was shut. I rang and knocked several times, but could not get any answer for some minutes. I asked the prisoner why she had not answered the door, and she said she thought it was madame who was at the door. I and the prisoner then went into the kitchen, and had some beer and something to eat. It was a usual thing for me to fetch the beer on Sunday. I did not notice any difference in the appearance of the kitchen at this time from when I went out. After this I went up-stairs to dress myself, and the prisoner also went to her bedroom, and remained there a long time, an hour and a half or more. I had called out to her to ask her what she was doing, and why she did not come down, and she made me no answer. When she did come down-stairs I again asked her why she had been so long up-stairs, but she made me no answer. In the afternoon, about four o'clock, a French lady



came to see Madame Riel. She had come to dine with Madame Riel, and I told her Madame Riel was out, and she waited until seven o'clock in Madame Riel's bedroom, and then left. The prisoner prepared some soup only for the dinner on the Sunday, and she did not make use of any of the other provisions she had brought in on the Sunday evening. During the afternoon the prisoner told me that she was going out to church. I saw a pair of gloves on the table, and I observed that madame had not taken her gloves. The prisoner made me no answer. When the prisoner said she was going to church, I said that she had better not, as madame might be angry if she found her out when she came home. The prisoner made no reply to this, but about six o'clock she changed her dress, and put on a green satin shot dress, and hung up the one she had been wearing behind the kitchen door. After she had changed her dress, the prisoner and I went into the drawing-room and sat down, and later in the evening, about eight o'clock, she went out, and I never saw her again until she was in custody. I sat up for the prisoner till twelve o'clock, and finding that she did not return I went to bed. I got up the next morning at six o'clock, and found that madame's bed had not been slept in, and that the prisoner was not there. Mdle. Riel returned the same morning. Madame Riel told me that she was expected, and the prisoner was also aware that she was expected home on that morning. When I saw her, Mdle. Riel asked me where Margaret was, and I told her she had gone out and had not returned, and she was alarmed, and sent me out to get assistance, and shortly afterwards the police came. While I was absent the pantry door, on the ground floor, was opened. Mdle. Riel had a duplicate key of this pantry. I went in after I had been out for assistance, and saw the dead body of madame lying there.

Mr. Poland—Did you disturb the body?

Witness—Not at all.

Examination continued—Dr. Wadham came shortly afterwards, and the body was taken into the back parlour, where it was examined by the medical men and the police.

Cross-examined—I had myself lived with Madame Riel for five months. There was one other servant in the house previous to Marguerite. That servant remained only three weeks in madame's service. There are houses opposite No. 13, and the public-house is only two doors off. The area of the house is very narrow, and the window of the kitchen looks into the area. The area railings were boarded up at this time. When I was not engaged in the household affairs, I was almost constantly with the prisoner, and I never observed anything extraordinary in her conduct, and we got on very well together. The deceased was a very passionate woman. I could not understand what she said, but her manner and gestures were sometimes very angry and violent. All that took place between the prisoner and deceased appeared to me to be in an angry tone and gesture. French people, I believe, always do talk in this manner to each other. (A laugh.) The reason the other cook left was because she did not understand French cookery. I have myself complained of madame's temper.

Mr. Powell—And I suppose not without a cause?

Witness—Oh no, sir. (A laugh.)

Cross-examination continued—I have seen madame apparently very angry with a man who was employed in the house doing some painting. This

man was in the service of a tradesman in the neighbourhood, and he came to the house to do some painting work on the Monday morning after the discovery. The prisoner understood very little English, and I mostly communicated with her by signs. It appeared to me that the prisoner and deceased had high words on several occasions. Madame Riel was of a very suspicious temper, and frequently suspected things that had never occurred, and when she was excited she would throw her head up, and throw up her hands. I frequently noticed her doing this. I did not notice anything unusual in the appearance of the prisoner on the Sunday. It was not a usual thing for Madame Riel to go out in the morning. The lady did not come to the house until two or three hours after I had fetched the beer.

Mr. Powell—Did you see the prisoner writing a letter on the Sunday?

Witness—No.

Are you sure of that?—Quite sure.

Cross-examination continued—There was a cord in the kitchen. It was extended over the hotplate of the grate. I never saw any cord in the prisoner's bedroom. The prisoner was out from nine o'clock until twelve on the Saturday night, but I cannot say whether she went out on the Friday night. If she had been out for any long period on the Friday I should have missed her. I am quite sure of that.

Mr. Powell said that this fact might become material in the course of the inquiry.

Re-examined by the Attorney-General—I cannot say what Madame Riel said when she was angry. All I know is, that she spoke in a high tone of voice. The rope I have mentioned was not in the kitchen after it was white-washed. It was removed at that time, and I have never seen it since. I cannot say whether it is the same cord that was found round the body of the deceased. I had no means of identifying this cord. I cannot say whether the prisoner had any cord in her boxes.

By the learned Judge—If the prisoner had gone out for an hour on the Friday I must have missed her.

By the Jury—Marguerite Dixblanc was a very passionate woman.

A juror—A woman who would act immediately, and on the impulse of the moment?

Witness—Yes. I think she was passionate, because she spoke very loudly. That is my only reason for thinking so.

By Mr. Powell—Madame Riel went out on the Friday afternoon, and did not return till seven o'clock, and I now remember that the prisoner and I were working together the whole afternoon. I remember the dinner being ordered on the Thursday at seven o'clock, and the prisoner was not sent to fetch the provisions for that dinner until very late. She had to go to Leicester-square to get French provisions, and she did not get back until nearly seven o'clock, but I do not remember that high words took place between the prisoner and her mistress on that afternoon. It was known to me that a lady was coming to dine with madame on the Sunday, but I cannot say whether the prisoner was aware of it.

Mademoiselle Julie Riel, examined by Mr. Archibald—I am the daughter of the late Madame Riel, and lived with her in the house in Park-lane. The prisoner came into our service about two months before my mother's death. I gave her notice to quit about the 20th of March. I only gave her a week's

notice, according to the custom in France. The prisoner wished a month's notice or to be paid a month's wages. I left London for Paris at the end of March, and I was to return on the 8th of April, and I arrived about seven o'clock in the morning. The witness Watts opened the door, and she told me that the prisoner had gone out the previous evening, and had not returned. I also was told that my mother had gone out on the Sunday to take a walk, and that she had not returned. I could not tell what had happened, and I sent Eliza Watts for some assistance, and while she was gone I made a search in the house to see if my mother had left any letter for me. I first went up-stairs, and then came down and looked in the coal-cellar, and then I opened the pantry on the ground floor with a duplicate key that I always had in my possession. I found the door locked when I first tried it. There was an iron safe in that pantry, and I had a duplicate key of that safe also. My mother used to carry the keys of the safe and pantry about her, with other keys. The moment I opened the door, the first thing I saw was my mother's cloak on the ground. I lifted it up, and then saw the body of my mother. I noticed that the door of the safe was opened. I was very much alarmed at this sight, and ran into the street, and I recollected that Dr. Wadham was living next door, and I went to him, and he arrived at the house a very little time afterwards. After I had returned to the house my attention was directed to a dress, which I recognized as one that belonged to the prisoner. It was a brown dress, and one she was in the habit of wearing. Before I left for Paris I had given my mother some Bank of England notes. I think about 30*l*. I cannot say whether they were 5*l*. notes, as I did not look at them. I gave them to my mother on the Friday or the Saturday before I left. Those bank-notes were given to me by Lord Lucan on the same day I gave them to my mother, perhaps about ten minutes before. My mother kept her money and valuables in the safe, and I found that all the money had been taken out of it. All the property that was in the safe was a small box of jewellery, some gloves, and some stones. My mother always carried a porte-monnaie, and sometimes wore rings, but she did not do so generally. On Friday, the 12th of April, I returned to Paris with the body of my mother, and while I was there I was shown a porte-monnaie and some other articles by the French police. The little jewel-box in the safe was locked when I found it. The French police also showed me some keys and some money that I was told had been found in the porte-monnaie. It was my mother's porte-monnaie that was shown to me. I was also shown the pantry key, and another that belonged to a little up-stairs room in Park-lane, where nothing but dresses were kept, and I think the key of the kitchen door.

Mr. Archibald—What was the age of your mother at the time of her death?

Mdlle. Riel—She was forty-six years old.

Mdlle. Riel was then cross-examined by Mr. Powell. In answer to questions put by the learned counsel, she said—I have never permanently resided in England, and have only visited it from time to time. I have lived in England since the war, from January last year. I do not now reside at the house in Park-lane. The servant, Eliza Watts, resides there, and I go to the house occasionally. It is the custom in France only to give a week's notice to a domestic, and the prisoner was willing to leave if she was paid a month's

wages, or had a month's notice. The jewel-box was always kept in the safe. I was in the habit of wearing valuable jewels, and I used to keep them in the box. My mother used to constantly carry money about with her in her porte-monnaie. I received the bank-notes that I have mentioned either on the Thursday, or Friday, or Saturday before her death.

Re-examined—The house in Park-lane belonged to my mother, and after her death I put a married policeman into it with his wife. I have never lived in the house since the event took place. The jewel-box was made of iron, and was heavy.

The Attorney-General asked the witness to allow the box to be brought to the court on Thursday. He said they would not hurt it.

Mdlle. Riel said she was not afraid of the box, and it had not now any jewels in it. (A laugh.)

The evidence of the police-constables was then taken.

Charles Butcher, a detective, in cross-examination, said—I have not got possession of the diamond ring that was on the finger of the deceased. The last time I saw the ring it was on the dead body. I cannot say whether the ring was on the body when the inquest was held. I did not take any inventory of the contents of the jewel-box, and it was not considered necessary that any inventory should be taken. Everything in the pantry appeared to be in order, and there was not the slightest indication of a struggle having taken place there.

By the Attorney-General—Mdlle. Riel said that everything was safe in the jewel-box, and therefore no further notice was taken of the matter.

Inspector Hamblin, cross-examined, said—I have had a good deal of experience in these matters, and I have no doubt that there were no indications of a struggle. The ring that has been referred to was removed from the finger of the deceased by order of the coroner, and handed to Mdlle. Riel. I saw the jewellery that was in the box, but I have no idea of its value. I have no doubt that at the present time all this jewellery is in Mdlle. Riel's possession.

A cabman deposed to driving a woman whom he believed to be the prisoner to the Victoria Station on the evening of April 7, and Richard Warner, a clerk at the station, stated that on that evening the prisoner took a ticket for Paris by a first-class express train, and he saw her start by the train.

Jean Bouillon was next called and examined by the Attorney-General. Mr. Powell objected to this witness being examined, on the ground that this was the first time he had been called as a witness, and the prisoner had no means of knowing what evidence he was to give. Baron Channell ruled that the witness was a perfectly legal witness, and it was impossible that he could exclude his evidence.

The witness then stated that he was a metal-worker. He was formerly concierge at an hotel in Paris, and knew the prisoner. His wife was a native of the same village in Belgium as the prisoner. In September, 1870, the prisoner lived with him and his wife for about four weeks, when she was out of place. She did not pay them anything for her board and keep, and he told his wife to tell her he could not afford to do so any longer, as he was out of work himself at the time. The prisoner left, and he only saw her occasionally from that time until April of the present year, when she came to his house at ten o'clock at night. He did not expect to see her at this time, but he had

received a letter from her on April 4. That letter, he said, he had lost, and he did not know what had become of it. The letter was to the effect that the prisoner intended to come to Paris on the 1st day of May, and that she would then pay him what she owed him. When the prisoner arrived, on April 8, he asked her why she had come so early, as they did not expect her till May. The prisoner replied that her master and mistress had decided to come at once, and they were living at the Boulevard de Malesherbes. She then paid him 125*fr.* in English gold. She had previously asked his wife whether she would prefer to be paid in gold or by a bank-note, and his wife said she would rather be paid in gold. The prisoner slept two nights at his house—April 8 and 9—and she then went away, and he did not see her again until she was at the Prefecture of Police.

In cross-examination M. Bouillon said that he had known the prisoner since 1868. In that year she stayed five or six weeks at his house. She was amiable, truthful, and honest, but very passionate if she was in any way thwarted. "But," said the witness, "she had a good heart in spite of that."

Thomas Gerard, coal-dealer of St. Denis, said the prisoner, whom he had not seen since July last year, called on him on April 13, when he was serving a customer. He did not for the moment recognize her, but she addressed him in *patois*, and then he remembered her. She asked the witness when he last saw her father, and told him she had left a situation in the Faubourg St. Honoré, asking him if he knew of a situation in his neighbourhood. He told her there were no aristocrats at St. Denis, and advised her to go back to the Faubourg St. Honoré. Subsequently she told him that she had a fight with her mistress before she left, and finally admitted that she had come from London, and that she had killed her mistress.

Mr. Archibald—Did she tell you how it happened?—Yes.

What did she say?—She said that her mistress wanted to send her away, and would not pay her. She said that her mistress came into the kitchen and said, "You must leave." She replied that she would go provided she paid her, and that if she did not pay her she would not go. Her mistress said that she might stop if she liked, but she would make her suffer for it. The prisoner said that this put her in a passion, and she seized her mistress by the throat and threw her down to the ground. She said that her mistress got up and was going to take hold of some article in the kitchen, and that seeing this, she struck her mistress a blow under the chin and she fell down again backwards and gave two gasps, and then appeared to be dead instantly, and never rallied. She said that when she saw this she dragged her mistress into the coal-cellar. At this time she said that the lady's maid came down-stairs, and she locked the door of the coal-cellar, and put her back against it. She said that the lady's maid asked where her mistress was, and she told her that she had gone out for a little while. The lady's maid wanted some coals, and she told her there were none, and she went up-stairs. The prisoner said that she then tried to carry the body up-stairs, but her strength began to fail her, and she tied a cord round her neck and dragged the body up-stairs, and placed it in the pantry. Before she did this she said that she had locked all the doors in the kitchen. I asked the prisoner how she had obtained the money to get away from England, and at first she made me no answer. She afterwards said that after it happened she and the lady's maid had drunk two bottles of wine and had some bread and cheese together, and she then said that she

intended to have gone away from London by the six o'clock train, but was too late, and she was obliged to travel by a first-class train, and that it had cost her 3*l*. I did not know the value of English money, and asked her how much 3*l*. was, and she said that a pound was worth twenty-five francs. I replied, "So it has cost you seventy-five francs to come to Paris." She replied, "Yes." Neither myself nor my wife would believe what the prisoner said, and she pulled out a newspaper from her pocket called *La Petite Presse*, and pointed out to me one of the columns. At the very moment that the prisoner was making this statement the police arrived and apprehended the prisoner, and took her away. During the conversation I had with the prisoner, she told me that as she was on her way to Paris her young mistress, Mdlle. Riel, was on her way to England.

Cross-examined—The father of the prisoner, I believe, is a very respectable man.

Inspector Hinschberger, of Paris, was the next witness, and was followed by Inspector Druscovitch, of the Metropolitan force.

Mr. John William Berton, cashier at the bank of Cox and Co., proved that Lord Lucan kept an account there, and he produced his lordship's cheque for 80*l*., drawn on March 30 by himself, and said he paid him in bank-notes.

The Earl of Lucan said—I keep an account at Cox and Co.'s, and I went there about March 30 last and drew a cheque for 80*l*., and I received sixteen 5*l*. Bank of England notes in payment for the cheque. I gave Mdlle. Riel six of these notes to hand over to her mother on the same day I received them.

Cross-examined—I have had occasion to see Madame Riel now and then.

Was she a passionate person?—She was "*vive*," like all Frenchwomen—hasty I should say, perhaps—but I did not notice anything else particular about her. I never witnessed any differences between her and her servants, or noticed that she was particularly passionate.

The Attorney-General—Was she a woman, as has been suggested, of ungovernable temper?—I never noticed anything of the sort. She was not at all different in her manners from ordinary French people.

Mdlle. Riel said, in answer to questions put by Mr. Archibald, that her mother was hasty but very good-hearted, and she never made use of bad language. The diamond ring found in the possession of the prisoner at Paris belonged to her mother, but she could not say the exact time when she last saw her wearing it.

By Mr. Powell—There were perhaps five bracelets and four pairs of earrings in the jewel-box. They were not of very large value, but they were valuable articles. Witness was in the habit of wearing some of the jewellery when she went to St. James's Theatre.

Dr. Wadham was called, and described the appearances presented by Madame Riel's body when he examined it.

After further evidence, Mr. Powell proceeded to address the jury for the prisoner. He did not, he said, attempt to deny that the prisoner had caused the death of the deceased, but he argued that the story told by the prisoner was the truth, and that the act was committed during a quarrel and under a sudden impulse, and he contended that the prisoner ought only to be convicted of manslaughter.

Baron Channell summed up the case to the jury, who retired at twenty

minutes past eleven o'clock to deliberate upon their verdict, and returned into court at five minutes to twelve o'clock.

They found the prisoner guilty of murder, but at the same time strongly recommended her to mercy, on the ground that there was no premeditation in the act.

The prisoner asserted that she had no intention of causing death.

Baron Channell, having put on the black cap, addressed the prisoner, and said the jury, after a most careful consideration, had found her guilty of the crime of wilful murder. It would be his duty to take care that the recommendation to mercy which accompanied that verdict should at once be transmitted to the proper quarter, but at present all he had to do was to pass upon her the sentence of the law. His Lordship then passed sentence of death in the usual form.

The prisoner was then asked whether she had anything to urge in stay of execution, the object being to know whether she was pregnant.

She replied that she was not.

The prisoner was then removed from the bar, and the crowded court was soon cleared of its occupants.

The prisoner's sentence was afterwards commuted in accordance with the recommendation of the jury.

#### IV.

#### THE ATTACK ON THE QUEEN.

ARTHUR O'CONNOR, the lad who attempted to alarm the Queen by pointing a pistol at her as she was about to alight from her carriage at Buckingham Palace on the evening of February 29, was on the 11th of April brought up for trial before Baron Cleasby at the Central Criminal Court.

When the prisoner was first brought up he pleaded guilty, and it was expected that judgment would be at once passed; but Mr. H. Williams, the counsel for the prisoner, asked that that plea might be withdrawn, on the ground that prisoner was not in a fit condition of mind to plead. Baron Cleasby said he thought it would be better to try the question whether the prisoner was of sound mind or not, and a jury was accordingly empanelled for the purpose. Mr. Williams then briefly addressed the jury, and the following evidence was adduced:—

Mr. George O'Connor said—I live at No. 4, Church-row, Houndsditch, and am in the employ of the Iron Steamboat Company. The prisoner is one of eight children. I am nephew to the late Feargus O'Connor, who was confined in a lunatic asylum. Other members of our family have also been insane. The prisoner has always had bad health since he was six years old, and in 1866 he sustained a severe accident in Chancery-lane, and was wounded on the head, and was insensible for some time. After this injury I did not notice immediately any difference in his habits, but subsequently there was a marked change in him, and I noticed that he became very irritable. He was always a studious and silent boy, and I never heard of his attending any

political meetings, or that he had any political associates. I did not notice anything particular in the prisoner's demeanour on February 29, the day on which the outrage was committed. I had previously heard that he was very restless at nights, and he complained of his head, and in the morning he seemed fatigued and jaded, and said that he had pains in his head. I did not know that he was in custody until Superintendent Williamson told me of it. I have seen the prisoner several times in Newgate, and when I spoke to him on the subject of his crime he would not make any reply. I never suggested to the prisoner that he should plead guilty to the charge.

Cross-examined by the Attorney-General—The prisoner has had bad health since he was six years old, but could read and write, and was employed in several businesses, and I never heard any complaint against him. He was a clerk in a law stationer's office, and there was no complaint of the manner in which he did his work. He left that employment on account of the state of his health, not on account of the state of his mind. This was after he met with the accident. After this he was engaged by Mr. Marshall, and then I heard no complaints. He went from this place to Lovett and Franks's in the Borough, and he was in their service when this was done. He was employed as clerk in the wholesale warehouse, and I had no complaint of him from them. The prisoner went out with one of his brothers, nine years old, to see the illuminations on the night after the Prince of Wales went to St. Paul's. I consider the prisoner's mind was out of order all the time the prisoner was at Lovett and Franks's. His wages were 12s. a week, and he was paid every Friday.

The Attorney-General—Did you see the prisoner pretty often in Newgate?—We went as often as we were allowed.

How often did you speak to him about the trouble he had got into?—Only once, and that was about a fortnight ago. I asked the prisoner how he could be so foolish as to do what he had done, and he made me no reply. I repeated the question, and he made me no answer. The prisoner subsequently complained of the food that was given to him, and said he did not like the gruel, and that the meat was hard. I do not know if the meat was hard. It was I who sent Dr. Tuke and Dr. Harrington to see the prisoner. I do not know who is to pay them. Nothing was said about payment.

Dr. Smith, of King's College, who amputated the prisoner's toe, also went to see him. He did not go by my desire. I never made a communication to the solicitor for the prosecution that it was my wish the prisoner should plead guilty. I did not know he intended to plead guilty. I have received a letter from a gentleman in Ireland named Connor in reference to this matter.

The Attorney-General—Did you ever authorize Mr. Connor to communicate with the Solicitor to the Treasury upon the subject of the prisoner pleading guilty?—I never heard anything of the sort.

My mother answered Mr. Connor's letter, but I am not aware that she said anything about the prisoner pleading guilty. I am not acquainted with the contents of that letter, or that there was any suggestion that the prisoner should plead guilty, and that he should ask to be leniently dealt with. I left it entirely to my mother's discretion how the letter should be answered. I might have asked her what she said in the letter, but she only gave me a general answer. Of course she thanked Mr. Connor for his kindness, and also told him that we were without funds, and did not know



what to do. We meant we did not know what to do about defending the prisoner.

My son was in the habit of reading Victor Hugo, Dumas, Thackeray, Dickens, and Bulwer's works. I am not aware of his reading books of any other description. He used to amuse his brothers and sisters sometimes by telling them stories of different kinds. Latterly he has not gone to any place of worship that I am aware of. He used to go to St. Dunstan's, in Fleet-street, when he did.

The Attorney-General—Is it your desire that the prisoner should be kept for life in a lunatic asylum?—Certainly not.

What is your wish? Are you aware that if he is found not guilty on the ground of insanity that is what follows?—Yes.

And, knowing that, you wish the question of his insanity to be tried?—Yes.

Do you think he is insane now? you are his father; tell us.—Well, I should say, as he is standing there, he is not mad. It is for the medical men's opinion, and not mine.

I knew nothing about the plea of guilty being withdrawn in one respect; it was done by other parties, not by me. I did not know that the prisoner had pleaded guilty until the day after, when I read it in the papers. I first went to the solicitor, and then I went to Dr. Tuke.

Re-examined—I was a petitioner in Mr. Feargus O'Connor's lunacy, and Dr. Tuke was examined on that matter, and he has acted out of friendly feeling. All I desire in the matter is that justice should be done to the prisoner.

The Attorney-General—That is what we all wish.

The evidence of the prisoner's mother and of Dr. Tuke was then taken. The former spoke of her son as a quiet, gentle, and studious lad; in fact, she said he was one of the best of boys. She trusted him to take care of a younger brother and sister at the illuminations, which she should not have done if she had supposed that his mind was affected. He had expressed to her his regret for what had happened; he remarked that it would make him look ridiculous, and if he could get away he would change his name, and go where he was not known. When she heard that he had pleaded guilty, she considered that he had told the truth, as she had advised him, and that he could not do otherwise. Asked by the Attorney-General whether she considered him mad, she replied, Certainly not.

Dr. Tuke gave a long account of an interview he had with the prisoner. He found that he had a badly-shaped head and a smaller brain than is usual, but he was nevertheless very shrewd and intelligent, and conversed very clearly and rationally upon many subjects. (The witness had previously told the prisoner's father that he feared the boy's mind was going wrong, as his uncle's did.) Dr. Tuke said the prisoner told him that he got into St. Paul's on Thanksgiving Day by a clever stratagem, but was turned out because his boots were muddy. Asked as to the conclusion at which he had finally arrived, Dr. Tuke said: The conclusion I arrived at was that the prisoner was a weak, delicate boy, both in mind and body, suffering from scrofula and a blow on the head, and that all these compound causes had produced what I call exacerbation of insanity at or about the time when this act was committed. I considered it a very dangerous form of reasoning insanity, and I think that he would be very dangerous to be at large. He may be very much

better at the present time, and may be very sorry for what he has done; but I do not think he is recovered, and he is in my opinion liable at any time to a recurrence of his original condition.

Dr. Tuke was cross-examined at considerable length by the Attorney-General with a view to show that he had intruded himself into the case unasked. He admitted that he had told the prisoner's father his services should cost nothing.

The Attorney-General—Did you notice any delusion about him?—Yes, I thought it was a delusion for him to think that the Queen, when surrounded by her attendants and her guard, would have signed such a document as the one he had drawn up. I think that it was a sensible observation for the prisoner to say he was sorry for what he had done, and throw himself on the mercy of the Court.

Don't you think it more sensible than to rely upon the evidence of Dr. Tuke, and get shut up for the rest of his life at Broadmoor?—Dr. Tuke gave no answer.

Do you not believe that he knows perfectly well what he was charged with; that he was charged with an outrage upon her Majesty, and that he pleaded guilty to the offence he was so charged with?—I believe that he was quite aware what he was charged with.

Dr. Tuke was re-examined by Mr. Williams, and he stated that he had no communication with the father of the prisoner either directly or indirectly, until the father called upon him in reference to the case, and asked for his assistance. Although the prisoner may perfectly well understand his position at the present time, I do not think that this in any way affects the question as to his sanity.

After some further medical evidence the jury interposed, and said they were unanimously of opinion that the prisoner was of perfectly sound mind, and quite competent to plead to the charge that had been preferred against him.

Baron Cleasby, addressing the prisoner, said—Arthur O'Connor, you have pleaded guilty to this indictment, which charges you with having presented a pistol at the Queen with intent then and there to alarm her Majesty. It has been felt necessary not only to preserve the Sovereign from danger, so far as the law can do so, but also to preserve her from alarm, at all times, and particularly at a time when it might have been productive of the greatest possible injury. Accordingly, the Act of Parliament under which you have been indicted imposes a heavy punishment on those who offend against it. That punishment may be penal servitude for seven years, or it may be imprisonment for three years, with or without hard labour, and with an additional punishment. In dealing with the present case I must consider the circumstances, and there are many of them undoubtedly of the most aggravated nature. There is the occasion on which the crime was committed; there is the manner, the contrivance, and the cunning with which it was done; and there is still more the intention which entered the mind, though it was not harboured by the mind, of which we have heard the first to-day from those who are supposed to be your friends. No doubt all these matters weigh very heavily against you, but there are some things which we may take into account on the other side. There is your age, and there was the being induced by some act of enthusiasm which sometimes gets

the better of the mind, and induces people to do that which, under other circumstances, they would not have attempted. There is also, I cannot help thinking, the absurdity of the attempt itself. I cannot forget at the same time the way in which you yourself have considered this case—particularly what occurred in the presence of your mother and the surgeon of the gaol, when you seem to have considered the folly of what you had done, using the expression that “the scales had dropped from your eyes,” and that you had become alive to the heinousness of your offence. Although there is not the slightest doubt that there is no insanity in you, if that expression is a genuine one, it makes one think you may have acted under some enthusiasm which prevented you from knowing the nature of the act you were doing. Notwithstanding those considerations, such a crime must be punished with some severity, lest it should appear that the importance of preventing a renewal of it is underrated. The sentence I feel it my duty to pass upon you is, that you be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for one year, and that during that time you be once whipped—that is, that you receive twenty strokes with an instrument called a birch rod.

The prisoner, who had appeared but little concerned immediately before and while judgment was being pronounced upon him, was then removed from the bar.

## V.

### THE BENNETT CASE.

THE arguments in this case were heard in the Privy Council in November and December 1871, Mr. A. S. Stephens, Q.C. (with whom were Dr. Tristram, Mr. Archibald, and Mr. B. Shaw), appearing in support of the appeal, the nature and subject of which are described in the judgment. The respondent (Mr. Bennett) did not appear.

Judgment was not given till the 8th of June, 1872, when the Archbishop of York delivered it. The other Judges present were the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of London, the Master of the Rolls, Sir J. Colvile, Sir J. Napier, Lord Justice James, Lord Justice Mellish, Mr. Montague Bernard, and Sir Montague Smith. The judgment was as follows:—

“This is an appeal from the final sentence or decree pronounced by the Dean of the Arches Court of Canterbury on the 23rd day of July, 1870, and also from two interlocutory orders made by the same Judge, in a cause of the office of the Judge promoted by Thomas Byard Sheppard, the appellant, against the Rev. William James Early Bennett, Vicar of the parish of Frome Selwood, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, the respondent, for having offended against the laws ecclesiastical by having, within two years from the date of the institution of the cause, caused to be printed and published certain works in which he is alleged to have advisedly maintained or affirmed doctrines directly contrary or repugnant to the Articles and Formularies of the United Church of England and Ireland in relation to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, such works being entitled respectively, ‘Some Results of the Tractarian Movement of 1833,’ forming one of the essays contained in a volume, entitled ‘The Church and the World,’ edited

by the Rev. Orby Shipley, clerk, printed and published in London in the year 1867; 'A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England, in a Letter addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford,' 2nd edition, printed and published in London in the year 1867; and 'A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England, in a Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford,' 3rd edition, printed and published in London in the year 1868. The cause was instituted in the Arches Court of Canterbury by virtue of letters of request of the late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in accordance with the provisions of the Act 3 and 4 of the Queen, cap. 86. The respondent was duly cited on the 26th of July, 1869. No appearance was given to the citation, and in default of appearance articles were filed in accordance with the practice of the Court. On the 30th of October, 1869, the Judge, having previously heard counsel on behalf of the appellant, directed the articles to be reformed by omitting such parts thereof as charge the respondent with contravening the 29th Article of Religion, entitled 'Of the wicked which eat not the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.' From such decree or order a petition of appeal was presented, with the permission of the Judge, and the appeal came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the 26th day of March, 1870, when the Lords of the Committee, having heard counsel on behalf of the appellant, agreed to report to her Majesty their opinion against the appeal, and that the decree or order appealed from ought to be affirmed, and the cause remitted with all its incidents to the Judge of the court from which the same was appealed. An Order in Council, confirming the report of the Judicial Committee, was afterwards made. The cause was accordingly remitted to the Arches Court of Canterbury, and on the 3rd day of June, 1870, in default of appearance on the part of the respondent, the Judge of the court, having heard counsel on behalf of the appellant, himself reformed the articles and admitted the same as so reformed, notwithstanding that the counsel for the promoter objected to the reformation of the articles so made by the Judge as being at variance with, and exceeding the reformation directed by, the order of the 30th of October, 1869. On the 16th day of June, 1870, the cause came on for hearing, and an application was then made by counsel that the passages in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 32nd articles, which had been struck out by the Judge in his reformation of the articles on the 3rd day of June, might be reinstated. The Judge, however, made no further order thereon, and the hearing of the cause was continued. On the 23rd day of July, 1870, the Judge, by his interlocutory decree, having the force and effect of a definitive sentence in writing, pronounced that the proctor for the appellant had failed in sufficiently proving the articles, and dismissed the respondent from the suit. The present appeal is from so much of the interlocutory decree or order of the 3rd day of June, 1870, as in effect directs the passages in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 32nd articles to be struck out; also from the interlocutory decree or order of the 16th day of June, 1870, whereby, in effect, the Judge declined to allow such passages to be reinstated, and from the final sentence or decree of the 23rd day of July, 1870. The respondent has not appeared upon the hearing of the appeal, and the Court has not had that assistance from the argument of counsel in his behalf, which is especially desirable in cases like the present, where the Committee are called upon to

advise her Majesty on matters of grave importance as a tribunal of ultimate appeal. The counsel for the appellant first opened the appeal from the interlocutory order of the Judge of the 3rd day of June, 1870, whereby he adhered to the reformation which he had made in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 32nd articles of charge. With regard to the reformation of the articles, the course originally taken seems to be sanctioned by usage; but it appears to their Lordships to be a course attended with considerable inconvenience, and one which might lead to great delay, if not to a miscarriage. The original order of the Arches Court directed the articles of charge to be reformed by omitting all such parts thereof as charged the respondent with contravening the 29th Article of Religion, and this order was affirmed on appeal on the recommendation of this Committee. The form of the order leaves open to further determination by the Court what parts of the articles of charge do, in effect, charge the respondent with contravening the 29th Article of Religion, and thus opens the door to further discussion, and (as in this case) to a further appeal. In the mean time the Judge himself strikes out such parts of the articles of charge as he conceives to be within the previous order of the Court, and then proceeds to hear the cause with the record so altered. If he should have erroneously struck out parts not affected by the order, the attention of the accused, in his answer or evidence, will not have been called to the parts struck out, for he would be entitled to consider them as no longer forming part of the charge; but if the promoter, on appeal, should succeed in restoring the passages in question, it would obviously become necessary to allow the respondent an opportunity of meeting the restored charges. In the present case their Lordships have thought it best to allow the appellant to conduct his argument as if the passages which he avers should not have been struck out still remained part of the record, and to found any argument upon such passages as he might be advised, provided the argument did not seek to establish a contravention by the respondent of the 29th Article of Religion. But they think it right to observe that it would be proper, in future, that before any appeal be presented to her Majesty in Council, in respect of an order directing the reformation of articles of charge, or other pleadings, the actual reformation which appears to the Judge to be required should be made by him on the face of that order, so that on appeal the very passages omitted should be clearly brought under the judgment of this Committee, instead of an order directing, by general reference, the nature of the alteration required. On proceeding to the consideration of the appeal from the final decree of the Court of Arches, there is one point which was prominently brought forward in the opening of the case by the counsel for the appellant, which it appears to their Lordships may be separately disposed of. The articles of charge set forth several passages from the 2nd and 3rd editions of a work published by the respondent, called 'A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England, in a Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey.' Now the 2nd edition of this work was published in 1867, and the 3rd edition in 1868. The 3rd edition contains important corrections of expressions in the 2nd edition, which expressions form part of the charge against the respondent. The original expressions and their correction are fairly stated and set forth by the appellant in the 7th article of charge. The learned Judge in the court below has stated that he has no doubt that the expressions originally used by the respondent,—*viz.*, 'the real, actual, and visible presence of the Lord upon the altars of our

churches,' and again, 'who myself adore and teach the people to adore the consecrated elements, believing Christ to be in them—believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,' 'contravened the plain and clear intent of the formularies of the Church.' And the learned Judge has also set forth the alterations of these statements made in the 3rd edition of the respondent's work, and on the passages so altered has found that the respondent has not been guilty of a contravention of the Articles as alleged by the promoter. Mr. Bennett's own words, in adopting the altered words, are as follows:—

"My meaning and that which passed through my mind in writing the original passages was precisely the same as that which is now conveyed in the words substituted; but as the original words were liable to a different construction from that in which I used them, I therefore most willingly in this edition adopt another formula to express my meaning."

"The learned Judge has regretted that these alterations made by Mr. Bennett in his 3rd edition are unaccompanied by any expression of regret or self-reproach on the respondent's part for the mischief which his crude and rash expressions have caused. Their Lordships feel obliged to adopt the censure of the learned Judge on this point: Upon this state of facts the learned counsel urged that there had been no retraction of the original user, and that, in default of actual retraction, the learned Judge should have condemned the respondent in respect of the words used by him in the 2nd edition of his work, though varied by the substituted words in the 3rd edition, and he cited several authorities for the purpose of supporting this argument. But, without regarding the respondent's language as a retraction, their Lordships think that it is competent for them to take into consideration any explanation that an accused person may give of the language used by him, and to determine whether such explanation is made *bona fide*, and is entitled to credit. They attach great importance to the fact that the 3rd edition was published before suit, and they think that they may accept his later words as the more correct expression of the respondent's meaning. In proceeding to consider the substance of the charges against the respondent, their Lordships think it desirable to recall to mind the principles on which former decisions in similar cases have proceeded. In the cases of Williams and Wilson (2 Moore's Reports, New Series, p. 423), their Lordships laid down as follows:—

"These prosecutions are in the nature of criminal proceedings, and it is necessary that there should be precision and distinctness in the accusation. The articles of charge must distinctly state the opinions which the clerk has advisedly maintained, and set forth the passages in which those opinions are stated; and further, the articles must specify the doctrines of the Church which such opinions or teaching of the clerk are alleged to contravene, and the particular Articles of Religion or portions of the Formularies which contain such doctrines. The accuser is, for the purpose of the charge, confined to the passages which are included and set out in the articles as the matter of the accusation, but it is competent to the accused party to explain from the rest of his work the sense or meaning of any passage or word that is challenged by the accuser."

"So in the judgment in the Gorham case—

"The question which we have to decide is, not whether the opinions are

theologically sound or unsound; not whether upon some of the doctrines comprised in these opinions other opinions opposite to them may or may not be held with equal or even greater reason by other learned and pious ministers of the Church; but whether these opinions now under our consideration are contrary or repugnant to the doctrines which the Church of England, by its Articles, Formularies, and Rubrics, requires to be held by its ministers, so that upon the ground of those opinions the appellant can lawfully be excluded from his benefice. . . . The question must be decided by the Articles and the Liturgy; and we must apply to the construction of those books the same rules which have been long established, and are by law applicable to the construction of all written instruments. We must endeavour to attain for ourselves the true meaning of the language employed, assisted only by the consideration of such external or historical facts as we may find necessary to enable us to understand the subject-matter to which the instruments relate, and the meaning of the words employed. . . . There were different doctrines or opinions prevailing or under discussion at the times when the Articles and Liturgy were framed and ultimately made part of the law; but we are not to be in any way influenced by the particular opinions of the eminent men who propounded or discussed them, or by the authorities by which they may be supposed to have been influenced, or by any supposed tendency to give preponderance to Calvinistic or Arminian doctrines. The Articles and Liturgy, as we now have them, must be considered as the final result of the discussion which took place; not the representation of the opinions of any particular men, Calvinistic, Arminian, or any other, but the conclusion which we must presume to have been deduced from a due consideration of all the circumstances of the case, including both the sources from which the declared doctrine was derived and the erroneous opinions which were to be corrected. . . . This Court has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any case to be the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England upon the true and legal construction of the Articles and Formularies.'

"Lord Stowell had long before said, in the case of *King's Proctor v. Stone*:—

"If any Article is really a subject of dubious interpretation, it would be highly improper for the Court to fix on one meaning and prosecute all those who hold a contrary opinion regarding its interpretation. It is a very different thing where the authority of the Articles is totally eluded, and the party deliberately declares the intention of teaching doctrines contrary to them.'

"To the principles thus laid down their Lordships will adhere in the present case. The attention of the Court has been directed to the successive revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, and to alterations or omissions which have been made in it at different times. Changes by which words or passages inculcating particular doctrines, or assuming a belief in them, have been struck out are most material as evidence that the Church has deliberately ceased to affirm those doctrines in her public services. At the same time it is material to observe that the necessary effect of such changes, when they stand alone, is that it ceases to be unlawful to contradict such doctrines, and not that it becomes unlawful to maintain them. In the public or common prayers and devotional offices of the Church all her members are expected

and entitled to join; it is necessary, therefore, that such forms of worship as are prescribed by authority for general use should embody those beliefs only which are assumed to be generally held by members of the Church. In the case of *Westerton v. Liddell* (and again in *Martin v. Mackonochie*) their Lordships say,—‘In the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed; no omission and no addition can be allowed.’ If the minister be allowed to introduce at his own will variations in the rites and ceremonies which seem to him to interpret the doctrine of the service in a particular direction, the service ceases to be what it was meant to be, common ground on which all Church people may meet, though they differ about some doctrines. But the Church of England has wisely left a certain latitude of opinion in matters of belief, and has not insisted on a rigorous uniformity of thought which might reduce her communion to a narrow compass. Dealing with the 3rd edition of the respondent’s work, and having regard to their former decision, that the charge of contradicting the 29th Article of Religion as to reception by the wicked should be struck out, their Lordships may consider the remaining charges against the respondent under three heads:—

1. As to the presence of Christ in the Holy Communion.
2. As to sacrifice in the Holy Communion.
3. As to adoration of Christ present in the Holy Communion.

The respondent is charged with maintaining under these three heads the following propositions:—

1. That in the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper there is an actual presence of the true Body and Blood of our Lord in the consecrated bread and wine, by virtue of and upon the consecration, without or external to the communicant, and irrespective of the faith and worthiness of the communicant, and separately from the act of reception by the communicant, and it was contended by counsel under this head that the true Body of Christ meant the natural body.
2. That the Communion-table is an altar of sacrifice, at which the priest appears in a sacerdotal position at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and that at such celebration there is a great sacrifice or offering of our Lord by the ministering priest, in which the mediation of our Lord ascends from the altar to plead for the sins of men.
3. That adoration is due to Christ present upon the altars or Communion-tables of the churches, in the Sacrament, under the form of bread and wine, on the ground that under their veil is the Body and Blood of our Lord.

The several positions so maintained are averred, each and all, to be repugnant to the doctrines of our Church, as set forth in the Articles and Formularies in that behalf specially alleged. Their Lordships are bound to consider, in the first place, what has been affirmed and what has been denied, in reference to the doctrine to which these three statements relate.

“The 4th Article of Religion affirms:—

“‘That Christ did truly rise from death and took again His body, with flesh and bones and all things appertaining to the perfection of man’s nature, wherewith He ascended into heaven, and there sitteth until He return to judge all men at the last day.’

“In the 28th Article of Religion it is affirmed:—

“‘1. The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another, but rather is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ’s death; insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a



partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ. 2. Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions. 3. The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner. 4. The mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith. 5. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.'

"By the 29th Article of Religion it is affirmed:—

"'6. The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ; but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.'

"By the 31st it is affirmed:—

"'7. The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone.' And—'8. The sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits. 9. In the Catechism it is stated that 'the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.'

"Their Lordships proceed, with these passages before them, to examine the charges made against the respondent. The first relates to the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Communion. The Church of England in the passages just cited holds and teaches affirmatively that in the Lord's Supper the Body and Blood of Christ are given to, taken, and received by the faithful communicant. She implies, therefore, to that extent, a presence of Christ in the ordinance to the soul of the worthy recipient. As to the mode of this presence she affirms nothing, except that the Body of Christ is 'given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner,' and that 'the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten is faith.' Any other presence than this—any presence which is not a presence to the soul of the faithful receiver—the Church does not by her Articles and Formularies affirm or require her ministers to accept. This cannot be stated too plainly. The question is, however, not what the Articles and Formularies affirm, but what they exclude. The respondent maintains a presence which is (to use his own expression) 'real, actual, objective,' a presence in the Sacrament, a presence upon the altar, under the form of bread and wine. He does not appear to have used the expression 'in the consecrated elements' in his 3rd edition; this is one of the points on which the language of the 2nd edition was altered. And the question raised by the appeal is, whether his position is contradictory or repugnant to anything in the Articles or Formularies, so as to be properly made the ground of a criminal charge. Setting aside the Declaration at the end of the Communion Office, which will be presently considered, we find nothing in the Articles and Formularies to which the respondent's position is

contradictory or repugnant. The statement in the 28th Article of Religion that the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, excludes undoubtedly any manner of giving, taking, or receiving which is not heavenly or spiritual. The assertion of a 'real, actual, objective' presence introduces, indeed, terms not found in the Articles or Formularies; but it does not appear to assert expressly or by necessary implication, a presence other than spiritual, nor to be necessarily contradictory to the 28th Article of Religion. The 29th Article of Religion, which is entitled 'Of the wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper,' and which affirms that the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith 'are in no wise partakers of Christ,' may suggest, indeed, an inference unfavourable to the respondent's statements, but cannot be said to be plainly contradictory of them or necessarily to exclude them. The two propositions, that the faithful receive Christ in the Lord's Supper, and that the wicked are in no wise partakers of Christ, when taken together, do not appear to be contradicted by the statement, that there is a real, actual, objective presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament after a heavenly and spiritual manner. The 'Declaration of Kneeling' should now be considered. It is as follows:—'Whereas it is ordained in this office for the administration of the Lord's Supper that the communicant should receive the same kneeling (which order is well meant for the signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of such profanation and disorder in the Holy Communion as might otherwise ensue), yet, lest the same kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance or infirmity, or out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued and depraved, it is hereby declared that thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood, for the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians), and the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one.' This declaration originally appeared in the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., A.D. 1552, in which book the position of kneeling was positively enjoined upon those who received the Sacrament. It was issued by the King and was ordered by the Council to be appended to the Prayer Book, but after the book had received the sanction of Parliament, so that it was not of statutory authority. From the Prayer Book of Elizabeth (1559) the declaration was omitted. In 1662 it was inserted in the present Prayer Book and became of equal authority with the rest of the Prayer Book. The form of the declaration was somewhat altered; the words 'unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood' were altered to 'unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood,' and the words 'true natural Body' became 'natural Body.' It was urged for the appellant that since the Church recognizes only one Body of Christ, the natural and now glorified Body which is spoken of in the 4th Article of Religion, and since the declaration asserts that this Body is 'in heaven and not here,' the only presence in the Sacrament which can be held consistently

with the declaration is a presence to the soul of the communicant. It was insisted that the word 'natural' applied to the Body of Christ can convey no additional meaning, unless it be used to distinguish the true Body of Christ, which is His natural Body, from the Church, which is His Body in a mystical or figurative sense; and that the expression 'corporal presence' cannot mean a presence in manner or under the conditions in and under which material bodies are present or exist in space; that it must mean or include any presence whatever in the elements, as contradistinguished from a presence to the spiritual apprehension of the receiver. There can be no question, it was argued, as to the mode or manner of the presence; for no mode or manner of presence is conceivable which would reconcile the proposition that the true Body of Christ is in the elements with the proposition that the natural body is in heaven and not here. Their Lordships are of opinion that these inferences, whether probable or not, are by no means of that plain and certain character which the conclusion they are asked to draw from them requires. The matters to which they relate are confessedly not comprehensible, or very imperfectly comprehensible, by the human understanding; the province of reasoning as applied to them is therefore very limited; and the terms employed have not, and cannot have, that precision of meaning which the character of the argument demands. Concerning the mode of reception of the Body and Blood of Christ by the faithful communicant, the Church affirms nothing more than that it is heavenly and spiritual, and that the means whereby we receive is faith. Nor can their Lordships accede to the argument that the words 'corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood' must be understood as the appellant understands them, and the phrase 'corporal presence' regarded merely as an equivalent for the different expression in lieu of which it was substituted. On the contrary, it is at the least probable that as the declaration itself was introduced in order to conciliate scruples in one quarter, the alteration made in it was designed to remove objections entertained against it in another. Their Lordships could not advise the condemnation of a clergyman for maintaining that the use in 1662 of the word 'corporal' instead of the words 'real and essential' in the Declaration of Kneeling was an intentional substitution, implying that there may be a real or essential presence as distinguished from a corporal presence. The respondent has nowhere alleged in terms a corporal presence of the natural Body of Christ in the elements; he has never affirmed that the Body of Christ is present in a 'corporal' or 'natural' manner. On the contrary, he has denied this, and he speaks of the presence in which he believes as 'spiritual,' 'supernatural,' 'sacramental,' 'mystical,' 'ineffable.' The next charge against the respondent is, that he has maintained that the Communion-table is an altar of sacrifice, at which the priest appears in a sacerdotal position at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and that at such celebration there is a great sacrifice or offering of our Lord by the ministering priest, in which the mediation of our Lord ascends from the altar to plead for the sins of men. The Church of England does not by her Articles or Formularies teach or affirm the doctrine maintained by the respondent. That she has deliberately ceased to do so would clearly appear from a comparison of the present Communion Office with that in King Edward's first book, and of this again with the canon in the mass in the Sarum missal. This subject was fully discussed before their Lordships in *Westerton v. Liddell*, when it was de-

cided that the 'change in the view taken of the sacrament naturally called for a corresponding change in the altar. It was no longer to be an altar of sacrifice, but merely a table at which the communicants were to partake of the Lord's Supper.' The 31st Article of Religion, after laying down the proposition (which is adopted also in words nearly the same, in the Prayer of Consecration), that 'the offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual,' and that 'there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone,' proceeds, on the strength of these propositions, to say that 'the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.' It is not lawful for a clergyman to contradict, expressly or by inference, either the proposition which forms the first part of this Article, or any proposition plainly deducible from the condemnation of propitiatory masses which forms the second part of it, and is stated as a corollary to the first. It is not lawful for a clergyman to teach that the sacrifice or offering of Christ upon the Cross, or the redemption, propitiation, or satisfaction wrought by it, is or can be repeated in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; nor that in that ordinance there is or can be any sacrifice or offering of Christ which is efficacious in the sense in which Christ's death is efficacious, to procure the remission of the guilt or punishment of sins. It is well known, however, that by many divines of eminence the word 'sacrifice' has been applied to the Lord's Supper in the sense, not of a true propitiatory or atoning sacrifice, effectual as a satisfaction for sin, but of a rite which calls to remembrance and represents 'before God that one true sacrifice. To take one example, Bishop Bull says:—

"In the Eucharist, then, Christ is offered, not hypostatically, as the Trent Fathers have determined, for so He was but once offered, but commemoratively only; and this commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering or putting ourselves in mind of Him. For every sacrifice is directed to God, and the oblation therein made, whatsoever it be, hath Him for its object, and not man. In the Holy Eucharist; therefore, we set before God the bread and wine "as figures or images of the precious Blood of Christ shed for us, and of His precious Body" (they are the very words of the Clementine Liturgy), and plead to God the merit of His Son's sacrifice once offered on the Cross for us sinners, and in this Sacrament represented, beseeching Him for the sake thereof to bestow His heavenly blessings on us.' (Bull's Works, vol. ii. p. 22.)

"The distinction between an act by which a satisfaction for sin is made, and a devotional rite by which the satisfaction so made is represented and pleaded before God, is clear, though it is liable to be obscured, not only in the apprehension of the ignorant, but by the tendency of theologians to exalt the importance of the rite till the distinction itself well-nigh disappears. To apply the word 'sacrifice' in the sense in which Bishop Bull has used it to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, though it may be liable to abuse and misapprehension, does not appear to be a contravention of any proposition legitimately deducible from the 39th Article. It is not clear to their Lordships that the respondent has so used the word 'sacrifice' as to contradict the language of the Articles. Their Lordships now proceed to the third charge, which relates to the adoration of Christ present in the Sacrament.

The 20th and 27th articles of charge contain the false doctrines alleged to be held by Mr. Bennett. The 20th charges that he affirms the doctrine that adoration or worship is due to the consecrated bread and wine. The 27th ..... he affirms that adoration is due to Christ present upon the altars of our churches in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, under the form of bread and wine, on the ground that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of our Lord (the passages referred to for proof are set out in the 7th article). The 31st article charges that these doctrines are contrary to the 28th Article of Religion and the Declaration of Kneeling. The passages relied on as the ground of these charges are the following :—

“The reader will observe that in the first two editions, at page 3, the words were :—“The real actual and visible presence of our Lord upon the altars of our churches.” In the present edition he will find at page 2 the following words substituted :—“The real and actual presence of our Lord under the form of bread and wine upon the altars of our churches.” He will also observe that, at page 14 in the former editions, the words were :—“Who myself adore and teach the people to adore the consecrated elements, believing Christ to be in them—believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” He will now find the following words substituted :—“Who myself adore and teach the people to adore Christ present in the Sacrament, under the form of bread and wine, believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”

“The three great doctrines on which the Catholic Church has to take her stand are these :—I. The real objective presence of our blessed Lord in the Eucharist; II. The sacrifice offered by the priest; and, III. The adoration due to the presence of our blessed Lord therein. Well, I do not know what others of my brethren in the priesthood may think—I do not wish to compromise them by anything that I say or do—but seeing that I am one of those who burn lighted candles at the altar in the daytime, who use incense at the Holy Sacrifice, who use the Eucharistic vestments, who elevate the Blessed Sacrament, who myself adore, and teach the people to adore, Christ present in the Sacrament, under the form of bread and wine, believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; seeing all this, it may be conceived that I cannot rest very much at ease under the imputations above recited.”

“Their Lordships agree with the learned Judge of the court below that the doctrine charged in the 20th article—namely, that adoration is due to the consecrated elements—is contrary to law, and must be condemned. But they have admitted, as the learned Judge has done, Mr. Bennett’s explanation of that language, and therefore they are not called upon to condemn Mr. Bennett under the 20th article. The 27th article of charge therefore alone remains for decision; it is as follows :—

“That in or by the passages lettered N, O, and S, hereinbefore set forth in the seventh preceding article you have maintained or affirmed and promulgated the doctrine that adoration is due to Christ, present upon the altars (thereby referring to the communion-tables) of the churches of the said United Church of England and Ireland in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion under the form of bread and wine, on the ground that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’

“Their Lordships have now to consider whether or not the passages from

the respondent's writings above set forth are necessarily repugnant to or contradictory of the 28th Article of Religion, or of the Declaration of Kneeling, as alleged in the 31st article of charge. The Declaration of Kneeling states that, by the direction that the communicants shall receive the consecrated elements kneeling, 'no adoration is intended or ought to be done either to the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or to any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' According to this declaration, neither the elements nor any corporal presence of Christ therein ought to be adored. The 28th Article lays down that 'the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.' In the 25th Article it had been affirmed that 'the Sacraments were not ordained by Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them.' It was laid down in *Martin v. Mackonochie* that such acts as the elevation of the cup and paten, and kneeling and prostration of the minister before them, were unlawful, because they were not prescribed in the Rubric of the Communion Office, and because acts not prescribed were to be taken 'as forbidden. Their Lordships in that judgment adopted the words of the Committee in *Westerton v. Liddell*, 'for the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed; no omission and no addition can be permitted.' It follows then that the Church of England has forbidden all acts of adoration to the Sacrament, understanding by that the consecrated elements. She has been careful to exclude any act of adoration on the part of the minister at or after the consecration of the elements, and to explain the posture of kneeling prescribed by the Rubric. If the charge against Mr. Bennett were that he had performed an outward act of adoration on any occasion in the service, the principles laid down in *Martin v. Mackonochie* would apply to this case. Such an act could not be done except in the service, because the Sacrament may not be 'reserved.' But even if the respondent's words are a confession of an unlawful act, it is questionable whether such a confession would amount to false doctrine. And it is also fair to remember, in the respondent's favour, that the judgment in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, which established the unlawfulness of introducing acts of adoration, was not delivered until December 23, 1868, after the publication of the words that are now impugned. Some of their Lordships have doubted whether the word 'adore,' though it seems to point rather to acts of worship such as are forbidden by the 28th Article, may not be construed to refer to mental adoration, or prayers addressed to Christ present spiritually in the Sacrament, which does not necessarily imply any adoration of the consecrated elements, or of any corporal or natural presence therein. Upon the whole, their Lordships, not without doubts and division of opinions, have come to the conclusion that this charge is not so clearly made out as the rules which govern penal proceedings require. Mr. Bennett is entitled to the benefit of any doubt that may exist. His language has been rash, but as it appears to the majority of their Lordships that his words can be construed so as not to be plainly repugnant to the two passages articulated against them, their Lordships will give him the benefit of the doubt that has been raised. Their Lordships having arrived at the conclusion that they must advise her Majesty that the appeal must be dismissed, feel bound to add that there is much in the judgment of the learned Judge in the court below with

which they are unable to concur. The learned Judge has endeavoured to settle, by a mass of authorities, what is the doctrine of the Church of England on the subject of the Holy Communion. It is not the part of the Court of Arches, nor of this Committee, to usurp the functions of a Synod or Council. Happily their duties are much more circumscribed—namely, to ascertain whether certain statements are so far repugnant to or contradictory of the language of the Articles and Formularies, construed in their plain meaning, that they should receive judicial condemnation. Their Lordships will not attempt to examine in detail the catena of authorities which the Judge of the Arches has brought together, nor that of the learned counsel who appeared for the appellant. No mode of argument is more fallacious on a subject so abstruse and of so many aspects; short extracts, even where candidly made, as in this case, give no fair impression of an author's mind. Thus, Dean Jackson is quoted in the judgment; but the quotation omits the preceding sentence ('Works,' vol. x., p. 41), which gives to the whole passage a meaning difficult to reconcile with the purpose for which it is used; while the opinion of this eminent divine would have been more correctly represented by referring also to the following remarkable passage in a previous chapter of this work:—

“ ‘What need, then, is there of His bodily presence in the Sacrament, or of any other presence than the influence or emission of virtue from His heavenly sanctuary into our souls? He has left us the consecrated elements of bread and wine, to be unto us more than the hem of His garment. If we do but touch and taste them with the same faith by which this woman touched the hem of His garment, our same faith shall make us whole.’ (‘Works,’ vol. ix., p. 611.)

Several of those who are cited by the learned Judge are living persons of greater or less note, who cannot rank as authorities for the history of a great controversy. One of the authorities is so questionable, that it requires a passing examination. The learned Judge, after quoting the 28th Article of Religion, introduces as ‘a *contemporanea expositio*, from the compiler of this Article, which cannot, I think, be gainsaid,’ a letter from Bishop Gheast to Cecil, under the date 1556 (probably a mistake for 1566), explaining the sense which he put upon the word ‘only’ in the 28th Article. Gheast does not say that he was the ‘compiler’ of the 28th Article, all but one sentence of which had been in substance in the Articles of 1552; and the context shows that he used the word ‘Article’ only of this sentence, which, he says, was ‘of mine own penning.’ Upon the faith of this letter, genuine or not, avowedly written for a personal purpose (‘for mine own purgation’), is founded an exposition of the words ‘only after a heavenly and spiritual manner,’ as meaning that though a man ‘took Christ’s Body in his hand, received it with his mouth, and that corporally, naturally, really, substantially, and carnally . . . yet did he not for all that see it, feel it, smell it, nor taste it.’ Upon this alleged exposition their Lordships feel themselves free to observe that the words ‘only after a heavenly and spiritual manner’ do not appear to contain or involve the words ‘corporally, naturally, and carnally,’ but to exclude them; and that it is the Article, and not the questionable comments of a doubtful letter written for personal motives, which is binding on the clergy and on this Court. Their Lordships recall once more, in acknowledging the learning that has been brought to bear upon this case, the principle which this Committee

has long since laid down. 'There were different doctrines or opinions prevailing or under discussion at the times when the Articles and Liturgy were framed, and ultimately made part of the law; but we are not to be in any way influenced by the particular opinions of the eminent men who propounded or discussed them, or by the authorities by which they may be supposed to have been influenced, or by any supposed tendency to give preponderance to Calvinistic or Arminian doctrines. The Articles and Liturgy, as we now have them, must be considered as the final result of the discussion which took place, not the representation of the opinions of any particular men, Calvinistic, Arminian, or any other; but the conclusions which we must presume to have been deduced from a due consideration of all the circumstances of the case, including both the sources from which the declared doctrine was derived and the erroneous opinions which were to be corrected.' (Judgment of Privy Council, Gorham Case.)

"Citations from established authors may be of use to show that 'the liberty which was left by the Articles and Formularies has been actually enjoyed and exercised by the members and ministers of the Church of England.' (Judgment of Privy Council, Gorham Case.) But, to say the least, very few of the quotations in the judgment exhibit the same freedom of language as do the extracts from Mr. Bennett. And after every authority had been examined there would still remain the question that is before this Committee, whether the licence or liberty is really allowed by the Articles and Formularies—whether anything has been said by the respondent which plainly contradicts them. If the respondent had made statements contradicting the Articles or Formularies, the citation of great names would not have protected him; if he has not done so, he is safe without their protection. There is one passage in the judgment which seems especially to call for comment:—

"'With respect to the second and corrected edition of his pamphlet, and the other work for which he is article'd, I say that the objective, actual, and real presence, or the spiritual, real presence, a presence external to the act of the communicant, appears to me to be the doctrine which the Formularies of our Church, duly considered and construed so as to be harmonious, intended to maintain. But I do not lay down this as a position of law, nor do I say that what is called the Receptionist doctrine is inadmissible; nor do I pronounce on any other teaching with respect to the mode of presence. I mean to do no such thing by this judgment. I mean by it to pronounce only that to describe the mode of presence as objective, real, actual, and spiritual is certainly not contrary to the law.'

"Their Lordships regret that the learned Judge should have put forth this extra-judicial statement, in which he adopts words that are not used in the Articles or Formularies as expressing their doctrine. The word 'Receptionist' is as foreign to the Articles as the word 'objective.' Their Lordships have already said that any presence which is not a presence to the soul of the faithful receiver, the Church does not by her Articles and Formularies affirm. They need not ask whether there is really any doubt as to the admissibility of the doctrine of Hooker and Waterland, who appear to be described as 'Receptionists,' in the Church of which they have been two of the greatest ornaments. Their Lordships have not arrived at their decision without great anxiety and occasional doubt. The subject is one which has always moved the deepest feelings of religious men, and will continue to do so. There might



have been expected from a theologian dealing with this subject, if not a charitable regard for the feelings of others, at least a careful preparation and an exactness in the use of terms. The very divine whose opinions Mr. Bennett seems to have sought to represent, was obliged himself to point out how erroneous was his statement of those opinions. The respondent corrected the manifest error without an expression of regret at the pain he may have caused to many by his careless language. Even in their maturer form his words are rash and ill-judged, and are perilously near a violation of the law. But the Committee have not allowed any feeling of disapproval to interfere with the real duty before them, to decide whether the language of the respondent was so plainly repugnant to the Articles and Formularies as to call for judicial condemnation, and, as these proceedings are highly penal, to construe in his favour every reasonable doubt."

## VI.

### THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE" LIBEL CASE.

In the Court of Common Pleas on November 26 an action for libel, brought by Mr. Hepworth Dixon against Mr. G. Smith, the proprietor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, was commenced. Mr. Serjeant Parry, Mr. Day, Q.C., and Mr. Gladstone appeared for the plaintiff; and Sir John Karslake, Q.C., Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, Q.C., and Mr. Murphy for the defendant.

The Lord Chief Justice was on the bench at the opening of the case by Mr. Serjeant Parry, but was obliged to retire from the court. After a delay of about ten minutes, Mr. Justice Brett made his appearance on the bench, and said he was sorry to say that the Lord Chief Justice had been taken very unwell, and that it was impossible he could go on with the case. He was, however, ready to take the place of the Lord Chief Justice, but as the case was partly opened the learned serjeant would state shortly over again the main points.

Mr. Serjeant Parry, in opening the plaintiff's case, said that his client was one of the most successful authors of the day. For twenty-five years he had followed the profession of a literary man. He was a J.P. for Middlesex, had been a barrister for many years, and was also a member of many important literary societies both here and abroad. In 1870 Mr. Dixon published his book called "Free Russia," which had a very extensive circulation, and was most favourably reviewed. It was in reference to this publication that the first libel was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on May 18, 1870. It was contained in an article commencing—

"We have received from Mr. Hepworth Dixon another of those insolent, ingenious letters with which he contrives to puff his books, obscene, inaccurate, or both, as soon as they appear. Nobody knows better than Mr. Dixon that to 'make a racket' (as they call it who employ the expedient) is the best of all ways of promoting its sale, and obviously the more worthless a book is, the greater its dependence for commercial success on being pushed into all the libraries before its real merits are made known, the more desirable is this 'racket.' Mr. Dixon's letters to the papers show him to be a master of the

art; indeed, we are almost inclined to think that he is wrong of forethought and indecent on purpose, so that opportunities for 'Letters to the Editor' may arise, and the name of Mr. Dixon's books and Mr. Dixon's own name may be kept in the papers for a while. We know that for such an expedient a monstrous deal of hardihood and as much ingenuity are needed; but there is no reason to suppose that Nature stinted Mr. Dixon of the first of these good qualities, and the other he has cultivated with all the care and industry which he has denied to the acquirement of facts. A very pretty specimen of his style when driven into a corner may be seen in that correspondence with Admiral Ommanney which Mr. Dixon has so joyfully sent to all the papers; a rare piece of luck; a whole column of letters to and from a rear-admiral, all about the blunders in 'Free Russia.'

The second libel was published in an "Occasional Note" in August following, and is as follows:—

"It is curious to observe the antics of men who, hungering after celebrity, can only just succeed, by dint of the most frantic efforts, in procuring from time to time some crumbs of notoriety. Mr. Hepworth Dixon made his first appearance on Saturday, at St. George's Hall, in the character of the 'Shakers' friend.'" The libel went on to state, "Mr. Dixon spoke of the 'beautiful Eden' produced by Shakerism, which seemed to be, according to Elder Evans, 'the holding of wives in common,' and was 'nothing more than Quakerism divested of its ordinations relative to the giving and taking in marriage.' Of course, Mr. Dixon and the Shakers can fraternise in public if they choose, but it is surely a strange and almost incredible irony to find a writer who is best known as a successful compiler of obscene literature and vamped-up travels announced as the presiding genius at the London Festival in honour of Scott."

Mr. Serjeant Parry added that the defendant, upon being called upon to give particulars of what was charged against Mr. Dixon, viz., that he was best known as the author of obscene literature and vamped-up travels, had ventured only to refer to certain passages in three of Mr. Dixon's books—his "New America," "Spiritual Wives," and "Free Russia," and none of these passages he (the learned Serjeant) submitted to the jury would support either. Mr. Dixon was the author of twenty or thirty works of sterling merit, which had circulated by thousands and thousands. From 1848 until now there was not an hour of his life in which he had not been labouring in the fields of literature, and in the most varied. He had published biographies of John Howard, Penn, and Blake. One of his most interesting works was the Personal History and Public Career of Lord Bacon. "Vamping-up," the learned counsel supposed, meant trying to polish up wares which were unsalable—not his own—but other people's. But Mr. Dixon had not written a single book of travel without having visited the country described, and endeavoured honestly to make himself acquainted with it. The learned counsel concluded by saying that he did not know of any literary man who had ever been put through so fearful an ordeal as that to which Mr. Dixon was subjected by this action; but, however severe it was, he was satisfied he would come out of it scathless.

Mr. Hepworth Dixon was called, and stated that he had devoted himself to literature for twenty years, and had been seventeen years editor of the *Athenæum*, and that he had written more than twenty works and edited

others. His attention had been drawn to the subject of religious enthusiasm as part of a larger system, and he had visited, with the object of informing himself on this subject, the Holy Land, America, and Rome, and had published the result of his researches in each of those countries. When in America his attention had been called to some religious communities, and he had visited the Shakers at Mount Lebanon, their chief station. He found that community visibly prosperous and beautiful to look at, and the persons, so far as he could see, leading a perfectly chaste life. He was received with the usual hospitality, and they were very kind to him during the four or five days he remained there in 1866. Elder Evans, the apparent leader, visited London in 1871, and wished to take an opportunity of explaining his views to the English people. Witness was asked by him to preside at a meeting in St. George's Hall. He did not at first consent, till his request was backed by some English friends. It was absolutely false that the Shakers held wives in common, so far as he knew. There was nothing of the kind spoken about at the meeting; on the contrary, it was stated that they led a celibate life. The observations made at the meeting entirely accorded with what he had seen at Mount Lebanon. He saw a report of the meeting in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of August 7, 1871 (which was read). All his books and travels absolutely showed what he had seen in the countries he had visited.

On being cross-examined by Sir John Karslake, the witness said he was in America in 1866, and in 1867 his book "New America" was published, in which he gave an account of the religious societies. The words "Spiritual Wives" occur in "America." He published a book with the "Spiritual Wives" in 1868. That book was not mainly circulated through the circulating libraries to his knowledge. The witness was then for several hours examined as to passages in that book, which were read at length by Sir John Karslake, some of which excited great amusement. He did not wish to add a word to his chapter on "Celestial Love," at page 88 of that book—"The theory of spiritual wives as it appears to the carnal mind may be stated in a few words, since to the carnal mind this mystical doctrine is but a religious and romantic disguise for an abomination known in Boston and New York under the name of free love. This theory is, that a man, who may be either unmarried before the law, or wedded to a woman whom he cannot love as a wife should be loved, shall have the right, in virtue of a higher morality and a more sacred duty than the churches teach him, to go out among the crowd of his female friends and seek a partner in whom he shall find some special fitness for a union with himself; and when he has found such a bride of the soul, that he shall have the further right of courting her—even though she may have taken vows as another man's wife—and of entering into closer and sweeter relations with her than those which belong to the common earth: all vows on his part and on her part being to this end thrust aside as so much worldly waste." Similar passages to this were read from the book, at considerable length, as the tenets of the Shakers, some of them of very questionable propriety. Quotations were read as to the Ebelians, or followers of Ebel. "In Ebel's system women were to be nearly all in all." At page 137 of this book a description of the Ebelians was given. Ebel was said to be "a very good young man, very handsome and winning; all the girls were in love with him. He wore his hair long: it was dark curling hair, and it fell in ripples of shining coils around his neck; and what

was then thought very strange in a male, he parted his hair down the centre of his head like a young lady, and was said to resemble the portraits of St. John." At page 145 he said, "to teach, to scold, to coax, was the woman's part in the female church. They were supposed to understand the masculine nature perfectly; and every man in those circles who wanted guidance, comfort, and instruction, had to wait on them. The ladies are said to have been very hard and searching as to secret sins, and to have wrung confessions from the most unwilling penitents. They are said to have been extremely keen in tracing out any suggestions of disloyal love," "using their nimble faculties to suggest offences." The authority for this description and of many other passages read of a similar tendency was contained in an appendix to the book printed in German, a translation of which was produced, and Mr. Dixon was cross-examined as to much of this translation whether it was not accurate. His description was that it was a "coarse" one, though substantially accurate.

He was then cross-examined as to a chapter in his book styled "The Abode of Love," in which the author gives a description, in very glowing language, of a visit to the Agapemone in Somersetshire, of its inmates, its church with three ladies in it playing a piano, and a billiard-table, and of Sister Zoe, one of its inmates—"one of those rare feminine creatures who lash poets into song, who drive artists to despair, and cause common mortals to risk their souls for love"—"young, lithe, and dressed in the purest taste." "But for a beaming light in her eye, Guercino might have painted such a girl for one of his rapt and mourning angels. A high brow, an oval face, a small mouth and chin, a brown head of hair, pearl-like teeth, and those lustrous orbs." The connexion of this lady with the head of the establishment and the child born to her, and supposed to have been seen by the author running about the place, was described, and the description was said to have been got partly by his observation on a hasty visit of two days, partly from what the inmates told him, and partly from what he had heard outside of the means of Prince, and the measures he had taken to entrap unwary women into his establishment who were possessed of money.

"I received," said Mr. Dixon, "from Father Noyes, the founder of Bible Communion in America, a circular complaining that in my heat and haste I had done them some injustice, and Father Noyes said therein that he was disposed to think that indigestion had something to do with it, as the plain truth was that I did not like their living, as they had no meat, tea, coffee, or wine. He also complained of the absence of all mention of his scientific discovery of the doctrine of male continence. I had never heard one word from Father Noyes about that doctrine at Oneida Creek. I do not understand the doctrine, though called by Noyes the first principle of the scheme of communism, theoretically and historically, without which complex marriage never would have been attempted. I believe the circular sent to me has been destroyed, as other similar papers are usually destroyed at the *Athenæum* office after a time."

Sir John Karslake then read long passages from the plaintiff's works on "Bible Families," "Complex Marriage of its Members to each and to all," "Brother Noyes on Love," in one of which there occurs the expression, "We live well, and do not multiply beyond our wishes." He then read from "Noyes on Spiritual Love," vol. ii., "Spiritual Wives," p. 179, passages relating to Shakerism:—

"The original theory of the saints, both at the East and the West, was opposed to actual intercourse of the sexes, 'as works of the flesh.' They 'bundled,' it is true, but only to prove by trial their power against the flesh; in other words, their triumphant Shakerism. Dr. Gridley, one of the Massachusetts leaders, boasted that 'he could carry a virgin in each hand without the least stir of unholy passion.' 'At Brimfield, Mary Lincoln and Maria Brown visited Simon Lovatt in his room, but they came out of that room in the innocence of Shakerism.' (A laugh.) 'Man of himself would never have invented Shakerism, and it would have been very difficult to have made him a medium of inspiration for the development of such a system. It is not in his line. But it is exactly suited to the proclivities of women in a state of independence or ascendancy over man. Love between the sexes has two stages—the courting stage and the wedded stage. Women are fond of the first stage, men are fond of the second. Women like to talk about love, but men want the thing itself.'" (Loud laughter.)

The witness reminded counsel that he was only stating in the passages the views of these people as expressed by themselves. He said he was only at Oneida Creek about four or five days, and there were about 300 of these religious zealots there.

Sir John Karslake next read some scores of pages from "*Spiritual Wives*," descriptive of the revivals in America, and especially of the peculiar notions entertained and the practices pursued in reference to marriage and the relations between the sexes.—Witness: I gathered the materials for the story from their own works and from what I heard in America. I got an account of "the bevy of lovely girls" who hung about Noyes from one of his books. There is an entire library of books connected with these revivals. I have never been at Brimfield, the seat of one of the revivals. Noyes at Oneida Creek told me something of what occurred at Brimfield; and, as I said, there are innumerable tracts and other books published. I have been for twenty years familiar with all the literature connected with the revivals in America.

Sir John Karslake also read a description of what took place between the Rev. Simon Lovatt and two young ladies at Brimfield. In connexion with it an indecent practice called "bundling" was referred to in association with "innocent endearments." Counsel added: Have you ascertained that "innocent endearments" is properly descriptive of the Welsh practice of "bundling"? Have you investigated that matter much?—No, not much; it lies out of my line.

Would you call "bundling" an innocent amusement?—I have been told so by Welshmen.

What do they call "innocent endearments" in Wales?—I am not a Welshman. I do not know.

You say of Mr. Lovatt and the young ladies, "They think no harm; and, in fact, no harm was done?"—That was told to me.

You say of the revivalists: "They affected to travel, as the said St. Paul had travelled, with his female comforter." Where did you find that?—I heard that it was in their publications.

Sir John Karslake next read a passage in which it was said that whilst one Chapman was absent digging a canal, the Rev. Jarvis Ryder claimed his wife as a spiritual spouse, and that when Chapman returned he knocked

Ryder down, and turned him out of the house.—Witness: And I thought the man was quite right in kicking the fellow out of doors. Ryder did not, I believe, take any liberties with her. She was to be his bride in heaven.

Then what objection was there? Why should Chapman kick him if he himself was to have her while she was on earth? (Laughter.)

Sir John Karslake said another passage stated that St. Paul was said to be a single man, and yet he travelled in company with holy women; and the book says, "What then?" (A laugh.)—That is the whole question. They said it was like their spiritual wifehood: perfectly pure and holy.

After a good deal more it is said, "Is it not strange that the thousand and one writers of the life of Paul should have shrouded this deeply interesting question of his relation with these women?" Again, "What is to be gained by the Church in clouding this central fact in the Apostle's life?" What does that mean?—If the early writers had stated, for instance, that Paul was married, it would have prevented these fanatics from saying that they imitated St. Paul in taking spiritual wives.

Sir John Karslake read the story of Elder Moore, John B. Foot, and the Rev. Charles Moore, one of whom had taken the wife of another of them as his own spiritual wife. It was added that when a child was born of this spiritual marriage the squatters and teamsters, being "unredeemed people," broke into their place, tarred and feathered the three men, and set them upon a rail. May I (said the learned counsel) ask, "And what then?"—Witness: Served them right. (Laughter.)

After several more passages from the book had been read, Mr. Justice Brett said: Do you not think that you have sufficiently shown the character of the work? The witness repeated that in the book he was only giving the statements of these people themselves; that he believed them to be fanatical sects, who pretended that their systems were founded upon the rules of Apostolic life, and that he believed them to be morbid and crazy people.

Sir John Karslake: Then what good was there in giving the history and practices of these morbid and crazy people?—They were crazy on the one point, but as regards their mode of life, economy, and industry, they were not so.

Sir John Karslake: Then I am to understand that because they were perfectly sound in their views as to whether the three or five-course system in husbandry was proper to be adopted, and as to their commercial views, you published this book? Can you show me a dozen lines in the book about their mode of agriculture or business?—I have alluded to them in different places.

Sir John Karslake then proceeded to cross-examine the plaintiff as to the mode in which he collected the materials for his work entitled "Free Russia." This was in justification of the charge against the plaintiff as the compiler of vamped-up travels. The plaintiff was cross-examined as to finding beavers in the Ural Mountains. He said he did not find any, but heard of them being found. He had described Tonks, in Siberia, as a charming spot. He said he had not seen it. He had described Perm as a suburb of Kazan; he said that there was a distance of 1100 miles between them; that all things were comparative, and that in Russia it was equally true to say so as for persons in England to say that Brighton was a suburb of London. In one edition it was said that there were six hundred and ten thousand parishes. This, he said, was caused by an error of the printer in adding a cipher to his MSS. of 61,000.

Sir J. Karlake: You talk of men leaving their homes and going to trap beavers in the Ural Mountains. You say that while the men are away trapping beavers "these female villages are curious places, in which a man of pleasant manners may enjoy flirting to his heart's content." (A laugh.) Who told you that?—I believe our consul at Archangel told me the fact.

What! that a man of pleasant manners might have a great deal of fun and flirting? (A laugh.)—I never said anything about fun.

Well, "flirting" without "fun"? (Loud laughter.)—It was a matter of common observation all over the country.

I hope that the husbands were away trapping beavers when this was talked about. (Laughter.)

Many other questions were put as to the time, places, &c., he took and visited during his tour there and in America, tending to show that his experience could not have been very extensive.

Mr. Dixon further said that he was invited to take the chair by a deputation from the committee at the Scott banquet; that the Marquis of Huntly, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Houghton, Lord Ramsey, Sir C. Lubbock, Mr. C. Dickens, Mr. Faed, Mr. Browning, and others, were among the Vice-Presidents; that he was the author of (among other works) a "Life of John Howard, the Philanthropist," "London Prisons," the "Life of Robert Blake, the Puritan Soldier and Admiral," "William Penn," a "Personal History of Lord Bacon," the "Holy Land," of a book called "Her Majesty's Tower," dedicated by permission to the Queen, "The Switzers," "Lady Morgan's Memoirs," and "Court and Society." He said he had always taken an interest in communistic associations for the cultivation of land, and made them a study, and in the economy and life of the Shakers and the way in which they lived at Mount Lebanon. There were hostile and also many favourable criticisms of his work, "Spiritual Wives;" that the *Morning Post*, the *Globe*, and the *Examiner* newspapers had reviewed it favourably; that his work "New America" had been reviewed favourably in the *Times* and *Pall Mall Gazette* (the latter of which described it as interesting from the first page to the last); that all the sects of whom he had written had an existence, some sects being numerous, some small; that his object in writing the work "Spiritual Wives" was to point out the diseased activity and the bad and disastrous effects arising out of religious revivalism, and to show the public what they were, that they might be stopped at the root; that in his work "Free Russia," there might be some blunders, but it was written as accurately as he could write it; that he had visited all the places he said he had; that his correspondence with Admiral Ommanney about the affair of the White Sea was an amicable one; that when he went to Russia he had an introduction from Lord Clarendon to our Ambassador there, who introduced him to Mr. Mitchell, the Secretary to the Legation; that he lived in Mr. Mitchell's house; that he presided at a dinner to a former editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, at which the present editor was also present.

Sir John Karlake then addressed the jury for the defendant, and said that he had never felt more admiration for the learned serjeant than he had been inspired with from the way in which this case had been laid before the jury by him. He (Sir J. Karlake) said that he should show that Mr. Hepworth Dixon, having dabbled with details that made him a popular author, had grown bolder, and having published in German Sach's evidence, the most

obscene document ever printed, he subsequently wrote a preface to explain his motives in what he had done. He had also published all the filthy details of the Princeites in the so-called church at Spaxton, and all the filthy details connected with the Ebelians, a sect which was now happily extinct. It had been said that Mr. Hepworth Dixon had published able and discreet books about Lord Bacon and about other matters, but this rendered his subsequent publications much more dangerous than any such matter could have been if it had been written by an ordinary Holywell-street writer. If the writer had been charged with blasphemy as well as obscenity, almost every page which he (Sir J. Karslake) would quote would go to prove the charge. Why, he asked, should all the filthy practices of the Ebelians be got together with a rake and a lantern from the gutter, under the pretence of illustrating man "in his higher phase;" and all this when the obscure and filthy sect appeared to have died out after two law trials in 1836? If Mr. Hepworth Dixon had sought to write for the information and the consideration of philosophers and scientific men upon these matters, would he not have embodied his work in the least attractive form instead of in the most attractive one, which he has in fact adopted? If the matter had been written in this form, it would not have probably got into improper hands; but, accompanied as it was by brilliant and vivid descriptions, it would be sure to be read by the young people who patronized Mudie's and other libraries. There was the magnificent description of the lovely Zoe, "clothed in white Samite, mystic, wonderful"—a girl of such a kind that they could not take her in all at once, and they had to have a second account of her. (Laughter.) There was also an account of Brigham Young in person, whom, judging by the account, he (Sir J. Karslake) should not care to know. (Laughter.) Then there was a chapter on "Polygamous Society," which was full of voluptuous and impure suggestions. Could any poison be more subtle, he (Sir J. Karslake) asked, than these voluptuous descriptions of what was the mode of life at Utah? and he further asked what would be the effect upon the "Welsh peasant and Lancashire weaver," who might be thinking of going to Utah, when they were told that a plurality of wives was probably to be had without wrong—that a missionary scarcely ever went from the Salt Lake City without being exhorted to bring back "young lambs"? What would the intending emigrant think of these "young lambs" and of the saints being exhorted to "live up to the perfect law"? It seemed that incestuous "marriages" in Utah were not regarded as crime, though there were "prejudices" against them; and conversations with the "saints" upon this dirty subject were given in detail by Mr. Hepworth Dixon. Then there was a long account in reference to the "plurality of wives," and the mode in which such "wives" lived with the "saints;" and it would be for the jury to say whether all these matters would or would not be properly described as "obscene." It might have been thought that Mr. Hepworth Dixon would have been gorged with filth long before he got to the end of his inquiries. Yet so far from this being the case, he seemed to have gone on with full and perfect zest to the end. He (Sir John Karslake) had scarcely ever read anything more filthy than these details, which were given in a popular book; but he was obliged to say that this was mild in comparison with what followed in the second volume. Mr. Dixon went to Oneida Creek, and the jury would have to say whether they had the slightest doubt in the world that the filthy doctrine of "male continence"



was known to him when he published this book, whatever he might now say to the contrary. Mr. Dixon had given enough, as he said, to "whet the appetite," and this having been not unfavourably received by the careless reviewers, the writer was induced to go farther in the path which he had entered upon, and to give the world his precious "Spiritual Wives." "New America," he (Sir J. Karslake) must characterize as loathsome, obscene, and filthy, though no doubt in the book there were some most attractive and brilliant descriptions, which had led some critics, who had not gone too deeply into the matter, to praise the work. No doubt "New America" was in some quarters favourably reviewed; but it was not found that "Spiritual Wives" was also favourably reviewed. In this book, emboldened by the reviews of the previous one, the author was prompted to take a higher flight; and in one of his most interesting chapters, so far as such a matter could be interesting, he gave a description of the practices of Noyes and the Pauline Church, of the Ebelians, and of "male continence." The plaintiff said that he had acted only from proper motives when he dragged questions as to St. Paul into the description of the filthy act; but why should St. Paul be brought before young men and women who revered him, in such a connexion? It was now talked of as an interesting question discussed by the Fathers, but in truth it was vamping, book-making, and padding, to make the thing go down with the public. (Slight applause.) There was not a single line that did not, in a mocking spirit, suggest sexual crime; and there was nothing of the sad spirit in which alone any man of proper feeling, under any circumstances whatever, could refer to such matters. Sir J. Karslake next referred to the "Battle-axe Letter," which had been characterized by Father Noyes as the Magna Charta of Pauline Communism. It advocated a community of wives among the "saints." Then Mr. Dixon thought it necessary, in order to discuss the notions of these crazy fanatics, to drag in St. Paul and the holy women who travelled with him, and to make observations upon the relations which existed between them, and whether they were man and wife or not. Then the love-feasts were talked of, and it was said that what more happened could not be said, but they became so bad that the Church abolished them. Why should these things be stated for the reading of young people if the motive were pure and good? Other stories, all of the same kind, were related, and Mr. Hepworth Dixon seemed to be revelling in every anecdote as to sexual intercourse that he could pick up; and there were descriptions of the "bundling" process. And all this was in what was called a chaste book! He (Sir J. Karslake) did not mean to say that there were not pages in the book which did not contain things of this kind; but no one could read it without finding that Mr. Dixon had been treading throughout, and with pleasure, upon forbidden ground, and that he was treating of subjects that should be excluded from popular works altogether, and that with a gusto and a zest that showed that he delighted in such filthy subjects. (Applause, which was suppressed.) There was no attempt throughout the book to do what was said to be the object of it—to stop at the root these communistic assemblies. The unholy loves of Noyes, however, paled before those of Ebel, who was one of the other great heroes of this work. The author revelled in that that most men regarded with disgust. It was true it was said that many of the statements were only relations of conversations. So it might be said by anybody who chose to publish all the filthy details which were sometimes stated in the Divorce Court. But the

answer would be, "You revel in it; you make money by it; whilst the witnesses stated it with revulsion and disgust, and only then because they were compelled in the course of law to do so." (Applause.) The learned counsel proceeded by referring at some length to the statement of Sachs, which the plaintiff had printed in German, and which it was said was one of the most filthy documents ever published. In continuation, he referred further to the history of the Ebelians, a sect now extinct.

Mr. Serjeant Parry: I thought the Plaintiff said in his evidence that there were about 10,000 of them.

Sir J. Karslake: Still I am very sorry that he introduced them to the British public. Then there came the history of the Female Church in connexion with the Ebelians and that of the Brethren of the Free Spirit. All this was, said Mr. Dixon, a philosophical inquiry; it was obscene, said the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the jury would have to decide between them. The writer went on to give an account of Prince, an obscure clergyman, who many years ago attracted some attention by the fanatical vagaries which he performed. Filthily obscene was the only epithet which could properly be bestowed upon many of the passages of this story. Did not the jury think that if the critics had allowed without rebuke such a book to be palmed off upon society as a good book, then those critics would have had something to answer for? It was, in truth, a mass of such daring filth and obscenity as had scarcely ever disgraced a book of any kind. Mr. Dixon was the trumpeter of Prince, Ebel, and Noyes, and the introducer of Zoe and the describer of her mystic nuptials with Prince, whilst his own wife was still living and standing by. By what right did Mr. Dixon, who knew the usages of literary society, drag the proprietor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* before the Court when he might have sued the publisher? What right was there to say that the articles complained of had been written from malignant hatred? Mr. Dixon seemed to think that everybody was actuated by malicious hatred; but he had no right to violate the usage of the profession, or to assume that a particular gentleman had written the article he complained of in reference to "Free Russia," and by name to assail that gentleman in a public print. The opportunity of publishing the correspondence no doubt gave a capital chance of puffing the book; and it was on this occasion that he wrote to the *Pall Mall Gazette* what had been aptly and accurately described as one of those "insolent ingenious letters." Sir John Karslake went on to refer to the plaintiff's correspondence with Admiral Ommanney, and his presiding at the Shaker meeting at St. George's Hall and at the Scott banquet. It certainly occurred, he said, to a writer on the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that some notice should be taken of this combination of things. A public man was publicly announced to take the chair upon a great public occasion, and as such he was fairly open to public criticism. When there was to be a meeting in honour of Sir W. Scott, the purest of writers, might not the character of the chairman, who was at that moment engaged in circulating "Spiritual Wives," be adverted to? Was it or was it not a good selection for the presidential chair? Suppose there had been ranged on one side of the hall Ebel and Prince and Noyes and Zoe, and on the other side had been placed the characters in Scott's novels, what a strange assemblage it would have been! If Mr. Dixon had for twenty years written creditable works, so much the worse that he should, when sensational works were most in demand, have

written "New America" and "Spiritual Wives." Galling as what was said might have been to Mr. Hepworth Dixon, he had no right to sue the defendant and to say that his character was ruined when what was said was substantially what the *Times* had before said. He had challenged the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and they in answer asserted that the books were "vamped up" and "obscene." You could scarcely refer to any part in which sexual intercourse was not alluded to. Whatever might have been the object of the book, it being published in a popular form was still obscene. The plaintiff had palmed off as philosophy and for pelf books under the pretence of their being philosophy. In conclusion the learned counsel said, "As you say you are a member of a high and honourable guild or calling, I say you have prostituted that calling by taking up your pen and writing for pelf works which you have palmed off as being works of philosophy, when you knew that they were works of filth; you have injured that high calling to which you belong, and you are a writer of obscene books."

The learned counsel sat down amidst great applause, after having spoken for five hours.

Mr. Sergeant Parry replied on behalf of the plaintiff. He sought to demonstrate to the jury that Mr. Dixon had been slandered and libelled by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and that there was no defence or justification. In general, this must be remarked—that the libels were not a criticism on one or two works which Mr. Dixon had published, but it was an attack upon his whole life and career. What was meant when it was said that a man was a writer of "obscene" books was this, that he had written with an improper motive in writing, whilst Mr. Dixon had sworn, and there was no contradiction of it, that there was no improper motive influencing him. He had gone into the box, and his whole life was open to inquiry, whilst his libeller preserved the secrecy that surrounded him, and perhaps had been sitting in court listening with gloating enjoyment to the attacks of Sir J. Karslake upon the plaintiff, who was forced to come into court to vindicate his character. There were many men in the literary world who had made mistakes, and Mr. Dixon had made a mistake, for it was to be regretted that he had ever published "Spiritual Wives." Still, was it fair, looking at all the books of biography and travel, of description, that he had written, to say that he was "best known as a writer of obscene books"? His object was to place the bare truth before the jury, and therefore he frankly said that his client had written one bad book. He trusted that the jury, whilst bearing in mind this admission, would say that they would not condemn Mr. Dixon in general terms for this one unfortunate inadvertence or mistake. In no sense could it be said that the plaintiff was "best known" in the way imputed. Sir John Karslake had endeavoured to sustain the expression by saying that a man was best known for the time by his last work, and that Mr. Dixon's last work was "Spiritual Wives;" but, unfortunately for this theory, his last work was "Her Majesty's Tower." Mr. Dixon was also called the successful composer of "vamped-up travels." Substantially, the only book referred to by the defence in justification of this was "Free Russia." There was nothing whatever to justify the general imputation that the plaintiff was a successful composer of "vamped-up travels." Scarcely anything had been said of any other travels of Mr. Dixon; and not one word about his "Travels in the Holy Land," a book which had been praised both in the press and in the pulpit. The very fact

that the writer or writers of the articles were kept out of the box was in itself, he contended, a strong presumption that there was malice. In conclusion, the learned Serjeant said, "I have only a few words to say to you now, and I scarcely know how to say them. I feel that interests of a most sacred character have been entrusted to me; that against my client there have been arrayed an amount of ability that I cannot at all pretend to, and I feel that I may have done something or omitted something that I ought to have done; but I say in the last moment—I trust to you, if that be so, to believe that it may have been so, because of those strong feelings of personal friendship that I have always entertained for Mr. Dixon, and that this may in some measure have misled me as an advocate." (Slight applause.)

Mr. Justice Brett then summed up the case to the jury. Whatever (said his lordship) may be said of this trial, I think no one can doubt that it has been conducted on both sides with great ability and eloquence, and my brother Parry can have nothing to reproach himself for in the way he has conducted the case from beginning to end. Now the plaintiff complains that the defendant, or those for whom he is responsible, have published three libels upon him—I say three libels, but practically there are only two—and he also complains that by way of aggravation they were published maliciously—that is to say there was a malicious intention on the part of the person who wrote and published them. The defendant answers in the first place that the articles do not contain libellous matter, and in the second that if they do they were written *bonâ fide*, and were not more than a fair criticism on a public man on a public occasion. Then, he says, that even if they do contain libellous matter it is true in fact. With regard to the defence that the articles are fair criticism, the plaintiff answers that it is not—that even if the occasion were a public one on which a *bonâ fide* criticism might be made, it was not made *bonâ fide*. In this kind of action more than any other it is peculiarly your duty to decide between the parties. Assisting as you do in the administration of the law, you have no right to give a verdict according to any personal feeling of your own, and you are bound to say what are the proper answers to the questions I shall have to put to you. In almost any other action where the matter complained of is in written documents, it would be my duty to tell you what is the meaning of those documents, but in an action for libel it is not. My first duty is to construe the written document—to say what it means—whether it is a libel or not. If you are of opinion that a written document, charged as a libel, would, in the opinions of ordinary, reasonable, and right-minded persons reading it—if you think it would, if it were true, tend to degrade the party of whom it is written by holding him up to hatred, ridicule, or contempt—then it would be a libel. The first thing, therefore, you have to do on looking at these articles, is to say whether they or either of them, when considered by people of ordinary reason and right feeling, would, if true, tend to degrade Mr. Hepworth Dixon by holding him up to hatred, ridicule, and contempt. If you think either or both of them would have that tendency, they are libels; if you do not, they are not.

The jury left the court for the purpose of considering their verdict at half-past two, and at four o'clock they returned a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, One Farthing.

The announcement was received with some applause, which was instantly suppressed.

## VII.

THE TICHBORNE CASE.<sup>1</sup>

AMID signs of increased interest the hearing of the Tichborne case was resumed on the 15th January, 1872, in the Westminster Sessions House. Mr. Sergeant Ballantine, Mr. Giffard, Q.C., Mr. Pollard, and Mr. Jeune, appeared for the Plaintiff: the Attorney-General, Mr. Hawkins, Q.C., Sir G. Honeyman, Q.C., Mr. Chapman Barber, and Mr. Bowen, for the defence: Mr. H. Matthews, Q.C., and Mr. Purcell for the Trustees of the Doughty Estate. The Attorney-General opened the case on behalf of the defence. He denounced the claimant as a cunning and dangerous conspirator, a perjurer, a forger, an impostor, and a villain, adding that he would be able to prove hundreds of facts inconsistent with the story before the jury. Each of these facts would convict the claimant of a fraud, a lie, and a crime, on a scale of depth and wickedness unequalled in the annals of the law. A detestable imposture had been palmed upon the public, and he would unmask and expose it so that it should require no second doing. The learned counsel then made a long and searching analysis of the claimant's case, and contrasted it with the facts upon which he relied to convince the jury that the plaintiff could not be Sir Roger Tichborne. He denounced the statements of the claimant about Miss Doughty as "the most infernal lie that ever villain told in a court of justice." His narrative of the relations between Roger Tichborne and his cousin Kate, together with his statement of the reasons which led Sir Edward and Lady Doughty to refuse their consent to the union of the young people, was listened to with the deepest attention by the crowded court. He read at length extracts from the correspondence which had passed between Roger and Lady Doughty, principally to show the terms upon which the families were, and the style in which Tichborne was capable of writing; and then, in foreshadowing the line of the defence, told the jury that it was the plaintiff's duty to satisfy them that he was Roger Tichborne, and it was no part of the defendant's duty to show who the claimant really was. He should, however, contend that the plaintiff's own story, and what he had written, showed that he was not Roger Tichborne, and that the conclusion was almost inevitable that he was Arthur Orton. The speaker then placed before the jury an outline of the case supporting the Orton hypothesis, and was proceeding to comment upon the circumstances under which the discovery of the claimant was made in Australia. He then proceeded to an analysis of the Australian correspondence, because, in his view, the initiation of the alleged fraud was of the utmost importance for the consideration of the jury. He pointed out that the claimant's information had grown with the progress of this correspondence, and that it would appear as though an impression at one time existed that if Lady Tichborne acknowledged him there would be an end of all difficulty in the way of recognition, and he could settle down in the colony to enjoy the

<sup>1</sup> Looking to the extraordinary length to which this trial extended, we have found it impossible to give any detailed report of it, as it was our intention to do. We have, therefore, continued the summary from the point at which we left it last year.—See "Annual Register" for 1871, p. 224.

proceeds of the Tichborne estates. In dissecting the testimony given on the other side, he called attention to many inconsistencies in the letters of the claimant with the knowledge of the facts which Roger Tichborne must have possessed, even had he been, as sought to be established, absent twelve years from his native land. Much fault having been found with the strength of his expressions about the claimant at the opening of his speech, he proceeded to justify them. He had no notion of being mealy-mouthed, if the man was an impostor, as he believed he was. It would be remembered that prior to leaving England Roger executed an elaborate will, in which he dealt with his property in a masterly fashion. On June 1, 1866, the claimant executed a will at Wagga-Wagga, which he signed as Roger Charles Tichborne, and in which he dealt with the Tichborne estates. Now it was singular that if the claimant was the genuine Roger Tichborne he should not have remembered and said something about the previous will, which he must have known was in existence in England. No reference, however, was made to that will, and it was altogether an independent document, with this extraordinary fact, that in dealing with the Tichborne estate it did not set forth one solitary thing connected with the family or property which was correct. Since the examination of the claimant had concluded, the defence had sent out a gentleman to Australia, and he had made a curious discovery. In the possession of a man named Cox, there had been found a pocket-book which originally belonged to the claimant, and which would be proved to be in his handwriting. On many of the pages of the book the name of Sir Roger Tichborne was written many times, as if the claimant was practising how to write such a signature. In some cases Roger was spelt with a "d," and Tichborne was described as being in Surrey, England. America was spelt in different ways, such as "Amerika," and "Amerika." On another page there was written the following bit of morality, signed "R. C. Tichborne, Bart.":—"Some men has plenty money and no brains, and some men has plenty brains and no money. Surely men with plenty money and no brains were made for men with plenty brains and no money." On a subsequent page there was written, "R. C., Tichborne Park, I hope, some day." After various other inscriptions and a rude drawing of a three-masted ship, there was this:—"I, Thos. Castro, do hereby certify that my name is not Thomas Castro at all; therefore, those that say it is don't know anything about it.—R.C.T." Then there was what looked like "Own dear fair one," and underneath, "Miss Mary Ann Loder, No. 27, Russell's-buildings, High-street, Wapping, London"—Miss Loder having been Arthur Orton's sweetheart. This book, he submitted, threw a flood of light upon the case. After disparaging, at great length, the evidence of Bogle, and treating of other matters, the Attorney-General referred to the claimant's voyage home. He started on Sept. 22, 1866, in the "Rakia," for Panama, with his family, Bogle, and Butts. He came from Panama in the "Sella," and landed on Christmas Day, 1866; he went to Ford's Hotel, and then, without seeing anybody in the world, this returned "Baronet" went down to Wapping in a cab, about nine at night, disguised. Why, if the man were Roger Tichborne, should such secrecy and deception have been practised? What made him represent a photograph of his own wife and child as those of Arthur Orton? Why did he not go at once to Lady Tichborne, or to the Seymours, or to some other near connexion of the family? When he went to Alresford, under the name of Taylor, was it likely that the

real Roger Tichborne would have muffled himself up and induced some one to drive round Tichborne Park in disguise? The learned gentleman read several letters of Roger to Gosford to show the difference in style between them and the correspondence of the claimant. He afterwards analyzed the testimony of Mr. Baigent on several points of importance, and spoke of many of the incidents surrounding the identification of the claimant by the Dowager Lady Tichborne as being of a very unsatisfactory character. He then examined in detail the incidents of the meeting between Hopkins, Baigent, and the plaintiff; remarking that probably these three persons had but little idea of the mischief that must arise from the putting forward of the present claim, but which had been irreparable. In analyzing the evidence of Colonel Lushington, the nominal defendant, Sir John Coleridge reminded the jury that, previously to his visit to Tichborne Hall, the claimant had studied a catalogue of the pictures, and was thus enabled to recognize the portrait of the Dowager. Besides, Bogle had been in all the rooms, and had probably given the plaintiff every information. After some references to the peculiarities of the claimant's orthography, the Attorney-General passed on to notice the testimony of Carter and M'Cann, who had been with Roger Tichborne in the army, stating that he would call fifteen or sixteen officers, who would give their opinion that the story was altogether trumped up, and that the claimant was nothing but an impostor. In continuing his speech, the Attorney-General examined in detail the incidents of the interviews which the claimant had with Mrs. Radcliffe and the other members of the Tichborne family some time after his arrival in this country. He pointed out the blunders committed by the plaintiff on these occasions; such, for instance, as his mistaking Mrs. Radcliffe for her cousin, Mrs. Townley. In dissecting the evidence given by the military witnesses, the claimant had professed to recognize them all at a glance, although, when confronted with the members of the Tichborne family, with whom Roger Tichborne lived for years, he did not know them. Mr. Biddulph was the only member of the family, with the exception of the deceased Dowager, who had recognized him as Roger Tichborne. The Attorney-General then read the claimant's examination in Chancery in 1867. His object was to show the manner of the answers then given, and how particular bits of evidence were obtained from him. The account given by the plaintiff of his rescue from the wreck of the "Bella" was also commented upon, and its inconsistencies pointed out. One feature of the case was particularly striking. The life of Roger Tichborne while he was in France was almost altogether a sealed book to the plaintiff, except as to one or two things which he might have learnt from the Dowager. His absence of knowledge concerning his companions and course of education at Stonyhurst was likewise remarked upon. What would have been the evidence of the real Roger compared with the miserable scraps of testimony fished up by the claimant? Much of the knowledge which he possessed was of the kind picked up by gipsies and afterwards used for the purposes of their frauds. With officers the claimant spoke simple English, while to the private soldiers he put on a French accent, which was an indication of fraud. It was noticeable upon what very slender grounds people would build up opinions upon important matters. There was Mrs. Hussey, who, having once danced with Roger when she was fourteen years old, at once recognized him again. Then Mrs. Legge, the washerwoman,—this man, who had forgotten almost everything of consequence,

told her the minutest particulars in reference to the things which she had washed for him twenty years before. Which of the jurymen could tell the pattern of their shirts that were washed twenty years ago? On Nov. 9, 1867, the plaintiff went to Brighton, and succeeded in capturing a very honourable man (Colonel Sawyer); but the evidence upon which he captured him was, to say the least of it, surprising, seeing that the claimant had been "coached" up by Carter in the matters he recalled to the colonel's recollection. Captain and Mrs. Sherstone's recognition of the plaintiff was next alluded to. The captain put the whole recognition upon the question of likeness, and yet he could not recognize the undoubted likenesses. This being so really, what was the evidence worth, especially as the captain's impression was that the plaintiff was taller and his hair lighter than that of Roger's? Mr. Baigent, indeed, said that the hair of fat men got lighter as age advanced; but nobody seemed to have found that out but him. Further, the plaintiff's hair had some curl in it, and was thick, while Roger's was perfectly straight and very thin. Nobody had said that as people got older their hair took to curling. In answer to the Sherstones' evidence he should call fifteen or sixteen officers in the regiment, among them the best friends of Roger, and they would all state their opinions that the plaintiff was a rank impostor. The plaintiff also had been invited to the mess of the Carabiniers, but no power on earth could get him to face the officers in a body, though he was willing to make detached attempts upon some particular officers by means of prepared interviews. As to Miss Brain's recognition of the claimant, the Attorney-General was particularly bitter. She recognized the plaintiff by the falling lock and the dimpled knuckles, and the general resemblance of Roger floating about over this large man. The only two definite things were the lock of hair and the knuckles. The short answer as to the dimples on the knuckles was that it was not true, for there would be overwhelming evidence that Roger had ordinary bony knuckles, like anybody else. The only other person who had spoken of dimpled knuckles in this case was the "male" Miss Brain (Mr. Baigent), and his suggestion was worth but very little. The learned gentleman then proceeded to comment upon the way in which the evidence of other witnesses had been obtained. It was remarkable to see how the same circumstances were used over and over again, and witness after witness was converted with the same bits of information. The plaintiff visited Mr. Nangle, who was clearly of opinion that he was no more his cousin than he was his grandfather. On March 12 the Dowager died in her chair, and the plaintiff lost her pecuniary and her moral support. It was but justice to her to say that she was carefully kept ignorant of the whole Orton affair and of the Stephens affair. She knew nothing of the unfavourable Chilian correspondence or of the plaintiff's declining to appear before the Chilian and Australian commissions. She was a Frenchwoman, and only knew English as a foreigner knew it; but if she had been an English lady, she would at once have seen that the author of the plaintiff's miserably-constructed and ill-spelt letters could not be her son Roger. There was no pretence whatever for the statement of Mr. Serjeant Ballantine that the Dowager was persecuted or tormented in any way. The learned gentleman then, in reminding the jury of the part which Mr. Baigent had taken in reference to the affidavits filed in this case, brought several facts before their notice tending to rebut the statement of that



gentleman, that he had never "prepared" any witnesses. He contrasted the course followed by Baigent with that which would be pursued in an honest action, in which the attorney would see the witnesses, take down their proof of what could be said, and not resort to acts and contrivances to procure evidence. Father Cooper and Father Guy had been called on behalf of the claimant; but, although they were both respectable witnesses, their testimony really went for very little. After speaking of the plaintiff's unwillingness to visit Stonyhurst, Sir John Coleridge narrated the circumstances connected with the arrival of the lock of hair from Melipilla nearly four years ago. The claimant and his friends treated it as Roger Tichborne's hair; but at the time there was no Chili commission spoken of. After the commission, however, it was suggested for the first time that the hair was probably not Roger's, and when carefully looked at, this lock of hair would be found conclusive of the case. Attention was next drawn to the Burton Constable expedition, and to the special reason why Mr. Baigent accompanied the claimant on that occasion. Although the plaintiff had made arrangements to go to Australia and Chili with the commissions which went out to examine witnesses, he did not accompany either. There might be some reason why the plaintiff did not like to leave England; and it was this—he had previously paid various sums under the cloak of secrecy and disguise, to the Ortons, and it would have been dangerous to go away and leave their demands unsatisfied, more especially as it did not appear that his advisers knew anything of his connexion with them. Afterwards, when the weekly allowance to Charles Orton was discontinued, he went to the defendant's solicitor, and stated that the claimant was his brother. There was something in the Orton business which they could not unravel, and a great deal upon that head remained unexplained. The relations between the plaintiff and his legal advisers formed the subject of some severe criticism; and the failure of Serjeant Ballantine to put Mr. Holmes into the witness-box was strongly commented upon. In any other case, and under similar circumstances, he would have expected either his Lordship or the jury to interfere, or the counsel on the other side to withdraw from its conduct. But the Tichborne trial still lasted, he could scarcely tell how. Then was traced the management of the claimant's case in Mr. Moojen's hands after it had been given up by Mr. Holmes. The letters, however, which Moojen wrote to Baigent showed clearly that he had no confidence either in the case or in the plaintiff; and no doubt, by this time at all events, he saw how the truth was. In commenting upon the evidence of identification which had been laid before the jury, and the way in which the witnesses gave their evidence, Sir John Coleridge stated that he should call Mr. Alfred and Mr. Henry Seymour, Lady Doughty, and Mr. Radcliffe, who, after the fullest opportunities of observation, would avow their unhesitating conviction that the claimant was not Roger Tichborne. Other observations were directed to an analysis of the evidence as it bore upon the points of alleged similarity of certain physical developments in the claimant as compared with Tichborne.

The speaker then referred at great length to an accident which occurred to the eyelid of Roger Tichborne whilst on a voyage from Havre to Valparaiso. On that occasion a fish-hook suspended from a beam entered his eyelid, and an operation had to be performed to get it out. In March, 1867, the claimant was examined by Dr. Lipscombe, and at that time he never made the slightest reference to this accident. It was clear he did not do so simply because he

knew nothing about it. It was incredible that if he was the real Roger Tichborne he should not have made some allusion to this accident in 1867, considering the great importance that had since been attached to the affair. The claimant had since given different versions as to how the accident happened, and had fallen into thorough confusion over it. The fact was that his stories upon this subject had been fabricated, and were utterly inconsistent with the truth. The same might be said of the plaintiff's account of the marks on his ankles. The doctors who had examined these marks would not swear that they might not have been of very recent infliction, and the suggestion of the defence was that they never were inflicted until after M'Cann had drawn attention to the fact that the real Roger Tichborne had been bled in the ankles, and would, therefore, have marks there. After drawing attention to other physical peculiarities of the claimant, as compared with those of Roger Tichborne, the Attorney-General went on to say that evidence would be called from Chili and Australia to show that Arthur Orton had upon his left arm the letters "A. O.," and to have left these letters untouched would have been fatal to the claimant's case. The doctors would say that the mark on the left arm of the plaintiff was just such as would be produced by attempting to obliterate the letters "A. O." Roger Tichborne was tattooed largely, yet the claimant had no tattoo marks upon him. If this fact alone could be proved beyond doubt, it must be fatal to the claimant. It would be proved by several witnesses that Roger was tattooed upon the left arm on two separate occasions and by two persons; and he apprehended that if those physical differences between Roger and the plaintiff were established it would put an end, at all events, to any other case than the Tichborne case. Some strictures were then made on Dr. Lipscombe's conduct in the case. As to the one plain mark on the plaintiff which was congenital, the brown mark on the side, the Dowager said "she" never saw it. The cross-examination of the plaintiff was then entered into. The jury had heard much and would hear more of the correspondence of Roger Tichborne. They had already some idea of what sort of a man he was, and must form their own opinion as to what such a man would have done had he escaped from the "Bella," and been prevented for years from coming home. Would he have gone to an unknown attorney, have refused to see the members of the family, or to see a number of persons together, and have sought prepared and secret interviews? Would he have gone to his mother, aided by a strange attorney and a man whom he had picked up in a betting-room? Above all, would the real Roger, under the circumstances, have surrounded himself with Rouse and Baigent, Bulpitt, Miss Brain, Carter, M'Cann, and Bloxham? And with such persons would he have gone up and down the country catching up people in public-houses, and converting poor soldiers by stories of Mrs. Hayes's rook and the number upon the hoof of a trooper's horse? What the real Roger would have done would have been to go at once to the Seymours, the Greenwoods, to Lady Doughty, his most intimate friend, and others of the family. Among many alleged discrepancies between Roger and the claimant were the following:—The plaintiff could not speak a word of French, though it was Roger's mother-tongue for fifteen years, and his chief tongue until he was twenty-three; plaintiff stated that he had confessed to the Abbé de Salice, whilst Roger had never confessed to him; Miss Nangle and Roger were prepared together for their first communion, and made each other presents on

the occasion; but of all this the plaintiff knew nothing. A person named Gossein was in Sir J. Tichborne's service from 1829 to 1845, but the plaintiff said this was untrue, but Mr. Gossein would prove that it was true; the plaintiff said that his father did not go with him to Stonyhurst, but Father Brindle did, whilst the fact was that Father Brindle did not, but Roger's father did go with him. The Attorney-General said that the plaintiff's knowledge of the Stonyhurst life was a blank, and contrasted with the knowledge of other parts of Roger's life which the plaintiff had an opportunity of getting up. He then proceeded to show the claimant's ignorance of all matters relating to the college at Stonyhurst, where Roger Tichborne was educated while in England, and also on the little real knowledge of military matters which the claimant possessed, and commented on a great number of statements which had been elicited in the claimant's cross-examination, and contrasted these with the facts which he would prove as having occurred in the life of Roger Tichborne. The plaintiff, in speaking of Miss Hales, of Canterbury, described her as a young lady to whom he had paid his addresses, after having broken off with Miss Doughty. But Miss Hales would be called to say the whole story was a cock-and-bull fabrication. She did not know Roger Tichborne, never saw him to her knowledge, and was certainly never engaged to him. The claimant said he never belonged to any other club than the Army and Navy, whereas Roger Tichborne was also a member of the Alfred Club, and while in London spent a considerable portion of his time there. The learned counsel then went on to speak of the "card case at Brighton," which has been more than once previously referred to, and of the circumstances attending the execution of Roger Tichborne's will. On both points he showed many inconsistencies in the claimant's evidence. The Attorney-General then took up the evidence of Moore, Roger Tichborne's former servant; and after passing on to notice the proceedings before the Chilian commission and in the Melipilla case, called upon Mr. Holmes to produce a letter in the handwriting of the claimant, signed "Arthur Orton," and addressed to his sister Mrs. Jury. It purported to have been dated from Wagga-Wagga, but was clearly written in England, because it mentioned Stephens, whom the plaintiff never knew until he met him on board the steamer "Bella," on the voyage from New York to England. The letter, which was very brief, was produced and read. Mrs. Jury was called, but was unable to produce any other communications with the same signature. The Attorney-General then denounced in strong terms what he termed the iniquity, injustice, and groundlessness of the claim to the estates, and warned the defendant's counsel and attorneys against permitting themselves to be made accomplices of the persons engaged in the fraud. Later in the day both Serjeant Ballantine and Mr. Giffard, the claimant's leading counsel, emphatically protested against the language of the Attorney-General. The former prayed the Court to protect him from the endless insinuations of Sir John Coleridge, while Mr. Giffard declined to characterize the passages in which the head of the English Bar had charged himself and Serjeant Ballantine with being accomplices in the prosecution of a fraud. The Attorney-General, however, declined to withdraw anything which he had said, and resumed his address on the Melipilla case. He reminded the jury of the object with which the evidence taken by the Chilian commission was put before them. Reference was made by the plaintiff to certain persons in Chili who knew him, and

the defendant then sent out a commission and examined the whole of them, and found that they did not know Tichborne, but that they all knew a young Englishman named Orton.

After a few days' respite, the Attorney-General resumed his speech, confining himself to the evidence regarding the vessel by which the claimant alleges that he was picked up at sea and conveyed to Melbourne. He commented on the claimant's assertion that the leak was not discovered until there were 12 ft. of water in the hold, her draught being only 14½ ft. The improbability of none of the twelve shipwrecked men taken on board the "Osprey" having survived was also strongly put forward. The Attorney-General then drew attention to the different accounts given by the claimant of the name of the ship which rescued him. Pressed as to the tonnage of the "Osprey," the claimant had represented her as a larger ship than the "Bella," and, when this would not answer, he had fallen back upon another ship of the same name. The Attorney-General then dealt at length with the evidence as it affected the claimant's rescue from the wreck of the "Bella," submitting to the jury that fraud and falsehood were stamped upon every part of the plaintiff's story. He next came to the testimony given before the Australian commission, which, he contended, amply demonstrated the fraudulent nature of the claim. If the plaintiff were recognized in Australia or Tasmania earlier than April 1854, then, undoubtedly, he could not be Roger Tichborne, whoever else he might be, because Roger did not leave South America until April, 1854. It would be shown by evidence that the claimant was in Australia long before 1854. No doubt many of the witnesses would say that he then bore the name of Arthur Orton, but he should put the witnesses forward simply to show that he was not Tichborne. He undertook further to show that the plaintiff never called himself Castro until 1859. The learned counsel compared the wanderings of the plaintiff with those of Arthur Orton, remarking that when Castro appeared Orton disappeared. So no one person ever saw the two—if two there were—together. Resuming his narrative with the claimant's residence at Wagga-Wagga, he characterized his "swaggering statements" about his rich relations as merely tentative. Having animadverted on the fact of Serjeant Ballantine's passing over the evidence given on the Australian commission, the Attorney-General read the depositions of witnesses who knew Castro and Orton in Tasmania at different times. The photographs of Roger Tichborne and those of the claimant were shown to be quite dissimilar; and it was suggested that difficulties would have been obviated by the claimant appearing before the Australian commission, which, however, he refused to do. Great stress was again laid on the fact that Orton was tattooed, and that there was on the forearm of the claimant a scar, of which he could give no account. There were several witnesses who said they knew the claimant at Gippsland, but that there was no person named Castro there. Norton John Gillespie said that he knew the plaintiff as Arthur Orton in Gippsland. He said that his father was a butcher in London. This witness afterwards knew Orton at Reedy Creek, and was requested not to say what he knew of him in Gippsland. When at Reedy Creek the plaintiff suddenly disappeared, and when he came back he was no longer Arthur Orton, but Thomas Castro. It was essential to plaintiff's case that he became Thomas Castro in the middle of 1854, whereas several witnesses proved that he was Arthur Orton to the latter end of 1859. Alexander

M'Donald and William Hopwood both knew the claimant, first as Arthur Orton, then as Tom de Castro. The evidence of the Wagga-Wagga witnesses was then passed in review. The result of all this testimony of fifty or sixty witnesses was that Arthur Orton and Castro were the same man. Attention was called to the deposition of Rosina M'Carthy, who came over with the claimant and his wife as a servant. She spoke to the claimant's unwillingness to come to England; and stated also that the Dowager at Croydon used not to speak of the claimant as her son, but used to say, "If he is my son." In some further observations the Attorney-General commented on various discrepancies between the plaintiff's statements and those of independent witnesses, and went over a very interesting part of the evidence, that relating to the testimony of Arthur Orton's relatives, and the resemblance between the handwriting and phraseology of the claimant, Roger Tichborne, and Arthur Orton respectively. He also referred at length to the slander on Mrs. Radcliffe and the sealed packet. He spoke of Mrs. Radcliffe with great emotion, saying, "It is not for me to sing her praises; but I know this, that, all my life long, when I want to point to an example of how a woman can be modest and courageous, and can mingle gentleness and firmness, I shall point to the conduct of Mrs. Radcliffe in the Sessions House at Westminster."

On the 16th February the longest speech ever made in a court of justice, which had occupied the Court since its reassembling on January 15, was brought to a close. In making some general observations upon the mode in which the trial had been conducted, the Attorney-General disclaimed any intention of imputing dishonourable conduct of a personal character to the counsel on the other side. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the claimant had been dropped by three several attorneys, Mr. Gibbes, Mr. Holmes, and Mr. Moojen, and that Mr. Rose had risked the breaking up of a great firm rather than be contaminated by the further progress of the cause. The plaintiff's charges against the other side, his demeanour in the witness-box, the delay which preceded his being placed there in order that his witnesses might give an air of respectability to the case, the working of the Tichborne bonds, the keeping back of the Orton letters, the suppression of evidence, the manner in which the affidavits had been prepared—these and many other points were passed in review. The learned gentleman, in drawing to a close, intimated that all the members of the Tichborne family but two would deny the plaintiff's identity with Roger, as would also officers, gentlemen from Paris, professors from Stonyhurst, witnesses from Ireland, and many other persons. He contended that the defendants' case was made out already, but he should prove it to demonstration, if necessary. In an eloquent peroration he reminded the jury that on their verdict it depended whether the estates of a noble family should be held by "a conspirator, a perjurer, a forger, a slanderer, and a villain."

Lord Bellew was the first witness called for the defence. He was at Stonyhurst with Roger, and produced the tattoo marks made upon his arm by Tichborne. In his judgment the claimant was not his former school companion. The next witness was Mr. Alfred Seymour, M.P. for Salisbury, who knew Roger Charles Tichborne well, being his uncle, and remembered the tattoo marks on his arm. In answer to the question, "Do you believe the claimant to be Roger Charles Tichborne?" he replied, "I am perfectly certain he is not." Mrs. Katherine Radcliffe recollected the tattoo marks on her

cousin Roger's arm. They were a cross, an anchor, and a heart. She saw them on several occasions. On being asked whether she gave Roger a rosary which the plaintiff swore she had given to him, she answered, "No, it never belonged to me." She produced two locks of Roger's hair, which were inspected by the jury. There was not, she said, one word of truth in what the claimant had said of his intimacy with her; it was completely and absolutely false. Mrs. Radcliffe detailed the history of her relations with her cousin, and mentioned certain presents given to her by Roger, among which was no such article as a gold crucifix, which the claimant had specified. On June 22, 1852, Roger left, having given her, on that day, a paper in which he promised to build a church to the Virgin if he married her within three years. She had never seen him since. "That," she repeated, "I solemnly swear." She then described minutely the appearance and habits of Roger Tichborne, and narrated her interview with the claimant, when he addressed her as "Lucy," and Mrs. Townley, who accompanied her, as "Katie." She expressed herself as "perfectly certain" that the claimant was not her cousin Roger—an assertion which, after a rigid cross-examination, she again repeated with emphasis to Serjeant Ballantine. Mr. Henry Danby Seymour narrated his interview with the claimant. He had taken a former valet of Roger Tichborne to identify him, and the claimant hazarded the conjecture that it was his "uncle Nangle"—who was a very old man. This witness also expressed himself as having no hesitation in saying that the claimant was not Roger Tichborne. The evidence of the Chilian and Australian commissions was put in. Early in the day the Attorney-General withdrew some observations which he had made reflecting upon Mr. Rose, late one of the plaintiff's junior counsel, who was a son of a partner in the firm of Baxter, Rose, and Norton, and who had died very recently. Lady Catherine Doughty, mother of Mrs. Radcliffe, was then examined, chiefly in regard to the habits and disposition of her nephew and his attachment to her daughter. Lady Doughty stated that, having had an ample opportunity of watching the claimant's demeanour, she had formed a very decided judgment that he was not her nephew, and about this she had not the slightest doubt. There was at this point a discussion upon a demand by Mr. Giffard for the production of the draught proof of Lady Doughty's evidence, which was objected to by the Attorney-General. The Lord Chief Justice held that he had no power to order the production of the document. The conversation was enlivened by a little passage between Sir John Coleridge, who had spoken rather sharply to Mr. Pollard, and Serjeant Ballantine, who wished his junior to be protected from "rude observations." Lady Doughty's cross-examination was then resumed and concluded. In the midst of it there was a controversy upon the question whether some pocket-books of her ladyship had been put in evidence. It was terminated by the foreman of the jury declaring that the waste of time was "perfectly intolerable." Mrs. Nangle, sister to the late Sir Edward Doughty, was afterwards examined, and caused some amusement. When asked by Sir G. Honyman, "Is that (the claimant) your nephew?" she emphatically exclaimed, "Gracious! no." She mimicked his mispronunciation of French, and said that when he got angry at being cross-examined, all the foreign accent departed from his speech, and "it was quite British." This witness was very positive as to the tattoo marks, and also as to the extreme unlikeness between the claimant and Roger Tichborne. M. Adrian Chatillon, tutor to Roger Tichborne for six years,

from 1834 or 1835, being consulted as to the identity of the claimant, said "Never Roger Tichborne—never, never!" and stated that, when he saw his former pupil in 1853, his French had in no way deteriorated. Jules Berraut, too, at one time an innkeeper at Lima, then servant to Roger Tichborne, and now describing himself as a merchant in Brazil, also repudiated the idea that the plaintiff was his former master. An intimation which many had for some time been expecting was made on Monday, the 4th March, by the jury. In the early part of the day M. Jules Berraut, one of Roger's servants, was recalled and cross-examined, and his evidence was followed by that of Madame Chatillon; Senor Deranza, who had known Roger from a child; Mr. Robert Mansfield, a landed proprietor in Hampshire; and the Abbé Salis, who had been acquainted with the Tichborne family for many years. The whole of these emphatically disputed the claimant's identity. At length, about half-past two in the afternoon, the foreman of the jury rose and said that, having heard the evidence regarding the tattoo marks, subject to the Judge's correction, and to the hearing of anything which counsel might desire to place before them, the jury would not require any further evidence. Serjeant Ballantine at once asked for an adjournment until Wednesday, in order that he might have an opportunity of consulting with Mr. Giffard, who had left town for circuit. This, after some conversation between the learned counsel, the Chief Justice, and the Attorney-General, was agreed to.

Wednesday, the 6th of March, the 103rd day of the trial, witnessed the complete collapse of this extraordinary case, amid every sign of popular excitement. When the court opened, Serjeant Ballantine spoke of the declaration made by the jury on Monday as one which was not quite clear to his mind. Did the jury mean to convey that they had satisfied themselves solely upon that portion of the case which was known as the tattoo marks, or had they formed their opinion in relation to the evidence set forth in the entire case? The jury retired for half an hour, and on their return the foreman stated that their decision was based upon the entire evidence, as well as upon that which related to the tattooing. Serjeant Ballantine then elected to be nonsuited. The Judge expressed his concurrence in the finding of the jury, and, believing that the claimant had been guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury, directed him to be prosecuted at the Central Criminal Court. His Lordship fixed the bail at 5000*l.* in the plaintiff's own recognizances, and two sureties of 2500*l.* each, or four of 1250*l.* each. The Attorney-General undertook that the prosecution should be at the public expense. A warrant for the claimant's apprehension was at once issued, and he was lodged in Newgate in the course of the afternoon. The Lord Chief Justice, before closing the court, took occasion warmly to compliment the jury, and, amid loud applause, to express his entire belief in the evidence of Mrs. Radcliffe.

The subsequent chapters in the year's history of the Tichborne case may be briefly detailed.

On April 9th the grand jury at the Central Criminal Court returned a true bill against the claimant, entered on the records as Thomas Castro, otherwise Arthur Orton, otherwise Roger Charles Doughty Tichborne, Bart., for perjury and forgery. The averments of perjury contained in the indictment turn, first, upon the affidavits made by the prisoner in the Chancery suit; and, secondly, upon portions of his evidence on the trial in the Court of Common Pleas.

Mr. Montagu Williams appeared on this occasion for the prisoner, who was admitted to bail by the Court of Queen's Bench on the 23rd April. The Attorney-General and Mr. Archibald opposed the bail: Mr. Serjeant Ballantine, Mr. Giffard, Q.C., and Mr. Montagu Williams, supported it.

The trial of the claimant was fixed for the November term. When that time arrived, however, it was found that the length of time that the trial must be expected to occupy must give rise to serious considerations as to the best means of disposing of it. On the 23rd of November, in the Court of Queen's Bench, the Attorney-General, with whom was Mr. Brown, claimed his right to have the case brought to a trial at bar, to which Mr. Serjeant Sleight, who (now with Mr. Horace Brown) appeared for the claimant, consented; and the application was accordingly granted.

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In connexion with the case of the Rev. Charles Voysey, reported among the remarkable trials last year, and mentioned also in the "Chronicle," we are anxious to correct an error into which we inadvertently fell. At page 16 of the "Chronicle" is printed a letter from Mr. Voysey to the Registrar of the Privy Council, which from the twelfth line of the letter should have run thus: "The rejection of my appeal, for which I was quite prepared, I acquiesce in as just, knowing that nine-tenths of the clergy might, with equal justice, be condemned; *but I was certainly not prepared to find myself condemned* without any reply to my arguments, and almost without any attempt to furnish the reasons on which that condemnation was based." The italicized words were omitted in the report of this letter which appeared in the *Times*, in copying from which we copied the error.



## APPENDIX.

### PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND STATE PAPERS.

#### I.

#### THE TREATY OF COMMERCE.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his Excellency the President of the French Republic, being equally animated with the desire to draw closer the ties of friendship which unite their two countries, and being desirous of placing on a permanent and satisfactory footing the commercial relations between the two States, have determined to conclude a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which shall be substituted for the Treaty and Conventions of the 23rd of January and 12th of October and 16th of November, 1860, and they have accordingly appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries for that purpose; that is to say, &c.:—

##### ARTICLE I.

The subjects of her Britannic Majesty who dwell either temporarily or permanently in France and in French Possessions, and the subjects of France who dwell either temporarily or permanently in the dominions or possessions of her Britannic Majesty, shall enjoy therein, in respect to their residence in the territories of the other State and the exercise of commerce and trades, the same rights as, and be subjected to no higher or other taxes than, native subjects or the subjects of any third country the most favoured in those respects.

##### ARTICLE II.

The President of the French Republic having represented to her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland that the financial necessities of France imperatively require

the imposition of new taxes in that country, and the modification for that purpose of the stipulations in regard to Tariffs of the Treaty of the 23rd of January, 1860, and of the Supplementary Conventions of the 12th of October and 16th of November of the same year, her Majesty, in a spirit of friendship towards France, consents to such modification subject to the conditions specified either in this or in other Articles of the present Treaty.

The High Contracting Parties guarantee to each other the treatment of the most-favoured nation: that is to say, from the 1st of December, 1872, no duties shall be imposed either in France or in Algeria on goods the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom or of British Possessions higher than the duties imposed on the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country, whether within or beyond Europe; and no duties shall be imposed in the United Kingdom on goods the produce or manufacture of France or French Possessions higher than the duties imposed on the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country, whether within or beyond Europe; and any favour, immunity, privilege, or reduction of duty whatsoever (other than those in regard to which a special exception is hereinafter made) in matters relating to the commerce of the United Kingdom or of France and Algeria respectively, which has been, or may be, conceded by either Party to any third Power whatsoever, whether within or beyond Europe, shall be extended, immediately and unconditionally, to the other Contracting Party.

It is agreed, however, that, from the 1st of December next, if the ratifications of the present Treaty and the Protocol annexed thereto shall have been exchanged before that date, and if not, from the date of such ratifications being exchanged, the duties specified in Annex I. may be levied until the 31st of December, 1876, on goods the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom, or of British Possessions imported into France or Algeria.

It is also agreed between the High Contracting Powers—

1st. That, as long as the Treaties concluded by France with other Powers shall not be modified, these duties shall, during the above-mentioned period, be the maximum duties which may be levied on goods the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom or of British Possessions on their importation into France or Algeria.

2nd. That the difference, as against such goods, of the duties therein specified shall not be increased relatively to the duties on the like goods now levied under Treaties existing between France and any third Power.

3rd. That, except as specially provided in the third paragraph of this Article, the Tariffs annexed to the Treaty and Conventions of 1860 above-mentioned, shall remain in force until the 15th of March, 1873.

4th. That any reduction of duties which has been or may hereafter be granted by France to any third Power, whether within or beyond Europe, shall be immediately and unconditionally extended to Great Britain; and, reciprocally, that any reduction of duties which has been or may hereafter be granted by Great Britain to any third Power, whether within or beyond Europe, shall be immediately and unconditionally extended to France; and that no increase shall be made by Great Britain in the duties imposed by the Tariff now in force in the United Kingdom, of which a copy forms Annex II. to the present Treaty, upon goods the produce or manufacture of France or of any French Possession which shall not equally be made with respect to goods of the same nature the produce or manufacture of any other country.

5th. That hereafter British ships and their cargoes shall, in France and Algeria, and French ships and their cargoes shall, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from whatever place arriving, and whatever may be the places of origin or destination of their cargoes, be treated in every respect as national ships and their cargoes.

The coasting trade, however, is excepted from the preceding stipulation, and remains subject to the respective laws of the two countries.

#### ARTICLE III.

The transit of goods to and from the United Kingdom shall be free from all transit duties in France and Algeria, and the transit of goods to and from France and Algeria shall be free from all transit duties in the United Kingdom.

#### ARTICLE IV.

No prohibition of importation or exportation shall be established by either of the High Contracting Powers against the other, which shall not at the same time be applicable to all other foreign nations whatsoever: except, however, temporary prohibitions or restrictions which either Government may think it necessary to impose in regard to contraband of war or for sanitary purposes.

#### ARTICLE V.

If one of the High Contracting Powers shall impose an excise tax or inland duty upon any article of home production or manufacture, an equivalent compensatory duty may be imposed on articles of the same description on their importation from the territories of the other Power, provided that the said equivalent duty is levied on the like articles on their importation from all other foreign countries.

But no compensatory duty shall be leviable in respect of a Customs duty on raw materials or other produce or goods imported from abroad.

In the event of the reduction or abolition of any such excise tax or inland duty, a reduction corresponding in amount shall at the same time be made in the equivalent compensatory import duty on manufactures.

#### ARTICLE VI.

Duties *ad valorem* payable in France or Algeria shall be calculated on the value at the place of production or fabrication of the article imported, with the addition of the cost of transport, insurance, and commission necessary for the importation into France or Algeria as far as the port of discharge.

For the levying of these duties, the importer shall make a written declaration at

the Custom-house, stating the value and description of the goods. If the Custom-house authorities shall be of opinion that the declared value is insufficient, they shall be at liberty to take the goods on paying to the importer the price declared with an addition of five per cent.

This payment, together with the restitution of any duty which may have been levied upon such goods, shall be made within the fifteen days next following the declaration.

#### ARTICLE VII.

The French Government shall have the power to designate certain Custom-houses exclusive for the admission of goods taxed *ad valorem*, the valuation of which may appear to them to present difficulties.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

The importer, against whom the French Customs may desire to exercise the right of pre-emption stipulated in Article VI., may, if he prefers to do so, demand a valuation of his goods by experts.

The same demand may be made by the French Customs when they may not think fit to have immediate recourse to pre-emption.

Should the French Customs decline to exercise their right of pre-emption, they shall authorize the immediate surrender of the goods to the importer, on the express condition that the said importer shall offer adequate security for the payment of the duties and fines which might result from the valuation by experts, for which valuation the Customs shall retain the necessary samples.

#### ARTICLE IX.

If the result of such valuation by experts should prove that the value of the goods is not five cent. above that which has been declared by the importer, the duty shall be levied upon the value so declared.

If the proved value is five per cent. or more above the value declared, the French Customs Authorities shall be entitled, at their choice, either to exercise the right of pre-emption or to levy the duty on the value determined by the experts.

This duty shall be increased by fifty per cent. as a fine, if the valuation of the experts is ten per cent. or more above the declared value.

If the value, as determined by the experts, exceeds the declared value by five per cent. or more, the costs of the

valuation by the experts shall be defrayed by the declarant. In all other cases they shall be defrayed by the French Customs Authorities.

In case of any dispute arising between the importer and the French Customs Authorities as to the class or denomination under which any goods may be chargeable with duty, such dispute shall be referred to and be decided by experts, if the importer is dissatisfied with the decision of the Customs.

In all cases of dispute the declarant shall have the option, if he thinks fit, to remove the valuation by experts from an outport to Paris. The desire for such removal must be signified before the inquiry by experts at the outport begins.

#### ARTICLE X.

In the cases contemplated by Articles VIII. and IX., two experts shall be named, one by the declarant or his agent, the other by the local Chief of the Customs Service at the place where the inquiry is to take place. If there be difference of opinion between them, or if at the time of appointing the experts the declarant shall require it, the experts shall choose an Umpire. In default of agreement, such Umpire shall be appointed by the President of the Tribunal of Commerce at the port of importation, or, in his default, by the President of the Tribunal of Commerce at the nearest place. The declarant, as well as the Customs Authorities, may demand that, instead of being made in the above-mentioned manner, the inquiry shall be carried out at Paris by the Board of Legal Expertise appointed to be held at the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce by Article 19 of the Law of the 27th July, 1822.

Such option must be declared within twenty-four hours of the notification of pre-emption or of the demand for an inquiry by experts.

The experts which the above-mentioned Board shall associate with themselves to report on the matters submitted to them, must be chosen from the list annually prepared by the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Paris.

The decision of the experts shall be given within eight days if the inquiry takes place at the place of arrival, and, if the settlement is referred to the Board of Legal Expertise at Paris, it shall be given within fifteen days.

#### ARTICLE XI.

In order to establish the fact that goods are the produce or manufacture of the

United Kingdom or British Possessions, the importer may, if he shall think fit, present at the French Custom-house a certificate of origin which shall be either an official declaration made before a magistrate exercising jurisdiction at the place of despatch, or a certificate granted by the chief officer of the Customs at the port of embarkation, or a certificate granted by the Consul or Consular Agent of France at the place of despatch or at the port of embarkation.

The signature of the British authority shall be certified by the Consul or Consular Agent of France, if any, residing in the place or Possession from which the goods are despatched or shipped; and if in the case of a British Possession there is no such Consul or Consular Agent, then by the Officer administering the Government of such Possession.

## ARTICLE XII.

The importer of machines and mechanical instruments, whether complete or in detached pieces, or of other articles the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom or British Possessions, shall be exempt from any obligation of producing at the French Customs any models or drawings of such articles.

## ARTICLE XIII.

The importer of any goods the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom or British Possessions, taxed *ad valorem*, may, if he shall think fit, attach to the declaration verifying the value of such goods, and to the certificate of origin an invoice emanating from the manufacturer or from the seller, which shall show the price actually charged to him for such goods.

## ARTICLE XIV.

When goods upon which an *ad valorem* duty is levied have been previously warehoused, the duty shall be levied according to the value of those goods at the time of their actual importation into France or Algeria.

## ARTICLE XV.

Independently of the duties of Customs, articles of goldsmith's work and of jewellery of the manufacture of either country in gold, silver, platinum, or other metals, imported into the other, shall be subject to the system of control established in the country of importation for similar

articles of domestic manufacture, and shall pay, if required, on the same basis as national articles, the duties of marking and guarantee.

The above stipulations shall be applicable to fire-arms, anchors, chain cables, and all other articles over which similar control is or may be exercised.

## ARTICLE XVI.

The subjects of each of the two High Contracting Powers shall, in the dominions of the other, enjoy the same protection and be subject to the same conditions as native subjects in regard to the rights of property in trade marks and other distinctive marks showing the origin or quality of goods, as well as in patterns and designs for manufactures.

## ARTICLE XVII.

Articles liable to duty serving as patterns or samples, which shall be introduced into the United Kingdom by French commercial travellers or into France and Algeria by commercial travellers of the United Kingdom, shall be admitted free of duty, subject to the following formalities requisite to insure their being re-exported or placed in bond:

1. The officers of Customs at any port or place at which the patterns and samples may be imported shall ascertain the amount of duty chargeable thereon. That amount must either be deposited by the commercial traveller at the Custom-house in money, or ample security must be given for it.

2. For the purpose of identification each separate pattern or sample shall, as far as possible, be marked by the affixing of a stamp or by means of a seal being attached to it.

3. A permit or certificate shall be given to the importer which shall contain—

(a.) A list of the patterns or samples imported, specifying the nature of the goods and also such particular marks as may be proper for the purpose of identification;

(b.) A statement of the duty chargeable on the patterns or samples, as also whether the amount was deposited in money or whether security was given for it;

(c.) A statement showing the manner in which the patterns or samples were marked;

(d.) The appointment of a period, which at the utmost must not exceed twelve

months, at the expiration of which, unless it is proved that the patterns or samples have been previously re-exported or placed in bond, the amount of duty deposited will be carried to the public account or the amount recovered under the security given.

No charge shall be made to the importer for the above permit or certificate or for marking for identification.

4. Patterns or samples may be re-exported through the Custom-house through which they were imported, or through any other.

5. If, before the expiration of the appointed time (paragraph 3, *d*), the patterns or samples should be presented at the Custom-house of any port or place for the purpose of re-exportation or being placed in bond, the officers at such port or place must satisfy themselves by examination whether the articles which are brought to them are the same as those for which the permit of entry was granted. If so satisfied, the officers will certify the re-exportation or deposit in bond, and will refund the duty which had been deposited, or will take the necessary steps for discharging the security.

#### ARTICLE XVIII.

Each of the High Contracting Parties may appoint Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Consular Agents to reside in the towns and ports of the dominions and possessions of the other, where, in accordance with established practice, such Consular Officers are allowed to reside. Such Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Consular Agents, however, shall not enter upon their functions until after they shall have been approved and admitted, in the usual form, by the Government to which they are sent. They shall, within their Consular district, be allowed to exercise whatever functions, and shall enjoy whatever privileges, exemptions and immunities, are or shall be granted to Consuls or Officers of the same rank of the most favoured nation at the place where they are appointed to reside.

#### ARTICLE XIX.

The Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Consular Agents of each of the Contracting Parties residing in the dominions and possessions of the other shall receive from the local authorities such assistance as can by law be given to them for the recovery of deserters from the vessels of their respective countries.

#### ARTICLE XX.

The High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves the power of levying from the subjects of the other landing or shipping dues, in order to pay the expenses of all necessary establishments at the ports of importation and exportation.

Such dues, however, shall not be higher or other than those levied on national goods, cargoes, or shipping.

In all that relates to local treatment, Customs formalities, brokerage, warehousing, re-exportation, dues and charges in the ports, basins, docks, roadsteads, harbours and rivers of the two countries, the privileges, favours, or advantages which are or shall be granted to national vessels generally, or to the goods imported or exported in them, shall be equally granted to the vessels of the other country, and to the goods imported or exported in them, excepting always the coasting trade.

#### ARTICLE XXI.

The High Contracting Parties agree to appoint a Commission, which shall consist of one member on the part of each Government to meet at Paris within ten days after the signature of the present Treaty, to discuss certain questions connected with the duties to be levied under Annex I., which questions are not yet settled between the two Governments. The result of this examination shall form the subject of a Report, which the Commissioners shall address to their respective Governments. They further agree to refer to the same Commission the settlement of certain other questions, as provided for in a separate Protocol, which shall be annexed to the present Treaty, and shall be included in the ratification thereof.

The Commission shall finish its labours within three months, if possible, but its duration may be prolonged by agreement between the High Contracting Parties for any period or periods not exceeding six months longer.

#### ARTICLE XXII.

The provisions in regard to Tariffs contained in Article II. of the present Treaty shall remain in force till the 1st day of January, 1877, and the provisions in regard to navigation contained in the same Article shall remain in force until the 15th of July, 1879, and thenceforth until terminated in the manner mentioned in this Article.

The High Contracting Parties, if they

think fit, may communicate with each other respecting the general working of the present Treaty, and come to an understanding by means of a Declaration or Protocol with respect to its further duration. Failing such definite understanding and subject to the condition in the next Article stated, either Party may, by twelve months' previous notice, which may be given either at any time after the aforesaid dates respectively, or within the twelve months next preceding the same, terminate any of the provisions contained in the preceding Articles of the present Treaty, and, until the expiration of any such notice, this present Treaty, or such part thereof as shall for the time being not be terminated by any similar notice, shall remain in force.

## ARTICLE XXIII.

The High Contracting Powers in reserving to themselves the power, as set forth in Article XXII., to terminate any specific provisions contained in the present Treaty, engage, nevertheless, at all times hereafter to treat each other in all matters relating to commerce and navigation on the footing of the most favoured nation, and that the termination of any specific provisions of the present Treaty, as stipulated in the preceding Article, shall be subject to the above condition.

## ARTICLE XXIV.

The President of the French Republic

engages to recommend the National Assembly to give the necessary sanction for the execution of the present Treaty as soon as possible after an agreement between the two Governments shall have been arrived at with respect to the questions which are mentioned in Article XXI., and which, not having yet been settled, are by the same Article XXI. referred to the Commission therein mentioned.

The ratification of the present Treaty shall be exchanged at Paris as soon as possible after such sanction shall have been notified to her Majesty's Government; the Treaty shall come into force immediately on the exchange of ratifications; and the Treaty of the 23rd of January, 1860, the Additional Articles of the 25th February, 1860, and 27th June, 1860, and the Supplementary Conventions of the 12th October and 16th November, 1860, shall be cancelled thereafter, except in so far as relates to the specific stipulations contained in Article II., and the arrangements with respect to matters reserved to the Commission to be appointed in conformity with Article XXI. of the present Treaty.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty, and have affixed thereto the Seals of their arms.

Done at London the Fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and seventy-two.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE.

(L. S.) CH. GAVARD.

(L. S.) J. OZENNE.

## II.

## THE SAN JUAN AWARD.

(Translation.)

WE, WILLIAM, by the Grace of God German Emperor, King of Prussia, &c., &c., &c.

AFTER examination of the Treaty between the Governments of her Britannic Majesty and that of the United States of America, dated at Washington, May 6th,<sup>1</sup> 1871, by virtue of which the above-named Governments have submitted to Our Arbitrator the question at issue between them, viz., whether the line of boundary which, according to the Treaty, dated at Washington, June 15th, 1846, after it had been continued westward along the

49th parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island shall be further drawn southerly through the middle of the said Channel and of Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean, should be run, as claimed by the Government of her Britannic Majesty, through the Rosario Straits or through the Canal of Haro as claimed by the Government of the United States—in order that We should decide finally and without appeal which of these claims is most in accordance with the true interpretation of the Treaty of June 15, 1846;

Have, after taking into consideration the statement of the experts and jurists appointed by us to report upon the contents of the respective case and counter

<sup>1</sup> Sic in original. Query, May 8?

cases, with their inclosures, given the following decision;

The claim of the Government of the United States—viz., that the line of boundary between the dominions of her Britannic Majesty and the United States should be run through the Canal of Haro—is most in accordance with the

true interpretation of the Treaty concluded between the Government of her Britannic Majesty and that of the United States of America, dated at Washington, June 15, 1846.

Given under our hand and seal at Berlin, October 21, 1872.

(Signed) WILLIAM.

### III.

#### REPORT OF THE "MEGÆRA" COMMISSION.

THE Commissioners appointed for this inquiry (Chairman, Lord Lawrence) issued a Report, in which they came to the following conclusions:—

"We express our decided opinion that the state and condition of the 'Megæra' was such that she ought never to have been selected for the voyage to Australia, and that as a matter of fact she was an unsafe ship when she left Sheerness, and had probably been so for some years. It is right that we should add that Sir Spencer Robinson informed Sir Sydney Dacres that he did not consider her well adapted for this service, and it is much to be regretted that more weight was not attached to his representations, and that, when he expressed an opinion unfavourable to the employment of the ship, Sir Sydney Dacres did not call for and discuss the reason and grounds for that opinion before incurring such a responsibility.

"When the 'Megæra' left Sheerness her ports were leaky, some being decayed, and others worn out by long service. She was also overladen with reference to the comfort of the officers and men on board, bearing in mind more particularly the nature and length of the voyage and the numbers she carried.

"We consider that the Admiralty were justified in ordering the 'Megæra' to continue her voyage after she had put into Queenstown, the Admiral on the station having declared that she was fit to proceed. The defects which were then reported were not of a character to affect her seaworthiness, and were such as were remedied without docking her.

"The defects in the ship's hull, at the time when she was beached at St. Paul's, were local. The leak itself was an oblong aperture about two inches in length by one and a half in breadth. The plates for a space of five or six feet in the vicinity of the leak were more or less corroded, and dangerously weak over an extent of from two to three feet. In several of the

ship's frames also in the same part the floor plates were more or less eaten by corrosion. These circumstances raised a feeling of insecurity in the minds of the officers as to the soundness of her bottom. It was this which induced Captain Thrupp and the officers he consulted to decide upon running the vessel ashore.

"The cause of the leak and of the defective condition of the plates in its vicinity was the continued corrosive action of bilge water on unprotected iron. The loss of the ship is in our judgment to be attributed to the want of adequate protection to the inner service of those plates. The corrosive action had in our opinion been at work for some years, and was not appreciably, if at all, accelerated by galvanic action, occasioned by the presence of copper.

"The plates in the vicinity of the water-line of the 'Megæra' were ascertained in 1866 to be very thin; but it must be borne in mind that it is not to the weakness of these plates that the loss of the ship is in any way attributable. This circumstance, however, ought to have led to a thorough and complete examination of the whole of the plating. The sound condition of the plates was not to be satisfactorily ascertained by mere boring from the outside, which was the only process adopted subsequently to the above discovery; such a boring, limited as it was to a mere puncture of the inner surface of the iron could not afford any indication of the condition of the interior face of the plates.

"It is a matter of doubt whether the plates ought at that time to have been doubled or replaced, but it is certain that their comparative weakness should never have been lost sight of, and should have been constantly brought to the notice of the dockyard officials, and that their soundness should have been carefully tested before the vessel was despatched to Australia.

"Nevertheless, after 1864 the 'Megæra'

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was never sufficiently examined. Every official at the time of examination confined his attention to the exterior, and to such parts of her interior as were readily accessible, and relying, it would seem, as to her interior, upon the supposed lasting qualities of cement, omitted to make the necessary examination, though it is obvious that whether her age, her extended service at sea, or the period which had passed since the repairs in 1864, be considered, such precautions should have been observed. It has been proved to our satisfaction that there were parts of the interior which could only be examined by opening up the ship to an extent which was never done; anything short of this prevented the real state of these parts from being ascertained. It is in evidence that at the termination of a ship's commission, which usually lasts four years, such an examination should be made as would thoroughly satisfy the authorities as to the state of the ship, so as to make it clear whether further examination or repairs are necessary. But counting from February 1865, the time when the 'Megæra' left Devonport Dockyard, until February 1871, when she sailed from Sheerness, six years had elapsed since she was thoroughly overhauled. It was owing to this that the corrosive action was allowed to go on until it resulted in the loss of the vessel.

"We will now proceed to state upon whom, in our opinion, rests the responsibility for the mismanagement which allowed the vessel to remain so long in an unsafe condition.

"We are of opinion that responsibility rests on Sir Spencer Robinson, who was Controller from 1861 to 1871.

"1st. Practically he had the power of controlling the operations carried on in her Majesty's dockyards, the superintendents and dockyard officers being subject to his orders.

"2nd. The Constructor's department was also under his direction.

"It was for the Controller to take care that the organization of his department was such that all the duties connected with it were efficiently performed. The attention of the Sheerness officers was never called to the report of 1866 on the 'Megæra,' and the reports of subsequent years on the ship seem never to have been scrutinized with the necessary care nor examined with reference to the information regarding her, which was then obtained, and even when, in 1870, the carpenter of the ship had called the attention of the dockyard officers to the alleged thinness of the plates at the bottom of the vessel, they satisfied themselves with

an examination of the outside, and their report was accepted without challenge by the Controller.

"We have shown that Sir Spencer Robinson was responsible for the application of Spence's cement to the 'Megæra,' and for its having been subsequently suffered to remain there without examination, though ascertained to be a failure in other instances. From the day it was put into her, until the day she was beached at St. Paul's, no one ever thought of the matter; although it is impossible to suppose, judging from the effect of bilge water on it, as reported in the cases of the 'Sharpshooter' and the 'Northumberland,' that it could have afforded any lasting protection to the plates of the bottom of the ship.

"No advantage was taken by the Controller of the opportunity of fully ascertaining her condition during the five months she lay unemployed at Sheerness, although so many questions had been raised and doubts entertained with reference to it; nor did he, when informed by Sir S. Dacres of his intention to send the 'Megæra' to Australia, recall to his mind that doubts had existed for years as to the general character of the ship. Hence it follows, in our opinion, that the Controller is mainly responsible for the misfortune which befell the vessel. The arguments which he has adduced in explanation of this neglect are not, in our judgment, satisfactory. We say this with much regret, for there can be no question of the zeal and ability of this officer; and it is difficult, we think, to have taken part in this inquiry without forming a high appreciation of his merits as a devoted public servant.

"We also consider that neither Mr. Reed nor Mr. Barnaby is free from responsibility, the former in not, when undertaking in 1866 to make an examination, making it a complete one, the latter in not calling the attention of Lord John Hay to the weakness of the ship's plating when asked as to her condition in 1871.

"We think also that blame attaches to Mr. H. Morgan, of the Chief Constructor's Department, because, when he received the report of the Sheerness officers in April, 1870, containing the observation that the bottom was stated to be very thin in many places, he neglected to inform them of the previous reports, and of the known thinness of her plates.

"We are of opinion that Captain Luard incurred a grave responsibility in sending to the Admiralty, without further examination of the ship or any knowledge of her previous history, the telegram of the 18th of August, 1870. But for this she would



have been placed in the 4th Division and thoroughly examined, when in all probability her defects would have been discovered. We say this with regret, for it is clear that the error into which he fell arose from zeal in the public service, he having no suspicion of the real state of the case. We think also that he is responsible, together with the dockyard officers, for the defective condition of the ports when the '*Megara*' left Sheerness.

"We further consider that Mr. William Ladd, the Master Shipwright, and Mr. W. H. Henwood, the Assistant Master Shipwright at Woolwich from 1866 to 1869, and Mr. A. B. Sturdee, the Master Shipwright, and Mr. William Mitchell, the Assistant Master Shipwright at Sheerness from 1869 to 1871, are severally deserving of censure for not having discovered either the unprotected condition or the inaccessible position of the plates in the part where the leak was afterwards discovered; and for never making a thorough examination of the interior, although both at Woolwich and Sheerness there were ample opportunities of so doing. Nor do we think that the Superintendents at those yards were free from blame in not seeing that these duties were efficiently carried out.

"We consider that Mr. Ladd and Mr. Henwood are further to blame for having neglected to institute an examination of the '*Megara*'s' plates in the interior in December, 1867, though they were then expressly directed by the Controller of the Navy to report whether she was in want of repair.

"Mr. Sturdee and Mr. Mitchell are also especially deserving of censure, because, when informed by the carpenter of the '*Megara*,' when she was in their hands in April, 1870, that the bottom was stated to be very thin in many places, they took no steps whatever to ascertain whether that was true or not.

"The engineers and carpenters of the '*Megara*' in her several commissions are in some degree to blame for not having called attention to the circumstance that parts of the ship were closed up and inaccessible even to view.

"Captain Thrupp also appears blameable for not taking care that the cargo was properly stowed before leaving Sheerness.

"We are of opinion that it was an unfortunate circumstance that Sir Sydney Macres should have placed officers in charge of the '*Megara*,' very few of whom had ever sailed in iron vessels, as it must be difficult, for those who are not familiar with their construction, to form a sound opinion as to the character of

defects or accidents which may occur at sea, or to adopt the best methods for repairing them.

"On the question of the general responsibility of dockyard officers it is doubtful what are the precise rules in force. They all unite in declaring that their duties are limited to the examination and remedy of reported defects and of such other defects as may become apparent in carrying this duty into execution; and these views are supported by the evidence of their immediate naval superiors, who hold or have held the post of dockyard superintendents. On the other hand, the Admiralty officers urge the very opposite statements, and point to the Circular Orders in existence and to the impossibility of their being able to ascertain whether the dockyard officers have done or have not done their duty in examining ships. It is clear to us that while the intentions of the Admiralty were to enforce adherence to these circulars, nevertheless their orders have always been understood and obeyed by the dockyard officials in the limited sense above referred to. But it appears to us that it would be quite possible to mature a system whereby the respective duties of all these officers could be defined and checked, so as to render it very difficult for any serious mistakes to occur, and that without such a system, responsibility in practice becomes little better than nominal.

"We think that a complete survey should be made of every iron ship at suitable intervals. But the circumstance that such survey had been made should not release a superintendent of a dockyard from the duty of at all times making sure that a vessel has left his charge in good order.

"We feel compelled to add that we have formed, however unwillingly, an unfavourable opinion as to the mode in which the administration of her Majesty's dockyards is generally conducted. The important work of the survey of vessels seems often to have been done in an incomplete and unsatisfactory manner. Officers too often appear to us to have done no more than each of them thought it was absolutely necessary to do; following a blind routine in the discharge of their duties, and acting almost as if it were their main object to avoid responsibility.

"As regards the Admiralty, we have endeavoured to restrict our inquiry to matters which immediately bore on the loss of the '*Megara*;' but owing to witnesses often travelling into points which seemed to affect their own character, and which it was difficult to check, we have

been led to exceed such limits. We do not consider that there is any evidence to show that the Admiralty ever cut down an estimate from a feeling of parsimony, or sacrificed efficiency from a desire to reduce expenditure. We do not believe that in any case connected with the 'Megæra' the reduction of an estimate contributed to her loss. We consider, however, that it would have been sound economy to have got rid of the vessel long ago, as being an expensive ship to maintain, and of comparatively little value for any service.

"We feel bound also to state that, in the course of the inquiry, it has been clearly shown to us that the system of administration at the Admiralty is defective in some important points. Its secretariat arrangements are insufficient, and its mode of registration of correspondence defective. It is an extraordinary circumstance indicative of this that when Sir Spencer Robinson asked for the report which Mr. Reed was supposed to have made in 1866 on the thinness of the iron plates of the 'Megæra' that reference did not lead to the production of the report of the dockyard officers of the same year to a similar effect. A very little reflection ought to have led the clerk intrusted with the search to endeavour to ascertain and to produce any documents of the period which bore on the subject under inquiry. The explanation of Mr. Claude Clifton in this matter is very unsatisfactory.

"The checks by which responsibility is to be enforced, judging by the case of the 'Megæra,' appear to be practically almost nominal. There was, indeed, a ship's book for the 'Megæra;' but neither the circumstance that she was coated with an experimental cement, nor the nature of the different surveys which had from time to time been held on her, nor, indeed, a word whereby a suspicion would arise as to her real condition at the time

she was selected for the voyage to Australia, was to be found therein. Such a record was worse than useless; it was simply misleading. When estimates for the repair of ships are received at the Admiralty, judging from this case, they are disposed of without sufficient reference to previous reports and former outlays. Reports from dockyards seem to be received with too much reliance on their correctness. It is with difficulty that the details of the actual work performed under each estimate can be traced. Nothing like complete statements of the work done in each instance to a ship appear to be furnished. No one seems to have known or to have recollected in 1870 and 1871 that the 'Megæra' had never been thoroughly overhauled since 1864; that she had been once declared only fit for 18 or 24 months' service in her then existing condition, and on two subsequent occasions fit for 12 months' service only; that when pronounced equal to the voyage to Australia more than six years had passed, and that before she could have returned to England seven years at least would have elapsed since she had been properly examined and really made efficient for sea service.

"We have come to the above conclusions after careful and full consideration. It is with reluctance and pain that we express unfavourable opinions with respect to the conduct of officers and the management of a great department. But in doing so we have acted on a strong sense of duty, and of the imperative obligations which have been placed on us by your Majesty.

"LAWRENCE. (L.S.)

"A. BREWSTER.

"M. SEYMOUR.

"FRED. ARROW.

"H. C. ROTHERY.

"THOMAS CHAPMAN.

"GEORGE P. BIDDER, Secretary.

"6th March, 1872."

#### IV.

#### THE GENEVA AWARD.

THE following is the text of the Award:—

"Her Britannic Majesty and the United States of America having agreed by Article I. of the Treaty concluded and signed at Washington the 8th of May, 1871, to refer all the claims 'generically known as the "Alabama" claims' to a Tribunal of Arbitration to be composed of five Arbitrators named:—One by her Britannic

Majesty, one by the President of the United States, one by his Majesty the King of Italy, one by the President of the Swiss Confederation, one by his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil; and her Britannic Majesty, the President of the United States, his Majesty the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, having respectively named their Arbitrators

to wit: Her Britannic Majesty—Sir Alexander James Edmund Cockburn, Baronet, a member of her Majesty's Privy Council, Lord Chief Justice of England; the President of the United States—Charles Francis Adams, Esq.; his Majesty the King of Italy—his Excellency Count Frederic Sclopis of Salerano, a Knight of the Order of Annunziata, Minister of State, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy; the President of the Swiss Confederation—Mr. James Staempfli; his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil—his Excellency Marcus Antonio d'Araujo, Viscount d'Itajubá, a Grandee of the Empire of Brazil, member of the Council of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France. And the five Arbitrators above named having assembled at Geneva (in Switzerland) in one of the chambers of the Hôtel de Ville on the 15th of December, 1871, in conformity with the terms of the 2nd Article of the Treaty of Washington of the 8th of May of that year, and having proceeded to the inspection and verification of their respective Powers, which were found duly authenticated, the Tribunal of Arbitration was declared duly organized.

"The Agent named by each of the High Contracting Parties, by virtue of the same Article II., to wit: For her Britannic Majesty—Charles Stuart Aubrey, Lord Tenterden, a Peer of the United Kingdom, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and for the United States of America—John C. Bancroft Davis, Esq.; whose powers were found likewise duly authenticated, then delivered to each of the Arbitrators the printed case prepared by each of the two parties, accompanied by the documents, the official correspondence and other evidence on which each relied, in conformity with the terms of the 3rd Article of the said Treaty.

"In virtue of the decision made by the Tribunal at its first session, the Counter Case and additional documents, correspondence and evidence, referred to in Article IV. of the said Treaty, were delivered by the respective Agents of the two Parties to the Secretary of the Tribunal on the 15th of April, 1872, at the Chamber of Conference, at the Hôtel de Ville of Geneva.

"The Tribunal, in accordance with the vote of adjournment passed at their second Session, held on the 16th of December, 1871, re-assembled at Geneva on the 15th of June, 1872, and the Agent of each of the parties duly delivered to each of the Arbitrators and to the Agent of the

other party the printed argument referred to in Article IV. of the said Treaty.

"The Tribunal having since fully taken into their consideration the Treaty and also the Cases, Counter-Cases, documents, evidence and arguments, and likewise all other communications made to them by the two parties during the progress of their sittings, and having impartially and carefully examined the same, has arrived at the decision embodied in the present award.

"Whereas, having regard to the 6th and 7th Articles of the said Treaty, the Arbitrators are bound under the terms of the said 6th Article, 'in deciding the matters submitted to them, to be governed by the three rules therein specified and by such principles of International Law not inconsistent therewith as the Arbitrators shall determine to have been applicable to the case.'

"And whereas the 'due diligence' referred to in the first and third of the said Rules ought to be exercised by neutral Governments in exact proportion to the risks to which either of the belligerents may be exposed from a failure to fulfil the obligations of neutrality on their part.

"And whereas the circumstances out of which the facts constituting the subject-matter of the present controversy arose were of a nature to call for the exercise on the part of her Britannic Majesty's Government of all possible solicitude for the observance of the rights and the duties involved in the Proclamation of Neutrality issued by her Majesty on the 13th day of May, 1861;

"And whereas the effects of a violation of neutrality committed by means of the construction, equipment, and armament of a vessel are not done away with by any commission which the Government of the belligerent Power benefited by the violation of neutrality may afterwards have granted to that vessel; and the ultimate step, by which the offence is completed, cannot be admissible as a ground for the absolution of the offender, nor can the consummation of his fraud become the means of establishing his innocence;

"And whereas the privilege of exterritoriality accorded to vessels of war has been admitted into the law of nations, not as an absolute right, but solely as a proceeding founded on the principle of courtesy and mutual deference between different nations, and therefore can never be appealed to for the protection of acts done in violation of neutrality;

"And whereas the absence of a previous notice cannot be regarded as a failure in any consideration required by the law of nations, in those cases in which a vessel carries with it its own condemnation;

"And whereas in order to impart to any supplies of coal a character inconsistent with the second Rule, prohibiting the use of neutral ports or waters as a base of naval operations for a belligerent, it is necessary that the said supplies should be connected with special circumstances of time, of persons, or of place, which may combine to give them such character ;

"And whereas with respect to the vessel called the 'Alabama' it clearly results from all the facts relative to the construction of the ship at first designated by the 'Number 290,' in the port of Liverpool, and its equipment and armament in the vicinity of Terceira through the agency of the vessels called the 'Agrippina' and the 'Bahama' despatched from Great Britain to that end, that the British Government failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations ; and especially that it omitted, notwithstanding the warnings and official representations made by the diplomatic agents of the United States during the construction of the said 'Number 290,' to take in due time any effective measures of prevention, and that those orders which it did give at last for the detention of the vessel were issued so late that their execution was not practicable ;

"And whereas, after the escape of that vessel, the measures taken for its pursuit and arrest were so imperfect as to lead to no result, and therefore cannot be considered sufficient to release Great Britain from the responsibility already incurred ;

"And whereas, in despite of the violations of the neutrality of Great Britain committed by the '290,' this same vessel, later known as the Confederate cruiser 'Alabama,' was on several occasions freely admitted into the ports of Colonies of Great Britain, instead of being proceeded against as it ought to have been in any and every port within British jurisdiction in which it might have been found ;

"And whereas the Government of her Britannic Majesty cannot justify itself for a failure in due diligence on the plea of the insufficiency of the legal means of action which it possessed ;—

"Four of the Arbitrators, for the reasons above assigned, and the fifth for reasons separately assigned by him, are of opinion that Great Britain has in this case failed, by omission, to fulfil the duties prescribed in the first and the third of the Rules established by the 6th Article of the Treaty of Washington.

"And whereas, with respect to the vessel called the 'Florida,' it results from all the facts relative to the construction of the 'Oreto' in the port of Liverpool, and to its issue therefrom, which facts failed to

induce the authorities in Great Britain to resort to measures adequate to prevent the violation of the neutrality of that nation, notwithstanding the warnings and repeated representations of the Agents of the United States, that her Majesty's Government has failed to use due diligence to fulfil the duties of neutrality ;

"And whereas it likewise results from all the facts relative to the stay of the 'Oreto' at Nassau, to her issue from that port, to her enlistment of men, to her supplies and to her armoury with the co-operation of the British vessel 'Prince Alfred,' at Green Cay, that there was negligence on the part of the British Colonial authorities ;

"And whereas, notwithstanding the violation of the neutrality of Great Britain committed by the 'Oreto,' this same vessel, later known as the Confederate cruiser 'Florida,' was, nevertheless, on several occasions freely admitted into the ports of British Colonies ;

"And whereas the judicial acquittal of the 'Oreto' at Nassau cannot relieve Great Britain from the responsibility incurred by her under the principles of International Law, nor can the fact of the entry of the 'Florida' into the Confederate port of Mobile, and of its stay there during four months, extinguish the responsibility previously to that time incurred by Great Britain :—

"For these reasons the Tribunal, by a majority of four voices to one, is of opinion that Great Britain has in this case failed, by omission, to fulfil the duties prescribed in the first, in the second, and in the third of the Rules established by Article VI. of the Treaty of Washington.

"And whereas, with respect to the vessel called the 'Shenandoah,' it results from all the facts relative to the departure from London of the merchant vessel the 'Sea King,' and to the transformation of that ship into a Confederate cruiser under the name of the 'Shenandoah,' near the island of Madeira, that the Government of her Britannic Majesty is not chargeable with any failure, down to that date, in the use of due diligence to fulfil the duties of neutrality ;

"But whereas it results from all the facts connected with the stay of the 'Shenandoah' at Melbourne, and especially with the augmentation which the British Government itself admits to have been clandestinely effected of her force by the enlistment of men within that port, that there was negligence on the part of the authorities at that place ;—

"For these reasons the Tribunal is unanimously of opinion that Great Britain

has not failed, by any act or omission, to fulfil any of the duties prescribed by the three Rules of Article VI. in the Treaty of Washington, or by the principles of International Law not inconsistent therewith, in respect of the vessel called the 'Shenandoah' during the period of time anterior to her entry into the port of Melbourne.

"And by a majority of three to two voices, the Tribunal decides that Great Britain has failed by omission to fulfil the duties prescribed by the second and third of the Rules aforesaid in the case of this same vessel from and after her entry into Hobson's Bay, and is, therefore, responsible for all acts committed by that vessel after her departure from Melbourne on the 18th day of February, 1865.

"And so far as relates to the vessels called the 'Tuscaloosa' (tender to the 'Alabama'), the 'Clarence,' the 'Tacony,' and the 'Archer' (tenders to the 'Florida'), the Tribunal is unanimously of opinion that such tenders or auxiliary vessels, being properly regarded as accessories, must necessarily follow the lot of their principals, and be submitted to the same decision which applies to them respectively.

"And so far as relates to the vessel called the 'Retribution,' the Tribunal, by a majority of three to two voices, is of opinion that Great Britain has not failed by any act or omission to fulfil any of the duties prescribed by the three Rules of Article VI. in the Treaty of Washington, or by the principles of International Law not inconsistent therewith.

"And so far as relates to the vessels called the 'Georgia,' the 'Sumter,' the 'Nashville,' the 'Tallahassee,' and the 'Chickamauga,' respectively, the Tribunal is unanimously of opinion that Great Britain has not failed, by any act or omission, to fulfil any of the duties prescribed by the three Rules of Article VI. in the Treaty of Washington, or by the principles of International Law not inconsistent therewith.

"And so far as relates to the vessels called the 'Sallie,' the 'Jefferson Davis,' the 'Music,' the 'Boston,' and the 'V. H. Joy,' respectively, the Tribunal is unanimously of opinion that they ought to be excluded from consideration, for want of evidence.

"And whereas, so far as relates to the particulars of the indemnity claimed by the United States, the costs of pursuit of the Confederate cruisers are not, in the judgment of the Tribunal, properly distinguishable from the general expenses of the war carried on by the United States, the Tribunal is, therefore, of opinion, by a majority of three to two voices, that

there is no ground for awarding to the United States any sum by way of indemnity under this head.

"And whereas prospective earnings cannot properly be made the subject of compensation, inasmuch as they depend in their nature upon future and uncertain contingencies, the Tribunal is unanimously of opinion that there is no ground for awarding to the United States any sum by way of indemnity under this head.

"And whereas, in order to arrive at an equitable compensation for the damages which have been sustained, it is necessary to set aside all double claims for the same losses, and all claims for 'gross freights' so far as they exceed 'net freights;' and whereas it is just and reasonable to allow interest at a reasonable rate; and whereas, in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Treaty of Washington, it is preferable to adopt the form of adjudication of a sum in gross rather than to refer the subject of compensation for further discussion and deliberation to a Board of Assessors, as provided by Article X. of the said Treaty, the Tribunal, making use of the authority conferred upon it by Article VII. of the said Treaty, by a majority of four voices to one, awards to the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States for the satisfaction of all the claims referred to the consideration of the Tribunal, conformably to the provisions contained in Article VII. of the aforesaid Treaty.

"And, in accordance with the terms of Article XI. of the said Treaty, the Tribunal declares that 'all the claims referred to in the Treaty as submitted to the Tribunal are hereby fully, perfectly, and finally settled.'

"Furthermore, it declares that 'each and every one of the said claims, whether the same may or may not have been presented to the notice of, or made, preferred, or laid before the Tribunal, shall henceforth be considered and treated as finally settled, barred, and inadmissible.'

"In testimony whereof this present decision and award has been made in duplicate, and signed by the Arbitrators who have given their assent thereto, the whole being in exact conformity with the provisions of Article VII. of the said Treaty of Washington.

"Made and concluded at the Hôtel de Ville of Geneva in Switzerland, the 14th day of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1872.

"C. F. ADAMS,

"FREDERIC SCLOPIS,

"STÄEMPFELI,

"VISCOMTE D'ITAUBA."

# PUBLIC INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, AND OTHER EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS, IN THE YEAR 1871-72.

Cash Account showing the whole of the Receipts into and Payments out of the Exchequer in the year ended 31st March, 1872, and the Balances in the Exchequer at the commencement and termination of the Year.

INCOME.				EXPENDITURE.			
To Balance in the Exchequer on the 1st April, 1871:—	£	s.	d.	By Payments out of the Exchequer for Services charged on the Consolidated Fund, viz.:—	£	s.	d.
At the Bank of England	5,678,914	18	10	Interest on Funded Debt	21,947,385	18	9
At the Bank of Ireland	1,344,520	2	6	Management of Debt	209,566	4	7
					222,156,952	3	4
To Revenue received into the Exchequer, viz.:—				Terminable Annuities (including Sinking Fund Annuity)	4,512,708	1	0
Customs	20,326,000	0	0	Interest of Unfunded Debt	226,669,658	4	4
Excise	23,326,000	0	0		169,943	3	4
Stamps	9,772,000	0	0	Civil List	406,238	17	9
Land Tax and House Duty	2,330,000	0	0	Annuities and Pensions	304,879	2	5
Property and Income Tax	9,084,000	0	0	Salaries and Allowances	103,320	11	6
Post Office	4,680,000	0	0	Courts of Justice	649,200	10	8
Telegraph Service	755,000	0	0	Miscellaneous Services (Ordinary)	282,966	11	2
Crown Lands (Net)	375,000	0	0	Telegraph Sinking Fund	50,869	7	8
Miscellaneous	4,060,314	13	1		1,797,475	1	3
Total Income	74,708,314	13	1	By Payments for voted (Supply) Services, viz.:—			
To other Exchequer Receipts, viz.:—				Army Services (including £340,000/£on account of Abolition of Purchase)	15,861,580	1	0
Repayment of Advances charged on Consolidated Fund:—				Navy Services	9,900,486	0	0
For Purchase of Bullion	900,000	0	0	Vote of Credit (War in Europe)	101,086	16	3
For Public Works and Improvements, &c.	1,407,079	7	6		225,863,162	17	3
Interest and Sinking Fund of Loan to Sardinia	80,000	0	0	Miscellaneous Civil Services	10,862,818	2	11
	2,367,079	7	6	Customs and Inland Revenue Departments	2,578,003	14	6
Repayment of Advances voted in Supply:—				Post Office	2,465,601	19	8
For Greenwich Hospital	138,991	15	1	Telegraph Service	454,477	3	3
Money raised by Creation of Additional Debt; Funded:—				Post Office Packet Service	1,184,700	0	0
Amount raised by the creation of Annuities to expire 5th April, 1868, per Acts 30 & 31 Vict. c. 146, and 32 & 33 Vict. c. 76, to					42,852,943	17	7

commencing 6th April, 1872 . . . . .	370,000 0 0		Terminable Annuities (as per contra)		370,000 0 0
Unfunded :—Nil.		370,000 0 0	Total Expenditure (including Fortifications)		71,860,020 6 5
Exchequer Bills Issued (Unfunded Debt), per 29 Vict. c. 25 :—			By other Exchequer Payments, viz. :—		
Bills issued in exchange for Bills delivered up to be cancelled :—			Advances by way of Loan charged on Consolidated Fund :—		
Dated 11 June, 1871 (for Bills of 11 June, 1866)	3,151,200 0 0		For Purchase of Bullion for Coinage	900,000 0 0	
Dated 11 March, 1872 (for Bills of 11 March, 1867)	1,972,000 0 0		For Public Works and Improvements, &c.	708,443 10 5	
		5,123,200 0 0	Advances voted in Supply :—		1,608,443 10 5
Temporary Advances received :—			For Greenwich Hospital . . . . .		138,991, 15. 1
Advances in aid of Ways and Means (34 & 35 Vict. c. 80)	1,000,000 0 0		Redemption of Funded Debt :—		
Advances for Deficiency of the Consolidated Fund (per Act 29 & 30 Vict. c. 39), received as under, viz. :—			Amount applied out of Surplus Revenue to redemption of Funded Debt (per Act 29 & 30 Vict. c. 39)		746,812 16 1
In the { 30 June 1871 £1,800,000			Redemption of Unfunded Debt :—		
Quarter { 30 Sept. 1871 1,800,000			Exchequer Bills exchanged for new Bills, as per contra . . . . .	5,123,200 0 0	
ended { 31 Dec. 1871 1,300,000			Exchequer Bills paid off in Money . . . . .	235,900 0 0	
{ 31 Mar. 1872 1,700,000			Exchequer Bonds paid off, viz. :—		
	4,800,000 0 0		Series T, dated 23 March, 1871 . . . . .	700,000 0 0	6,059,100 0 0
		5,800,000 0 0	Temporary Advances repaid :—		
			Advances in aid of Ways and Means repaid out of growing Revenue . . . . .	1,000,000 0 0	
			Advances for Deficiency of Consolidated Fund, repaid as under :—		
			Out of growing Revenue . . . . .	4,740,000 0 0	
			Out of Surplus Revenue (Sinking Fund)	60,000 0 0	5,800,000 0 0
			By Balance in the Exchequer on the 31st March 1872 :—		
			At the Bank of England . . . . .	7,706,923 14 11	
			At the Bank of Ireland . . . . .	1,636,728 14 1	
		<u>£295,551,023 1 0</u>			<u>9,342,652 9 0</u>
					<u>£295,551,020 17 0</u>

# PUBLIC INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

Account of the Public Income and Expenditure of the United Kingdom (exclusive of Sums applied to the Redemption of Debt, and of the Advances and Repayments for Local Works, &c.) in the years ended 30th June, 1871, 30th September, 1871, 31st December, 1871, and 31st March, 1872; showing the surplus of Income over Expenditure, or the Excess of Expenditure over Income, in each of the said Years.

*Note.*—One Fourth of the Surplus Income (if any), in any Year ending on the last day of each Financial Quarter, as under, is applicable to the Reduction of Debt during the second succeeding Quarter.

INCOME.	In the Year ended 30th June, 1871.		In the Year ended 30th September, 1871.		In the Year ended 31st December, 1871.		In the Year ended 31st March, 1872.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Customs . . . . .	19,889,000	0 0	20,025,000	0 0	20,236,000	0 0	20,326,000	0 0
Excise . . . . .	29,284,000	0 0	23,032,000	0 0	23,338,000	0 0	23,326,000	0 0
Stamps . . . . .	9,122,000	0 0	9,419,000	0 0	9,644,000	0 0	9,772,000	0 0
Land Tax and House Duty . . . . .	2,310,000	0 0	2,324,000	0 0	2,338,000	0 0	2,330,000	0 0
Property Tax . . . . .	6,327,000	0 0	6,487,000	0 0	6,688,000	0 0	6,084,000	0 0
Post Office . . . . .	4,730,000	0 0	4,732,000	0 0	4,690,000	0 0	4,680,000	0 0
Telegraph Service . . . . .	530,000	0 0	685,000	0 0	685,000	0 0	755,000	0 0
Crown Lands (Net) . . . . .	385,000	0 0	384,000	0 0	385,000	0 0	375,000	0 0
Miscellaneous, viz.: Military and Naval Extra Receipts, and Proceeds of Old Stores sold . . . . .	1,022,079	15 9	829,968	13 10	1,185,492	12 11	1,177,798	16 1
Amount received from the Revenues of India on account of the Effective and Non-effective Charges of British Troops serving in that Country . . . . .	670,318	10 0	711,139	0 0	511,139	0 0	441,139	0 0
Allowance out of Profits of Issue received from the Bank of England, per Act 24 Vict. c. 3 . . . . .	138,578	0 0	138,578	0 0	138,578	0 0	138,578	0 0
Abyssinian Expedition—Issues repaid . . . . .	850,000	0 0	850,000	0 0	850,000	0 0	850,000	0 0
Other Miscellaneous Receipts . . . . .	1,514,433	12 2	1,666,511	12 1	1,619,901	17 3	1,452,803	17 0
Total Income . . . . .	70,472,409	17 11	71,284,197	5 11	72,209,111	10 2	74,708,314	13 1
Excess of Total Expenditure over Income . . . . .	1,616,901	6 11	£71,284,197	5 11	£72,209,111	10 2	£74,708,314	13 1



EXPENDITURE.		In the Year ended 30th June, 1871.		In the Year ended 30th September, 1871.		In the Year ended 31st December, 1871.		In the Year ended 31st March, 1872.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Debt:—									
Interest of the Permanent Debt and Management	.	22,182,197	6 5	22,185,151	11 2	22,151,505	12 2	22,156,952	3 4
Terminable Annuities	.	4,538,089	18 5	4,532,097	8 8	4,523,041	4 9	4,512,706	1 0
Interest on Unfunded Debt, &c.	.	176,792	13 8	178,207	7 7	159,852	5 10	169,943	3 4
Consolidated Fund Charges:—									
Civil List	.	406,074	13 3	406,167	4 0	449,298	17 9	406,238	17 9
Annuities and Pensions	.	297,626	15 2	295,959	5 5	302,219	18 11	304,879	2 5
Salaries and Allowances	.	123,791	1 9	108,611	6 9	110,202	1 6	103,320	11 6
Courts of Justice	.	639,008	13 9	645,832	1 7	647,040	16 7	649,200	10 8
Miscellaneous Services	.	623,411	18 4	298,858	17 7	328,310	16 2	282,966	11 2
Telegraph Sinking Fund	.	—	—	—	—	—	—	50,869	7 8
Supply Services:—									
Army	.	14,626,580	1 0	14,666,580	1 0	15,321,580	1 0	15,521,580	1 0
Army, Abolition of Purchase	.	—	—	—	—	20,500	0 0	340,000	0 0
Navy	.	10,260,580	0 0	9,880,530	0 0	9,750,580	0 0	9,900,486	0 0
Vote of Credit—War in Europe	.	1,350,000	0 0	1,350,000	0 0	1,350,000	0 0	101,086	16 3
Miscellaneous Civil Services	.	10,120,181	12 11	10,006,335	16 8	10,224,931	3 7	10,362,818	2 11
Customs and Inland Revenue Departments	.	2,574,972	10 9	2,584,187	16 6	2,595,426	2 6	2,578,083	14 6
Post Office	.	2,384,741	15 7	2,412,741	15 7	2,434,741	15 7	2,455,691	19 8
Telegraph Service	.	412,273	11 6	392,273	11 6	442,273	11 6	454,477	3 3
Packet Service	.	1,223,128	12 4	1,170,128	12 4	1,170,128	12 4	1,138,700	0 0
Total Ordinary Expenditure	.	71,939,401	4 10	71,103,662	16 4	71,981,533	0 2	71,490,020	6 5
Add—Expense of Fortifications)	.	150,000	0 0	150,000	0 0	150,000	0 0	370,000	0 0
Surplus of Income over Total Expenditure (including Fortifications)	.	—	—	30,534	9 7	77,478	10 0	2,848,284	6 8
		£72,089,401	4 10	£71,284,197	5 11	£72,209,111	10 2	£74,708,314	13 1

## PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

*Jan. 2.* John Prat; Consul for Galicia and Asturias.

Otto Trechman; Consul at Hartlepool.

— 9. The Right Hon. Alexander M'Donnell, of Murlough, Antrim; Baronet.

Viscount Macduff; Lieutenant of Shire of Elgin.

William Henry Gregory; Governor of Ceylon.

Hon. E. J. Monson; Consul-General at Pesth.

J. R. Quain, Q.C.; Justice of the Queen's Bench.

Lord Suffield; Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales.

— 19. W. H. Lay; Consul at Tangchow.

S. B. Weikeraheim; Consul at Vienna.

H. Scholfeld; Consul at Guatemala.

— 23. Sir William Jenner, Bart.; K.C.B., Civil Division.

William Gull, M.D.; Baronet.

— 26. J. B. Aspinall; Attorney-General for the County Palatine of Durham.

*Feb. 2.* R. B. D. Morier; Chargé d'Affaires to the King of Bavaria.

— 6. Sir J. Weir Hogg, Bart., Odo W. L. Russell; Privy Councillors.

T. S. Aldis; Inspector of Schools.

— 13. Right Hon. J. E. Denison; Viscount Ossington of Ossington.

Sir Louis Mallet, C.B.; Member of the Council of India.

— 16. J. Kay, Q.C.; Solicitor-General for the County Palatine of Durham.

— 20. Sir A. E. Kennedy, K.C.M.G.; Governor of Hong-Kong.

— 23. C. Cowper, G. F. Verdon; Knights Commanders of St. Michael and St. George.

G. Glynn Petre; Chargé d'Affaires to the King of Wurtemberg.

*Feb. 27.* W. R. Grove; Knight.

George Jessel; Knight.

Oliver Nugent; Knight.

The Earl of Kenmare; Lord in Waiting to her Majesty.

Lord R. Grosvenor; Vice-Chamberlain of her Majesty's household.

F. O. Adams; Secretary of Embassy at Berlin.

*March 1.* C. J. Calvert; Consul at Naples.

S. E. Blunt; Consul at Monastir.

— 5. Hon. S. Ponsonby; Companion of the Bath.

Lord Poltimore; Treasurer of her Majesty's household.

Major-General D. M. Probyn; Equerry to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

Sir Hercules Robinson; Governor of New South Wales.

Sir Philip Wodehouse; Governor of Bombay.

— 8. Edward Smallwood; Consul for the Azores.

— 12. Right Hon. S. J. Gibbons (Lord Mayor); Baronet.

— 15. J. Coode, J. Cowen, P. Spokes, J. R. Cormack, J. Gilbert, A.R.A., F. W. Truscott, J. Bennett, and T. Chambers, Q.C.; Knights.

Lord Northbrook; Governor-General of India.

Lord Hobart; Governor of Madras.

A. Hobhouse, Q.C.; Legislative Member of Council of Governor-General of India.

— 19. R. G. Watson; Secretary of Legation at Japan.

— 22. Lord R. Grosvenor, Lord Poltimore, and Sir W. T. Knollys; Privy Councillors.

— 29. Earl of Belmore; Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George.

*April 5.* H. P. Fenton; Secretary of Legation at Athens.

*April 9.* R. D. Mayne; Chief Magistrate of Lagos.

— 12. A. A. D. Sassoon; Knight.

— 19. Countess of Mayo; Honorary Lady of the Bedchamber.

Hon. Frances Drummond; Maid of Honour.

— 26. J. R. Quain, T. Dakin; Knights.

*May 3.* Earl of Airlie; High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

— 7. Right Hon. G. J. Goschen, Sir S. Dacres, J. W. Tarleton, F. B. P. Seymour, and the Earl of Camperdown; Commissioners for Office of Lord High Admiral.

— 10. W. C. West; Lieutenant of Co. Denbigh.

— 14. J. G. Dodson; Privy Councillor.

M. J. Barrington-Ward; Inspector of Schools.

— 28. Sir C. Straubenzee; Governor of Malta.

A. Musgrave; Lieut.-Governor of Natal.

— 31. The Nawab Shah Tehan Begum of Bhopal; Knight Grand Commander of Star of India.

J. Strachey and J. C. Wilson; K.C. of Star of India.

O. T. Burne, G. B. Malleon, Mahomed Hyat Khan, and A. T. Etheridge; Companions of Star of India.

*June 4.* The Earl of Dufferin; Governor-General of Canada.

J. P. Hennessy, H. J. Usher; Companions of St. Michael and St. George.

— 7. D. B. Robertson; Knight.

A. Rogers; Member of Bombay Council.

— 14. Earl of Brownlow; Ecclesiastical Commissioner.

— 18. G. B. Airy; K.C.B., Civil Division.

Right Hon. Sir B. Peacock; Member of Judicial Committee of Privy Council, under Act of 1871.

E. D. Baynes; President of Antigua.

— 21. R. Wilkinson; Consul for Malaga.

— 28. J. Ramsden, W. Perry, and Co-wasjee Jehanghier Readymoney; Knights.

*July 5.* J. Auldjo; Consul at Geneva.

Rev. J. W. Blakesley; Dean of Lincoln.

— 9. Lady Emily Kingscote; Lady of the Bedchamber to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales.

Rev. D. Macleod; Chaplain in Ordinary to H.M.

— 12. C. Pontifex; Puisne-Judge at Calcutta.

— 16. Baron Napier (Scotland); Baron Ettrick, of Ettrick (United Kingdom).

Lord Lyveden, Sir H. F. Howard; Knights Grand Cross of the Bath.

Hon. E. A. J. Harris; K.C.B., Civil Division.

Hon. G. S. S. Jermingham; C.B., Civil Division.

— 19. Countess of Mayo; Lady of the Bedchamber.

Viscountess Clifden; Extra Lady of the Bedchamber.

Arthur Helps; K.C.B., Civil Division.

— 26. W. T. Thomson; Envoy Extraordinary to the Shah of Persia.

— 30. Hon. E. M. Erskine; Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Sweden.

*Aug. 6.* Sir John Rose, K.C.M.G.; Baronet.

— 13. G. Gilbert Scott; Knight.

Earl Spencer; Lieutenant of Co. Northampton.

Rev. John Macleod; Dean of the Thistle and Chapel Royal (Scotland).

— 20. J. Le Couteur; Knight.

— 23. J. E. Blunt; Consul for Salonica.

— 27. Hon. F. Ponsonby; C.B., Civil Division.

*Sept. 3.* R. R. Torrens; Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George.

— 6. R. A. Gilvie; C.B., Civil Division.

— 10. Sir J. H. Drummond-Hay; Minister Plenipotentiary at Morocco.

G. Bouchier, C. H. Brownlow; K.C.B., Military Division.

W. J. F. Stafford, T. Rattray, J. M. Nuttall, J. Doran, F. S. Roberts, J. Hills, J. A. Tytler, F. F. Allen; C.B., Military Division.

S. I. Tucker; Rouge Croix, Pursuivant of Arms.

— 13. R. W. Harley; Administrator of Gold Coast Settlement.

H. T. Usher; Lieutenant-Governor of Tobago.

S. Leech; Commissioner of High Court of Chancery.

— 17. Rev. G. Rawlinson; Canon of Canterbury.

— 20. R. F. Burton; Consul at Trieste.

— 24. Hon. L. S. Sackville-West; Envoy Extraordinary to Argentine Republic.

Sir J. Hanmer, Bart.; Baron (Hanmer).

— 27. Hon. W. Stuart; Envoy Extraordinary to the King of the Hellenes.

*Oct. 1.* H. L. Gardiner; Equerry in Ordinary.

Hon. H. W. J. Byng; Groom in Waiting.

— 11. Rev. Stopford A. Brooke; Chaplain in Ordinary.

Rev. G. H. Connor; Honorary Chaplain.

Sir J. D. Wauchop, Bart., Sir W. S. Maxwell, Bart., J. Ramsay, Sir A. Grant, Bart., J. Tulloch, D.D.; Members of Scotch Board of Education.

*Oct. 18.* Sir R. Palmer; Lord Chancellor and Privy Councillor.

F. W. H. Myers; Inspector of Schools.

— 29. H. Rumbold; Minister Resident at Chile.

*Nov. 1.* Sir W. M. Gomm, G.C.B.; Constable of the Tower.

Hon. E. R. Lytton; Secretary of Embassy at Paris.

F. Clare Ford; Secretary of Embassy at Vienna.

S. Locock; Secretary of Embassy at Constantinople.

R. P. Ffrench; Secretary of Embassy at St. Petersburg.

H. P. Fenton; Secretary of Legation at the Hague.

H. G. Macdonell; Secretary of Legation at Madrid.

F. R. St. John; Secretary of Legation at Buenos Ayres.

J. F. Leith and Alfred Wills; Queen's Counsel.

— 5. R. S. Ellis; Member of Madras Council.

— 15. C. B. Smith; Companion of the Star of India.

Gersai von Bleichröder; Consul-General at Berlin.

Sir James Hannen; Judge of Court of Probate.

Rev. J. Bramston; Dean of Winchester.

— 22. T. D. Archibald; Justice of the Common Pleas.

*Nov. 26.* Hon. and Rev. F. E. C. Byng; Chaplain in Ordinary.

Rev. J. St. J. Blunt; Honorary Chaplain.

— 29. P. Erle and Sir J. Hannen; Privy Councillors.

*Dec. 3.* Josiah Mason; Knight.

H. Ayers; Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George.

F. S. Dutton and C. Todd; Companions of St. Michael and St. George.

R. W. Keate; Governor of West African Settlements.

— 10. R. Southey, E. E. Rushworth, W. Porter, A. G. Archibald, and H. Bernard; Companions of St. Michael and St. George.

J. Hill; Chief Charity Commissioner.

F. O. Martin; Second Charity Commissioner.

A. B. Shand; Lord of Session (Scotland).

— 24. H. Thring, C.B., Civil Division.

E. W. Cope; Second Secretary in Diplomatic Service.

Hon. H. Wodehouse; Secretary of Legation at Athens.

J. C. Dundas; Lieut. of Orkney and Zetland.

J. P. Green; Judge of Bombay High Court.

— 27. Hon. and Rev. G. T. O. Bridgeman; Chaplain in Ordinary.

Rev. J. S. B. Monsell; Honorary Chaplain.

## THE CABINET.

*First Lord of the Treasury* (Prime Minister), Right Hon. W. Ewart Gladstone.

*Lord High Chancellor*, Lord Selborne.

*Lord President of the Council*, Marquess of Ripon, K.G.

*Lord Privy Seal*, Viscount Halifax, G.C.B.

*Secretary of State, Home Department*, Right Hon. Henry Austin Bruce.

*Secretary of State, Foreign Department*, Earl Granville, K.G.

*Secretary of State, Colonial Department*, Earl of Kimberley.

*Secretary of State, War Department*, Right Hon. Edw. Cardwell.

*Secretary of State, Indian Department*, Duke of Argyll, K.T.

*Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Right Hon. Robert Lowe.

*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*, Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

*First Lord of the Admiralty*, Right Hon. G. Joachim Goschen.

*President of the Board of Trade*, Right Hon. Chichester S. Fortescue.

*President of the Local Government Board*, Right Hon. James Stansfeld.

*Chief Secretary for Ireland*, Right Hon. Marquess of Hartington.

*Vice-President of Council of Education*, Right Hon. W. E. Forster.

## SHERIFFS FOR 1872.

## ENGLAND.

BEDFORDSHIRE.—W. F. Higgins, Turvey House.  
 BERKSHIRE.—Sir N. W. Throckmorton, Bart., Buckland House.  
 BUCKS.—R. Rose, The Chesnuts, Aylesbury.  
 CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE.—Hon. G. Fitzwilliam, Milton Park,  
 Northamptonshire.  
 CHESHIRE.—Egerton Leigh, Jodrell Hall.  
 CUMBERLAND.—G. Moore, Whitehall.  
 DERBYSHIRE.—T. W. Evans, Allertree Hall.  
 DEVONSHIRE.—J. G. Johnson, Cross.  
 DORSETSHIRE.—E. S. Weld, Lulworth Castle.  
 DURHAM.—R. Burdon, Castle Eden.  
 ESSEX.—T. Kemble, Runwell Hall.  
 GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., Elmore Court.  
 HEREFORDSHIRE.—J. H. B. Luttley, Brockhampton.  
 HERTFORDSHIRE.—T. Curtis, The Hall, Great Berkhamstead.  
 KENT.—Sir J. F. Croft, Bart., Doddington.  
 LEICESTERSHIRE.—Sir H. St. J. Halford, Bart., Wistow Hall.  
 LINCOLNSHIRE.—Sir R. Sheffield, Bart., Normanby Park.  
 MONMOUTHSHIRE.—J. C. Hill, The Brooks, Abergavenny.  
 NORFOLK.—W. Angerstein, Weeting Hall.  
 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—H. O. Nethercote, Moulton Grange.  
 NORTHUMBERLAND.—R. J. Roddam, Roddam.  
 NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—G. W. Mason, Morton Hall.  
 OXFORDSHIRE.—C. Sartoris, Nilcote House.  
 RUTLAND.—C. C. J. Orme, Oakham.  
 SHROPSHIRE.—J. H. Lovett, Fern Hill.  
 SOMERSETSHIRE.—M. Fenwick-Bisset, Bagborough.  
 SOUTHAMPTON.—J. B. W. Fleming, Chilworth House; afterwards Hon. R. H.  
 Dutton, Timsbury.  
 STAFFORDSHIRE.—H. Ward, Oaklands.  
 SUFFOLK.—H. A. Starkie Bence, Thorington Hall.  
 SURREY.—A. G. Sandeman, The Hollies, Weybridge.  
 SUSSEX.—Sir J. Duke, Bart., Laughton Lodge.  
 WARWICKSHIRE.—T. Lloyd, The Priory, Warwick.  
 WESTMORELAND.—F. A. Argles, Eversley.  
 WILTSHIRE.—Sir J. Neeld, Bart., Grittleton.  
 WORCESTERSHIRE.—H. S. Scobell, The Abbey, Pershore.  
 YORKSHIRE.—F. B. Frank, Campsall Hall.

## WALES.

## NORTH AND SOUTH.

ANGLESEY.—W. Williams, Tyddyn Mawr.  
 BRECONSHIRE.—J. Jayne, Pantybailey.  
 CARDIGANSHIRE.—J. E. Rogers, Abermeirig.  
 CARMARTHENSHIRE.—A. Thompson, Glyn Abbey.  
 CARNARVONSHIRE.—O. Evans, Broom Hall.  
 DENBIGHSHIRE.—W. C. West, Ruthin Castle.  
 FLINTSHIRE.—E. W. Philips, Rhual.  
 GLAMORGANSHIRE.—C. H. Williams, Roath Court.  
 MERIONETHSHIRE.—E. F. Coulson, Corsygedol.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.—H. B. W. Williams Wynn, Plas-nant-y-Meichiad.

PEMBROKESHIRE.—R. E. Arden, Pontfaen.

RADNORSHIRE.—R. L. Lloyd, Nantgwilt.

CORNWALL.—Sir C. B. Graves-Sawle, Bart., Penrice.

LANCASTER.—T. Wrigley, Timberhurst.

## UNIVERSITY DEGREES, 1871.<sup>1</sup>

### OXFORD.

#### Trinity Term.

##### *In Literis Humanioribus.*

###### CLASSIS I.

Farrer, J. A., Balliol.  
Gibson, J. F., New.  
Illingworth, J. R., Corpus.  
Leadam, I. S., University.  
Tatton, R. G., Balliol.  
Wallace, E., Lincoln.

###### CLASSIS II.

Allen, G. D., Magdalen.  
Hodge, E. V., Balliol.  
Jameson, G. M., Ch. Ch.  
Mills, F. C., University.  
Thompson, C. S., Magdalen Hall.

###### CLASSIS III.

Arnold, E. P., Balliol.  
Gregory, F. A., Corpus.  
Heathcote, T. G. J., Worcester.  
Humphreys, G., New.  
Pope, R. W. M., Worcester.  
Wilkinson, E., Merton.

###### CLASSIS IV.

Cook, H. K., Trinity.  
Cruttwell, C. A. W., University.  
Fisher, W. W., Merton.  
Wetherall, H. E., Brasenose.

##### *Examiners.*

M. Pattison.  
D. B. Monro.  
T. H. Green.  
J. R. Magrath.

##### *In Scientiis Math. et Phys.*

###### CLASSIS I.

Bickmore, C. E., Ch. Ch.  
Cooper, H. S., All Souls.  
Rashleigh, G. B., Exeter.  
Wilson, J. C., Balliol.

###### CLASSIS II.

Rogers, C. F., Trinity.

###### CLASSIS III.

Robinson, J., Balliol.

###### CLASSIS IV.

None.

##### *Examiners.*

B. Price.  
C. Faulkner  
J. Griffiths.

<sup>1</sup> This year and in future, the University Degrees published in the "Annu Register" will be those of the preceding year, as taken from the Calendar of the current year, in order to avoid delay in the publication of the volume.

*In Scientia Naturali.*

## CLASSIS I.

None.

## CLASSIS II.

Berry, J. H., Ch. Ch.  
 Hatton, J. W., Wadham.

## CLASSIS III.

Wharton, H. T., Wadham.

*Examiners.*

W. Ogle.  
 J. A. Dale.  
 A. G. V. Harcourt.

*In Jurisprudentia et Hist. Mod.*

## CLASSIS I.

Bartlett, E. A., Ch. Ch.  
 Buller, C. W., Ch. Ch.  
 Dale, H. J., New.  
 Devas, C. S., Balliol.  
 Smith, W. P., New.

## CLASSIS II.

Aglionby, F. K. Y., Queen's.  
 Bonnor-Maurice, E. A., New.

## CLASSIS III.

Courthope, G. K., Wadham.  
 Davidson, R. T., Trinity.  
 Duff, T. G., Trinity.  
 Graham-Jones, C. E., Queen's.  
 Massingberd, G. O., Magdalen.  
 Payne, F. E. H., St. John's.  
 Ranking, D. F., Magdalen Hall.  
 Walters, R., University.

## CLASSIS IV.

Colley, A. N., Ch. Ch.  
 Courthope, G. J., Ch. Ch.  
 Thomber, H., Queen's.

*Examiners.*

C. W. Boase.  
 S. J. Owen.  
 H. B. George.

*In Sacra Theologia.*

## CLASSIS I.

Hutton, A. W., Exeter.

## CLASSIS II.

Davenport, J. M., Exeter.  
 Dodd, J. T., Ch. Ch.  
 Druitt, C., Exeter.

## CLASSIS III.

Bean, A. H. S., Pembroke.  
 Hunt, C. J., St. Mary's Hall.  
 Mason, E. R., Queen's.  
 Ryan, V. J., Wadham.

## CLASSIS IV.

Davies, W. H. S., Pembroke.  
 Shaw, T. S., Wadham.  
 Wheeler, R. G., Worcester.

*Examiners.*

William, Bishop of Chester.  
 R. Payne Smith.  
 W. Kay.

## Term Mich.

*In Literis Humanioribus.*

## CLASSIS I.

Abbot, H. N., Corpus.  
 Bodington, N., Wadham.  
 Brooke, J. R., Oriel.  
 Bryce, J. A., Balliol.  
 Bushnell, A. J. de H., St. Edmund Hall.  
 Cross, J., Balliol.  
 Figgins, R. L., Balliol.  
 Heberden, C. B., Balliol.  
 Lee, A. M., Balliol.  
 Macan, R. G., University.  
 Merryweather, J. H. W., Trinity.  
 Moore, A. L., Exeter.  
 Morshead, E. D. A., New.  
 Payne, E. J., Charsley's Hall.  
 Peters, F. H., Balliol.  
 Pope, H. M. R., St. John's.  
 Skrine, J. H., Corpus.

## CLASSIS II.

Bolland, W. E., Merton.  
 Clerk, F. J., University.  
 Davis, R. C., Queen's.  
 Davy, J. S., Balliol.  
 Ducat, W. M. G., Balliol.  
 Gordon, W., Unatt.  
 Hirst, H. E., Queen's.  
 Irwin, S. T., Exeter.  
 Jeans, G. E., Pembroke.  
 Lewis, J. S., Ch. Ch.  
 Little, W., Corpus.  
 Pearson, C. H., Trinity.  
 Percival, L. J. E., Brasenose.  
 Phillips, C. B., New.  
 Pitcairn, D. L., Magdalen.  
 Prothero, H. A., Balliol.  
 Reith, A. W., New.  
 Silvester, E. F., University.  
 Tremenheere, S. G., New.  
 Vincent, C. F., New.

## CLASSIS III.

Ady, F. E., Exeter.  
 Alford, R., Wadham.  
 Benson, W. D., Balliol.  
 Bouchier, A. R. M., Ch. Ch.  
 Collins, W. E. W., Jesus.  
 Davenport, A., Balliol.  
 Dowding, A. J. C., New.  
 Hill, T., Queen's.  
 Lochie, L. T., Exeter.  
 Miles, E., Trinity.  
 Palmer, J. B., Worcester.  
 Pritchard, R. H., Jesus.  
 Prosser, W. B., Brasenose.  
 Redpath, H. A., Queen's.  
 Rickards, A. G., Brasenose.  
 Robin, C. J., University.  
 Schomburg, R. B., New.  
 Stewart, W. J., Exeter.  
 Stone, F. W., Brasenose.

*In Scientiis Math. et Phys.*

## CLASSIS I.

Baynes, R. E., Wadham.  
 Becker, W., New.

## CLASSIS II.

Anson, F. H., Balliol.  
 Anthony, E., Ch. Ch.  
 Browne, F. H., Wadham.  
 Foster, W. E., University.  
 Harrison, E. G., Merton.  
 Jones, D., Jesus.  
 Longstaff, G. H., New.  
 Lupton, S., Ch. Ch.  
 Micholls, S. P., New.  
 Rigg, E., Queen's.  
 Roberts, E., Magdalen.  
 Spencer, A., Brasenose.

## CLASSIS III.

Enfield, E. W., Corpus.  
 Humfrey, A. G. P., Lincoln.



Walker, W. G., Exeter.  
 Watkins, O. D., Merton.  
 Wight, A., New.  
 Wilmot, F. E. W., Trinity.  
 Woodhouse, S. H., University.  
 Woods, E. L., Queen's.

## CLASSIS IV.

Brown, F. J., Brasenose.  
 Durrant, G. B., Oriel.  
 Harvey, F. B., New.  
 Kendall, A. G., Merton.  
 Richmond, H. J., Balliol.  
 Weatherly, F. E., Brasenose.  
 Young, A., Ch. Ch.

*Examiners.*

H. Furneaux.  
 D. B. Monro.  
 T. H. Green.  
 J. R. Magrath.

*In Scientia Naturali.*

## CLASSIS I.

Black, H. A., Ch. Ch.  
 Goolden, W. T., Magdalen.  
 Jacob, E. H., Corpus.  
 Macdonald, A. S. L., Merton.  
 Ormerod, J. A., Jesus.  
 Rücker, A. W., Brasenose.  
 West, S. H., Ch. Ch.

## CLASSIS II.

Forty, E. H., Ch. Ch.  
 Turner, J., Exeter.  
 Twynan, J. L., St. Mary's Hall.

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B. Price.  
 C. J. Faulkner.  
 J. Griffiths.

*In Jurisprudentia et Hist. Mod.*

## CLASSIS I.

Earle, J. C., Exeter.  
 Fitzgerald, J. V., Balliol.  
 Hardy, H., University.

## CLASSIS II.

Brown, H. E., Queen's.  
 Burleigh, Lord, Oriel.  
 Cooper, F., Queen's.  
 Durnford, E., Exeter.  
 Hall, H., Merton.  
 Jopp, C. H., New.  
 Neish, G. W., Corpus.  
 Parr, C. F., Exeter.  
 Plunkett, Hon. R. E. S., Ch. Ch.  
 Somers-Smith, R. V., Merton.

## CLASSIS III.

Alexander, J. A., Queen's.  
 Balfour, C. C., Magdalen.  
 Bovill, E. C., Ch. Ch.  
 Cochran, W. H., Exeter.  
 Cotes, C. H., Queen's.  
 Holme, G. A., University.  
 Jones, J., Jesus.  
 Levinge, W. H., Oriel.  
 Nicholson, E. W. B., Trinity.  
 Osborne, S. R., University.  
 Parker, C. A. C., Wadham.  
 Skrine, E. H., Wadham.  
 Williams, G., Merton.

## CLASSIS IV.

Beart, F. R., Wadham.

*Examiners.*

W. Ogle.  
J. A. Dale.  
R. H. M. Bosanquet.

*In Sacra Theologia.*

## CLASSIS I.

Fletcher, P., Exeter.  
Gwilliam, G. H., Jesus.  
Meredith, W. M., Magdalen Hall.

## CLASSIS II.

Elwes, E. L., University.  
Gray, R. D. H., Brasenose.  
Plummer, R. T., Pembroke.  
Rider, T. J., Brasenose.

## CLASSIS III.

Eastly, J. H., Worcester.  
Maude, C. B., Exeter.  
Olive, C., Exeter.  
Olive, L. A., Christ Church.  
Whytehead, W. F., Queen's.

## CLASSIS IV.

Dawe, M. W. B., Balliol.  
De Fontaine, A. H., Worcester.

*Examiners.*

G. Kay.  
R. Payne Smith.  
W. Stubbs.

Harries, W., Jesus.  
Hill, W. W., Oriel.  
Moore, D., Exeter.  
Morris, C. S., New.  
Pierce, H. G., Queen's.  
Rathbone, W. G., University.  
Vesey, Hon. E., Christ Church.

*Examiners.*

S. J. Owen.  
H. B. George.  
M. Creighton.

## CAMBRIDGE.

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## MODERATORS.

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William Henry Hoar Hudson, M.A., St. John's.

## EXAMINERS.

Henry Martyn Taylor, M.A., Trinity.  
Robert Kalley Miller, M.A., St. Peter's.

WRANGLERS.<sup>1</sup>

Ds. Webb (1), John's.  
Lamb (2), Trinity.  
Lock, Caius.  
Richardson α, Trinity.  
Rives, Trinity.  
Cook, John's.  
{ Taylor, Trinity.  
} Warren, Caius.

Boughey α, Trinity.  
Bradbury, Caius.  
{ Stokes, Clare.  
} Woodhouse, Trinity.  
Provis, Clare.  
Wiles, Trinity.  
Langley, Emmanuel.  
Gallatly, Pembroke.

<sup>1</sup> In all cases of equality the names are bracketed. α denotes that the person was in the first class of the Classical Tripos, γ in the third.

{ Dinnis, Peter's.  
 { Madden, Queens'.  
 { Aldous, Jesus.  
 { Morshead, John's.  
 { Smith, Peter's.  
 { Kempe, Trinity.  
 { Adam, Pembroke.  
 { Spencer, Trinity.  
 { Bond, Clare.  
 { Benson, John's.  
 { Andrew, H. M., John's.  
 { Ogden, Magdalen.  
 { Dickens, Trinity Hall.

Scott, Peter's.  
 Garrett, Caius.  
 { Johnson, J. E., John's.  
 { Waters, Trinity Hall.  
 { Newton, Catherine's.  
 { Thackrah, Trinity.  
 { Clark, John's.  
 { Glen, Christ's.  
 { Welch, Trinity Hall.  
 { Chubb, Sidney.  
 { Melsheimer, Trinity.  
 { Romilly, Trinity.  
 { Stebbing, Emmanuel.

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Ds. { Biden, Downham.  
 { Wall, Emmanuel.  
 { White, Sidney.  
 { Hill, Catherine's.  
 { Cook, Trinity Hall.  
 { Marshall, Trinity.  
 { Evans, John's.  
 { Morrice, Trinity.  
 { Case, John's.  
 { Whitmell, Trinity.  
 { Lewis, Caius.  
 { Harries, John's.  
 { Gooch, John's.  
 { Masters, Magdalen.  
 { Baildon, Peter's.  
 { Farr, Sidney.  
 { Hutt, Sidney.  
 { Davidson, Clare.  
 { Flaxman, Trinity.  
 { Thomson, Catherine's.  
 { Monteagle, Lord, Trinity.

Penny, Sidney.  
 { Ladell, Sidney.  
 { Whithington, Corpus.  
 { Gordon, Trinity Hall.  
 { Jekyll, Trinity.  
 { Elwin, Pembroke.  
 { Burrows, Jesus.  
 { Taylor, Clare.  
 { Barton, Peter's.  
 { Wreford, Pembroke.  
 { Caine, Christ's.  
 { French, Emmanuel.  
 { Tyser, Trinity.  
 { Smale, John's.  
 { Gore-Booth, Corpus.  
 { Leventhorpe, Jesus.  
 { Oliver, John's.  
 { Hockin, John's.  
 { Neville, John's.  
 { Bonfellow, Corpus.

## JUNIOR OPTIMES.

Ds. Atkinson, John's.  
 { Egar, Christ's.  
 { Ansorge, Pembroke.  
 { Kermode, Corpus.  
 { Willis, Trinity.  
 { Ellaby, Queens'.  
 { Sewell, Trinity.  
 { L'Amy, Trinity.  
 { Atkinson, Trinity.  
 { Clayton, John's.  
 { Broadmead, Trinity.  
 { Layard, John's.  
 { Kellner, King's.  
 { Reynolds, John's.  
 { Reid, John's.  
 { Sneyd, Pembroke.  
 { Kincaid, Trinity.  
 { Lennard, Corpus.  
 { Lord, Corpus.  
 { Hart, Trinity Hall.  
 { Graham, Trinity.  
 { Howell, John's.

Smith, Queens'.  
 { Newton, Clare.  
 { O'Malley, Trinity.  
 { Smith, Christ's.  
 { Randell, Queens'.  
 { Wright, Queens'.  
 { Kay-Shuttleworth, John's.  
 { Saunders, Downham.  
 { Terry, W. G., John's.  
 { Carmichael, Magdalen.  
 { Perry, Corpus.  
 { Godson, Trinity.  
 { Margerison, John's.  
 { Brodie-Innes, John's.  
 { Arathoon, Trinity.  
 { Goodfellow, Peter's.  
 { De Mattos, Trinity.  
 { Le Mesurier, Downham.  
 { Ellicott, Trinity.  
 { Carrel, Catherine.

## CLASSICAL TRIPOS.

## EXAMINERS.

John Peile, M.A., Christ's.  
 Charles Walter Moule, M.A., Corpus.  
 Edwin Charles Clark, M.A., Trinity.  
 Henry Ernest Fanshawe, M.A., Corpus.  
 Arthur Holmes, M.A., Clare.  
 William Mandell Gunson, M.A., Christ's.

## FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Pratt, Trinity.	Mason, Trinity.
Walker, Christ's.	Boughey, Trinity.
{ Archer-Hind, Trinity.	{ Cherry, Christ's.
{ Cowie, John's.	{ Foote, John's.
{ Thompson, Christ's.	Richardson, J. G., Trinity.
{ Prothero, King's.	
{ Rushbrooke, John's.	

## SECOND CLASS.

Ds. { Ford, Trinity.	Malden, Trinity Hall.
{ Vernon, Christ's.	Peill, Catherine's.
Swallow, Jesus.	Hall, Caius.
Clowes, Queens'.	{ Andrew, G., John's.
Young, Trinity.	{ Giles, Emmanuel.
Bird, Jesus.	{ Parker, Sidney.
Wood, W. C., Emmanuel.	Southam, John's.
Macnaghten, King's.	{ Allen, T., Trinity.
{ Gould, King's.	{ Bowden, Trinity.
{ Murray, Trinity.	{ Ingram, Trinity.
{ Purnell, Magdalen.	{ Romilly, Hon. A., Trinity.
Henderson, Pembroke.	{ Chambers, Sidney.
Worlledge, Jesus.	{ Madge, John's.
{ Archer, Christ's.	{ Robarts, Jesus.
{ Fowell, John's.	{ Teasdale, John's.
{ Judd, Trinity.	

## THIRD CLASS.

Ds. Tetley, Trinity.	Smith, Magdalen.
Shelton, Pembroke.	{ Kirby, Sidney.
Pinckney, Trinity.	{ Wood, John's.
{ Harper, John's.	Ring, Queens'.
{ Jackson, Downham.	{ Gaskell, Trinity Hall.
Shuker, John's.	{ Goldie, John's.
{ Wilson, King's.	Spencer, Trinity.
{ Woodward, Caius.	Pitt, Corpus.
Bomford, Corpus.	Blake, Trinity.
{ Grain, Catherine's.	Boyce, Trinity.
{ Madden, Trinity.	

## MORAL SCIENCES TRIPOS.

## EXAMINERS.

A. C. Fraser.  
 J. Venn, M.A., Caius.  
 G. Gilbert Scott, M.A., Jesus.  
 J. B. Pearson, M.A., John's.

## FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Lawrence, Downham.
{ Ede, John's.
{ Goodhart, Corpus.
{ Stokes, John's.
{ Strutt, Trinity.

## SECOND CLASS.

Ds. Wood, John's.
{ Ranson, John's.
{ Watson, Queens'.

## THIRD CLASS.

Ds. Douglass, Corpus.

| Ward, Pembroke.

## NATURAL SCIENCES TRIPOS.

## EXAMINERS.

F. J. A. Hort, M.A., Trinity.

C. Trotter, M.A., Trinity.

P. T. Main, M.A., John's.

J. Morris.

W. H. Flower.

## FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Garrod, John's.  
Lydekker, Trinity.| Lewis, Downham.  
Warrington, Caius.

## SECOND CLASS.

Ds. Edmund, W., John's.  
{ Fox, Peter's.  
{ Read, John's.  
Owen, Downham.  
Everard, Trinity.| Maudalay, Trinity Hall.  
{ Brewer, John's.  
{ Briddon, John's.  
{ Wigan, Trinity.  
Blunt, John's.

## LAW TRIPOS.

## EXAMINERS.

J. T. Abdy, LL.D., Regius Professor of Laws.

Henry Davidson, M.A., Trinity Hall.

A. W. Ward, M.A., St. Peter's.

A. C. Humphreys, M.A., Trinity.

## FIRST CLASS.

## SECOND CLASS.

Pollock, Trinity Hall.  
Jones, S. T., Trinity Hall.  
Eaden, J. F., Trinity.  
Ds. Hamilton, Christ's.  
Hardcastle, Trinity.  
Ds. Cruickshank, John's.| Candler, Trinity Hall.  
Talbot, Hon. R. G., Trinity.  
Ds. Laidlay, Peter's.  
{ Beauchlerk, Trinity.  
{ Dale, Caius.

## THIRD CLASS.

Courtney, Trinity.  
Ds. Rae, Trinity.  
Ds. Alexander, King's.  
Jones, H., Trinity.| Baylis, John's.  
Agnew, Trinity.  
Pitt-Taylor, Trinity.

In the early part of the "Chronicle," with reference to the murder of Fisk, the American, we stated that the murderer Stokes was afterwards tried and acquitted. This is a mistake. Stokes was twice tried; the first time no verdict was given, as the jury could not agree; on the second occasion he was convicted.

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